FILM THEORY IN MEDIA HISTORY

SERGEI M. EISENSTEIN

NOTES FOR A GENERAL HISTORY OF CINEMA

EDITED BY NAUM KLEIMAN & ANTONIO SOMAINI

Amsterdam University Press

Sergei M. Eisenstein

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Naum Kleiman &
Antonio Somaini

Translations from Russian
by Margo Shohl Rosen, Brinton Tench Coxe, and
Natalie Ryabchikova

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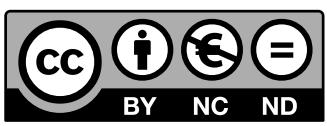

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Sergei M. Eisenstein

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Second, our thanks go to all those who have worked with us on the transcription and the organization of Eisenstein's *Notes*, and on the preparation of the editorial apparatus that accompanies them: Artëm Sopin, Natalie Ryabchikova, and Vera Kleiman for their contribution to the establishment of the six texts of the *Notes*; and François Albera, our coeditor on the French edition of the *Notes*, for his contribution to the commentary and the footnotes.

Margo Shohl Rosen and Brinton Tench Coxe, with a further contribution by Natalie Ryabchikova, have translated Eisenstein's texts from Russian to English; Franck Le Gac, with a further contribution by Michael Cramer, has translated from French to English the texts by François Albera and Georges Didi-Huberman, while Manuela Pallotto has translated from Italian to English the text by Pietro Montani and Mihaela Mihailova has translated from Russian to English the text by Mikhail Iampolski. Abe Geil has made a final revision of Eisenstein's texts, while Michael Cramer made a final revision of several of the critical essays. Olga Kataeva has contributed to the final phase of the editorial work, and has helped us, together with Natalie Ryabchikova and Massimo Olivero, in establishing the rich bibliography contained in this volume. The Index of names, finally, has been prepared by Natacha Milovzorova.

The first presentation, outside Russia, of Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema* took place during the conference "Eisenstein – Cinema – History," organized on September 30 and October 1, 2010 at Columbia University in New York City. It was sponsored by two seminars, "Cinema & Interdisciplinary Interpretation" and "Sites of Cinema" as well as by the Harriman Institute. The edi-

tors would like to warmly thank Jane Gaines for having made this conference possible and Nico Baumbach and Luka Arsenjuk for having organized it. The organizers were responsible for securing the first translation in English of Eisenstein's *Notes*, a translation financed by Columbia University and made available in the public domain. This was the second international event to take place under the auspices of The Permanent Seminar on the Histories of Film Theories.

A second presentation of Eisenstein's *Notes* took place during the conference "S.M. Eisenstein. Histoire, Généalogie, Montage," organized on May 28, 2011, at the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris by the Centre de Recherche en Esthétique du Cinéma et des Images (CRECI). The editors would like to warmly thank Philippe Dubois for having made this conference possible and Benjamin Léon for his valuable contribution to its organization.

Eisenstein's *Notes* have subsequently been discussed on several other occasions (lectures, seminars, *journées d'études*, conferences, journal publications), and the editors would like to thank all those that have contributed to these important exchanges. A special thanks from Antonio Somaini to Vinzenz Hediger and the Goethe Universität Frankfurt for the invitation to present the *Notes* on June 17, 2014, within the program of the Kracauer Lectures series, to Leonardo Quaresima for the various invitations to the Udine International Film Studies Conference, and to all the friends, colleagues, and students with whom these materials have been discussed over the last few years. Besides the authors of the critical essays here published, these include Francesco Casetti, Alessia Cervini, Emanuele Coccia, Gérard Conio, Pietro Conte, Roberto De Gaetano, Ruggero Eugeni, Filippo Fimiani, Olga Kataeva, John MacKay, Carmelo Marabello, Angela Mengoni, Philippe-Alain Michaud, Massimo Olivero, Dominique Païni, Andrea Pinotti, Gian Piero Piretto, Francesco Pitassio, Marie Rebecchi, Laurence Schifano, Elena Vogman, and Georg Witte.

This book is published by Amsterdam University Press in a series whose title – "Film Theory in Media History" – could not be more appropriate for Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*: Naum Kleiman and Antonio Somaini thank the series editors (Oliver Fahle, Vinzenz Hediger, and Trond Lundemo), the editorial board, as well as Jeroen Sondervan of Amsterdam University Press for having invited us to publish the book in such an appropriate context.

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Naum Kleiman and Antonio Somaini

Editorial Criteria

Naum Kleiman and Antonio Somaini

The six texts by Eisenstein presented in the first part of this volume were selected and transcribed from the manuscripts by Naum Kleiman with the collaboration of Artëm Sopin, Natalie Ryabchikova, and Vera Kleiman. Antonio Somaini established, together with Naum Kleiman, the critical apparatus (commentary, footnotes, illustrations, bibliography) that accompanies these six texts, and was responsible for the second part of this volume, which presents thirteen critical essays written specifically for this occasion by international scholars in the fields of film and media studies, art history, aesthetics, and philosophy.

All the texts by Eisenstein presented in this volume have previously been published in Russian in the journal *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*: "The Heir" in vol. 28 (1995);[1] "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema" in vol. 100/101 (2012);[2] "Revelation in Storm and Thunder" in vol. 15 (1992);[3] "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle" in vol. 36/37 (1997-1998);[4] "The Place of Cinema in the General History of the Arts" again in vol. 36/37;[5] and "Pioneers and Innovators" in vol. 28 (1995).[6] A French translation of these same texts, edited by François Albera, Naum Kleiman, and Antonio Somaini, was published in 2013 by the Éditions de l'Association Française de Recherche sur l'Histoire du Cinéma (AFRHC),[7] while a partial German translation, edited by Naum Kleiman and Antonio Somaini, was published in 2011 in the *Zeitschrift für Medienwissenschaft*.[8]

The transcription and the translation of these texts raised a number of problems and demanded a series of choices which the editors would like to mention here.

Publishing any writings by Eisenstein for the first time – especially ones that had not reached the status of fully completed texts during his lifetime, but rather remained at the stage of handwritten fragments, notes, and diary entries – presents editors with a whole series of philological problems, and this was indeed the case for the writings published in this volume.

To begin with, the six texts published here under the general title of *Notes for a General History of Cinema* gather notes that were written by Eisenstein in different periods between October 1946 and January 1948, while he was working on several projects at the same time, thus raising the problem of how to choose and how to order the texts for this publication. The choice of the editors has been to

not include here the diary entries or the notes on the history of cinema that seemed to belong closely to other projects that Eisenstein was developing in the same period (for example, some passages from the book *Metod*, or from the lectures on the "psychology of art" that Eisenstein prepared in November 1947 following an invitation by Alexander R. Luria[9]), in order to focus instead on the notes that Eisenstein wrote specifically for the project of a "general history of cinema" after having been appointed head of the Cinema Section of the Institute of Art History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The core of these notes is preserved at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) in the eight folders of the inventory n.2 entitled "The History of Soviet Cinema" (archival reference: 1923-2-1915-1022). To these notes the editors have decided to add other materials that seemed to be necessary to present the full scope of Eisenstein's project: the notes on the history of cinema preserved in other sections of RGALI (1923-2-993/1030/1931/1939), and some of the notes that belonged to the archive of professor Nikolaï Lebedev and that were later transferred to the archive of the Central State Cinema Museum in a folder with the title "The History of Cinema" (archival reference: Muzei kino 40-1-12). Within each one of the six texts published here, the editors have chosen to follow the chronological order in which the notes were written. The indications of the dates (and sometimes the places) that Eisenstein systematically wrote in his notes are mentioned at the beginning of each text and of each section of the texts, together with all the references to the exact locations of these materials in the archives of RGALI and Muzei kino.

A second problem was raised by the fact that the notes preserved at RGALI in the sections 1923-2-1015 to 1022 were gathered under the general heading "The History of Soviet Cinema," while the intention of the editors was to present in this volume the notes concerning the project for a "*general* history of cinema." As the editors explain in the two texts they are publishing in this volume,[10] the project for a collectively written, multivolume "history of Soviet cinema," and that for a "general history of cinema" written single-handedly by Eisenstein, were closely connected. In several cases, there are notes that could be assigned to both projects, and this is the case of the text published here with the title "Pioneers and Innovators." This text is closely connected to the project for a "history of Soviet cinema," but also contains a number of theoretical considerations concerning the problem of a "general history of cinema."

Thirdly, the editors had to decide how to publish in a book format what is actually an array of very heterogeneous materials: besides passages that are fully developed, there are phrases written hastily on the first piece of paper that was at hand (a diary page, a hotel bill, an envelope), quotations taken from various sources and most of the time without exact bibliographical references, more or less elaborate drawings and schemes, as well as journal or newspaper articles cut out from their original publications. In order to remind the reader of the hetero-

geneous nature of these materials, the editors have chosen to highlight as much as possible the presence of drawings, diagrams, and cut-out journal or newspaper articles by reproducing them in the illustrations.

A further editorial problem becomes immediately evident if one takes a look at the illustrations that reproduce some of the handwritten notes from which the texts presented in this volume have been transcribed.[11] As the reader will quickly see, such handwritten notes are not easily transposable into the orderly, linear format of a typewritten book page. Besides being written in several different languages (Russian, English, German, French, with occasional words in Spanish, Italian, and Latin), and being handwritten in a way that is often hard to decipher, with a constant use of abbreviations, these notes do not follow a clear linear order. The frequent presence of various diagonal sequences that run in different directions on pieces of paper which have clearly been rotated several times constitutes a true challenge for the editor. In trying to find the most appropriate way to transcribe these notes, one often has the feeling that they could be transcribed in many different, equally legitimate ways, and that the version that is presented to the reader in the printed text is just one of the many possible versions. This said, one should also remember that in 1929 Eisenstein had already formulated the idea of organizing his writings on montage in the form of a "spherical book," an obviously impossible project which he nevertheless considered as a way of thinking about how one could overcome the limitations of the traditional book format and of linear, sequential writing. The editors believe, therefore, that the nonlinear way in which the notes published in this volume were originally laid out on paper is not only the result of the specific, contingent situations in which they were written, but also one of the many traces, in Eisenstein's theoretical oeuvre, of the attempt to overcome the limitations of linear writing and thinking.

Finally, the editors had to deal with the fact that Eisenstein often discusses the same themes in different texts, creating a complex web of repetitions, overlappings, and variations. In order to help the reader navigate all the implicit intertextual references that Eisenstein constantly makes to his own texts, the editors have chosen to indicate in the footnotes whenever a specific theme or a specific example that is mentioned in the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* is further developed in other texts by Eisenstein.

The following abbreviations have been used in order to refer to the following two editions of Eisenstein's texts in Russian and English:

IP (followed by the volume number) for Sergei M. Eizenshtein, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v shesti tomakh*, 6 vols. (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1964-1971)

SW (followed by the volume number) for Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works*, ed. Richard Taylor, 4 vols. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010)

Foreword

Naum Kleiman

In 1997, on the eve of Eisenstein's centenary, Aleksandr Troshin, Nina Dymshits, and I were selecting materials for the anniversary issue of the journal *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*.[1] Among the many still unpublished texts by Eisenstein we found drafts dating from 1947 to early 1948, which were connected to the plan of activities for the newly established Cinema Section of the Institute of Art History of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

It would not be fair to say that we hadn't known about the existence of these notes before. The first time they caught the eyes of Leonid Kozlov and I was at the very end of the 1950s or at the beginning of the 1960s, when most of the archive was at Pera Atasheva's house on Gogolevskii Boulevard. We were working on the six-volume edition of Eisenstein's selected works at the time.[2] Pera Atasheva headed the process of looking through and selecting for typing those unpublished texts, which had a chance to pass through the scrutiny of the publisher's editorial board. Scattered pages with lists of names and dates, somehow connected to the history of cinema, were perceived as a not very significant part of Eisenstein's manuscripts, especially compared to his yet unpublished treatises. Besides, the deciphering of this hurried, almost "automatic" writing in a mix of four languages (Russian, English, German, French) presented a serious textological task. So the pages were put away, along with a multitude of other drafts, waiting for better times.

The situation almost repeated three decades later. Even the double volume 36/37 of *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, dedicated to Eisenstein's centenary,[3] could not accommodate all archival materials. Among the manuscripts waiting for publication remained his topical journalistic articles and critical prognoses; his interviews abroad with self-commentary to films, projects, and ideas still hadn't been translated into Russian; chapters of theoretical works that had been cut by censors or editors were still "shelved"; letters, so important for Eisenstein's biography and for understanding of his personality, were begging to be printed.

At the same time, the importance of these surfaced notes for the history of cinema was evident. Besides, three separate notes from this series, entitled "Revelation in Storm and Thunder," had already been published in *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, vol. 15 (1992),[4] dedicated to sound in cinema. Another three notes ("Heir,"

"Soviet Cinema as Offspring of Russian Culture," and "Towards the History of Silent Cinema") were published in vol. 28 (1995),[5] within the context of the centenary of cinema's invention. In vol. 36/37 (1997/1998) we decided to publish two more fragments: "The Plan for the Work of the Cinema Section" and "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of Art."[6] We decided to postpone the publication of the rest of the notes again, justifying this decision by the difficulty of deciphering the fragments. I remember, however, that Aleksandr Troshin, with his characteristic sensitivity to a manuscript's potential and with the severity of a born publisher, said: "We have to publish them in the future. By all means. Spare no time and effort: these pages are a treasure!"

In that moment I could not imagine that this effort would be dedicated to Aleksandr Troshin's memory and that it would be published in the anniversary 100th volume of *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*.[7]

When, after Pera Attasheva's death the manuscripts were transferred to the Central State Archive for Literature and Art of the USSR (TsGALI, now the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art [RGALI]), the notes written between June 26, 1947, and January 30, 1948, comprised eight folders in the inventory n.2. The notes that referred to the same topic, but were dated 1944-1946 ended up in other folders (more on them later). The archivist Galina Endzina combined these eight folders under the title "The History of Soviet Cinema."

It is true that the officially approved plan of the Cinema Section of the Institute of Art History of the USSR Academy of Sciences had established the project of a collectively written history of *Soviet* cinema, and the largest part of the notes refers to it. But, as it was always the case with Eisenstein, his scientific curiosity, his unbounded erudition and unrestrained imagination could not fit into the Procrustean bed of the "state plan." Parallel to the "History of Soviet Cinema" he began to discern the outlines of a "*General* History of Cinema." This was to become not just an introductory volume, as he had thought at first, but an independent work, which called for an overview of the many centuries of the development of world culture (including science, technology, and the arts) and at the same time demanded taking into account the laws of human perception. Only the study of these two "sides" as a unified whole, according to Eisenstein, would be able to explain the "genetic code" of cinema, the development of its means of expressions, and at the same time to account for the expectations and abilities of the audience.

This twofold approach to cinema – historical-dialectical, at once objective and subjective, anthropological and phenomenological (as not just to art, but to the way of perceiving the world) – explains, it seems to me, the meaning of the epithet chosen by Eisenstein for the title of his history.

In other words, the maximally broad epithet *general* [*vseobshchaia*] stems nor from the "cinema centrism" of Eisenstein's youth, neither from his 1930s fascination with cinematic "totality" (cf. his article "Pride"),[8] and least of all from the

ideological "totalitarianism," which some weak-sighted critics have ascribed to him.

The English "*general* history" only partially covers this meaning. And the name of Georges Sadoul's multivolume work *Histoire générale du cinéma*[9] reflects rather the *global*, *worldwide* character of the material included in it: films of all countries and periods of the twentieth century. Of course, the first volume, with which Eisenstein was well-acquainted, begins with the prehistory of cinema, with the technical inventions and discoveries that had prepared the birth of the Lumière's brainchild. This material has similarities with some of the examples in Eisenstein's "Notes." However, the panorama that the historian draws is radically different from the methodology followed by the director-theoretician.

It seems that for Eisenstein there were no boundaries whatsoever in this project between cinema and the other arts, between science, art, technology, and human psychology; between ancient and present times, and least of all between different countries and cultures, East and West, ideologies and beliefs.

We have to remember that in the USSR the time when these notes were written is the dark era of the "struggle against cosmopolitanism and formalism,"[10] the era of the state-endorsed xenophobia and of the "sterilization" of art. This era was not simply hostile to, but mortally dangerous for an author of such a project. It is unlikely that Eisenstein reported at the Cinema Section's meetings about his "untimely" enterprise. But there is no doubt that he realized its topicality within the "great time" [*bol'shoe vremja*], to use a term from Mikhail Bakhtin,[11] who was at the exact same time writing the "hopeless" book on Rabelais.

As always with Eisenstein, however, the naturally conceived idea was above all dangers. In his mature age he overcame his earlier search for "cinematism" in other arts: those qualities and potentialities that had been gradually preparing the invention and the poetics of cinema. He already understood the need for a deeper understanding of the ontology and anthropology of cinema, just like André Bazin, who was reflecting on *what is cinema* at the same time and who "unexpectedly" has many things in common with the later Eisenstein. In the same way today we find, *post mortem*, that he has things in common with Walter Benjamin, Pavel Florensky, Aby Warburg, and other newly found prophets of modernity, which used to seem in opposition or simply alien to Eisenstein.

Moreover, cinema itself was not the "final stop" of the progress of art for Eisenstein anymore. He noticed the emerging television and reflected on its place, its function, its aesthetic potential and claims, and on its influence on the "good old" cinema. Cybernetics was still in its making, and the internet wasn't even in the plans, but the need to interpret that which would later be termed mass media was already emerging, and the enormity of the new development of culture was already felt. The premonition of this qualitatively new phenomenon did not alert, but rather intrigued Eisenstein as a theoretician, as a practitioner, and a historian of cinema.

Eisenstein's self-realization as a *long-time historian* of the new art happened, it seems naturally, in the same period when the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences appointed him head of the Cinema Section. The diary entry of June 25, 1947, recorded that moment. Eisenstein describes in it "the awareness that I have, for already many years, been writing history *such as** it appears to me. Almost all of my essays on cinema involve some historical excursus. [...] And I have become a historian of the *One Thousand and One Night* of the possibilities of cinema."[12]

The entry from June 30 continues this train of thought:

"Essentially, almost everything that I have written during the last years (already since 1929, on Japanese hieroglyphs) is *in a certain basic way** not only the theory, but also the history of the issues that interest me: *theory being history*,* compressed in the conception of the phases."[13]

Indeed, the genesis of cinema as an art form interested Eisenstein since the very first years of his artistic career. In the "genetic code" of the Tenth Muse he searched not for the specificity that many "pioneers" sought at the time, but rather for the justification of its legitimacy. This position serves as the basis of the term "cinematism" invented for the cinematic potentials of the "older" arts that had been historically developing "toward cinema" and had been preparing its birth.

Still, when a long time ago I read the lines about the sudden "awareness" of the nature of his dabbling in cinema history, to be honest, I interpreted them as an unconscious attempt by Eisenstein to justify to himself the rightness of the move into an academic institute – in the context of the period when the second part of *Ivan the Terrible* had been banned by Stalin and no prospects of further work in cinema seemed to be in sight.

A recent discovery has made me seriously modify this assumption.

The manuscript collection of the Museum of Cinema received the archive of the film scholar Nikolai Alekseevich Lebedev. Among his papers there was a folder with previously unknown notes on the history of cinema written by Eisenstein. There is a possibility, of course, that Lebedev had received these notes directly from Eisenstein, since he had been among the members of the new section as one of the authors of the future History of Soviet Cinema. It is more probable, however, that the historian decided to acquaint himself with Eisenstein's notes that he had taken from the archive, which Pera Atasheva had initially submitted to the Cabinet of Film Studies at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography (VGIK).

The earliest of these notes, dated July 27, 1945, reads: "The Institute of Art History (the Cinema Section). *History of Cinema* (estimated work till the end of life)."[14]

It seems then, that the idea of the organization of the Cinema Section in the Institute headed by the painter and art historian Igor Grabar', as well as the plan

of writing the multivolume book on which Eisenstein was ready to work "till the end of life," were not born in the situation of the ban of the second part of *Ivan the Terrible*. Instead, they were born in the time of more than auspicious reception of the first part, and, most importantly, in the period (in the context, the situation) of the hopes brought about by the victory in the war. They were born as a natural manifestation of Eisenstein's true historicism.

List 3 of the same note delineates the main guideline of the future history:

> Cinema *as such.**
> Silent cinema is the completed cycle of following its own principles. What was done and realized by it.
> The limits it reached (intellectual cinema).
> "The fundamental" history of cinema as the history of *cinematographic principles and ideas*, not a portrait hall of characters.
> To establish its general *trend** from the beginning to the end.
> *Le Grand désarroi** [In French: *The great disarray*] at the coming of sound.
> The period of "reaction" (*y compris Jeannot** [in French: *including Jeannot*]).[15]
> *Neuaufbau as Aussicht und Ausblick par excellence** [In German and French: The new construction, essentially, as a view towards the future and as a perspective].[16]

The draft of the subject area for this "fundamental" history made on the same day is a direct precursor of the detailed plans of the "general" history of cinema from 1947.[17]

These plans have waited patiently for us to turn our attention to them. The new edition of Eisenstein's fundamental texts, textologically approximating the authorial intent as far as it is possible, made us direct our attention to the notes for the history of cinema. It has become evident that the hot lava of these drafts erupted from the same depths where ideas, examples, and associations of the unfinished books *Metod*, *Nonindifferent Nature*, and *Memoirs* were being fused. These were the drafts of one more segment of the "spherical book"[18] that he had conceived long ago and had been working on for years.

The notes for the *General History of Cinema* published here can become an incentive for a series of investigations, and form a field for research both for scholars working in the sphere of art history and of film and media studies, as well as for artists working with various media. They will not have to agree with their by now "classic" author: his hypotheses can be refuted, his guesses can be contested, and new conclusions can be suggested. The phenomenon of Eisenstein lies precisely in his ability to broaden and develop – even when he is used for constructive polemics or when unforeseen aspects are introduced into his theory. The evidence of this is the present volume.

Cinema as "Dynamic Mummification," History as Montage: Eisenstein's Media Archaeology

Antonio Somaini

Eisenstein worked on the project for a "general history of cinema" during a phase of his life that he considered as a sort of "postscript"[1] following the severe heart attack he had suffered in February 1946. Having barely survived and being now forced to lead the much quieter lifestyle of a patient at risk, he felt the need to look back in order to understand who he had been and what he had become. This was the goal he pursued writing his *Memoirs*, a free arrangement of texts born out of a series of *flâneries* through his own past and intended as a sort of personal genealogy, presenting different stations of the path that had led from a bourgeois childhood in Riga all the way to the troubled years of the direction of *Ivan the Terrible* (1942-1946). A similar genealogical approach lies at the basis of the project for a "general history of cinema": if the aim of the *Memoirs* was to show the reader "how to become an Eisenstein,"[2] as one of his students at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography (VGIK) had once asked him, the aim of this "general history" was to understand how cinema had come to be what it was in the Soviet Union of the 1940s and in Eisenstein's own cinema, in order to better understand where it was headed.

The notes gathered in the six texts published in this volume ("The Heir," "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," "Revelation in Storm and Thunder," "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," "Pioneers and Innovators," often referred to in general as the *Notes*[3]) show clearly, even in their fragmentary state, the wide scope of this ambitious project which was destined once more – as happened to *all* of Eisenstein's book projects – to remain unfinished. Initially planned as an introductory volume to a collectively written, multivolume history of Soviet cinema Eisenstein was supposed to supervise after having been appointed in June 1947 to be head of the Cinema Section of the Institute of Art

History of the USSR Academy of Sciences,[4] the project quickly developed beyond the boundaries of an introductory volume, and this "general" or "universal" (two possible translations of the Russian *vseobshchaia*) history turned into an independent work characterized by the same drifts toward endless development, the same oscillations between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies, that are typical of most of Eisenstein's theoretical writings.[5]

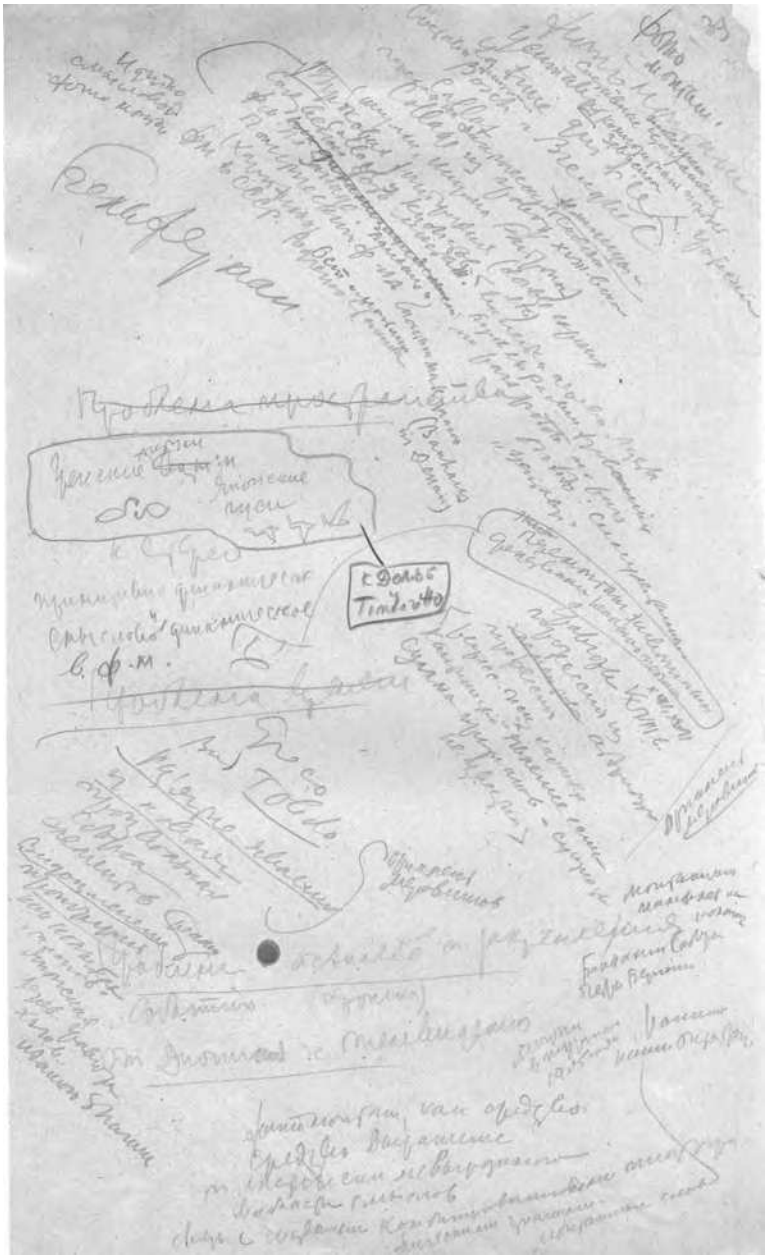
After having investigated, since the end of the 1920s, the relationships between cinema and the history of the arts, Eisenstein tried to establish in the *Notes* a vast, double genealogy, organized into different meandering "lines" (*linii*).[6] On the one hand, the genealogy of "cinema's expressive means" (*vyrazitelnye sredstva kino*), that is, the history of all the media and all the forms of representation that had explored, *before cinema*, the same "expressive means" that cinema would later employ: the recording of images onto a light-sensitive surface, the composition of forms within a frame, the projection of images onto a screen, as well as all the possible forms of visual, audiovisual, and chromatic montage. On the other hand, the genealogy of all the media and all the forms of representation which had been invented, once more *before cinema*, in order to respond to the same "urges" (Eisenstein alternates this English term with the German "*Trieb*," "drive") to which cinema had responded: in particular, the "urge to record phenomena,"[7] that is, to register, preserve, and reproduce a variety of phenomena which would otherwise be destined to disappear with the passing of time.

Rather than a history of cinema conceived as a "portrait hall of characters" (*portretnaia galereia personazhei*)[8] – a history centered on authors and works, directors and films – Eisenstein chose to construct his "general history" as a vast genealogy of all the "forerunners" of which cinema could be considered as the "heir,"[9] searching for these "forerunners" in the history of the arts (drawing, painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, theater, music), the history of popular forms of entertainment (fairground shows and Grand Guignol theater, cabaret and circus), the history of displays and exhibitions (*Kunstkammern* and *cabinets de curiosités*, wax museums and world exhibitions), as well as the history of funerary practices and religious rituals (Egyptian mummies and Roman death masks, Dionysian cults and Catholic processions). Entire sections of the *Notes* are then dedicated to finding the "forerunners" of cinema in the history not only of visual media (camera obscura, magic lanterns, microscope, panoramas, and dioramas) but also of other media such as the typewriter, the microphone, the phonograph, and the radio, highlighting the idea that cinema as a form of representation and as an audiovisual medium can be fully understood only within a broad history of techniques, devices, and *dispositifs*.

The double, meandering genealogy that we find in the *Notes* sharply distinguishes Eisenstein's "general history" from other histories of cinema written during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s such as Léon Moussinac's *Naissance du cinéma* (1925), Terry Ramsaye's *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture*

through 1925 (1926), Bardèche's and Brasillach's *Histoire du cinéma* (1935, 1943), Lewis Jacobs's *The Rise of the American Film* (1939), and even Sadoul's *Histoire générale du cinéma*, whose first two volumes (*L'Invention du cinéma, 1832-1897* and *Les Pionniers du cinéma, 1897-1909*) came out while Eisenstein was working on his *Notes*, and from which Eisenstein probably derived the title of his own project.[10] Judging from what we find in the six texts published in this volume, Eisenstein's "general history" was not centered around film directors and films and was not supposed to be organized according to a linear, continuous, chronological order. Instead, he chose to develop a vast, loose genealogy made of unexpected connections between temporally distant phenomena, and to search for all the ruptures and the "revolutionary leaps" introduced by those whom Eisenstein considered as the "pioneers" and the "innovators" in a centuries-long history of representational forms, media, and techniques.[11] Furthermore, this "general history" was not conceived as a teleologically oriented process leading from some clearly identified origins (be it Edison's discovery of the kinetoscope, or the first public projection of the Lumières' *cinématographe*) to the gradual but inevitable affirmation of a single, guiding aesthetic principle (be it "realism," "narrative form," or the full mastery of a supposed "film language"): on the contrary, Eisenstein mentions several possible, distant origins or "cradles" of cinema and follows through history the various, interwoven "lines" that take zigzag paths from these multiple origins to the present, showing how cinema should be conceived of as a medium with many roots and many possible future developments. In fact, even though Eisenstein insists repeatedly on the idea that cinema is the "heir" and the "synthesis of the arts," he did not consider the cinema of his own times to be a final stage of development of the history of the arts. On the contrary, he believed that cinema was a medium in constant development, never reaching a final, fixed stage, and various passages of the *Notes* open up to a still unexplored future by highlighting the potential of the most recent technical developments of the cinematic *dispositif*: color film, stereoscopy, and even television, which Eisenstein considered to be a further stage of his "general history of cinema."[12]

Writing from the vantage point of a film director and film theorist who considered cinema the "most perfect apparatus [*apparat*] for research and assessment of the aesthetic principles of art,"[13] "a magnifying glass, through which the method of each of [the arts] is visible,"[14] Eisenstein used as a guiding theoretical and historiographic principle the same process whose forms and whose artistic and epistemic potential he had investigated in most of his previous writings: the process of *montage*, which in the *Notes* is interpreted as a tool for disassembling and reassembling the flow of historical phenomena in order to produce connections, sequences, and constellations capable of revealing morphological analogies between apparently heterogeneous forms that are distant from one another in time and space.



Ill. 1 – A handwritten page from the notes entitled “Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema”

Handwritten in the form of multilingual notes (the prevailing Russian is interspersed with terms and phrases in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Latin) which are arranged in vertical and diagonal sequences of historical examples, with a constant mix of words and drawings, lists and diagrams (see Ill. 1), the *Notes* presented in this volume are at once a synthesis of Eisenstein's previous writings, and the opening toward new, unexpected directions in his theoretical reflections. The use of montage as a heuristic and hermeneutic strategy in order to find and compare phenomena belonging to different cultural and historical traditions, which constitutes a defining trait of most of Eisenstein's texts since the end of the 1920s, reaches here an unprecedented level of complexity. Moving freely forward and backward in time, using montage as a writing style capable of establishing *anachronic* connections and sequences that do not follow any linear chronology, Eisenstein invites the reader to conceive cinema as a form of "dynamic mummification" related to Roman death masks and Egyptian mummies; to consider early documentary "cine-chronicles" in relationship to body tattoos and wax museums; to see in the colored light that flows through the stained glass windows into the nave of medieval Gothic cathedrals a precursor of the floating images of stereoscopic cinema; finally, to interpret television as a medium that allows a direct participation in historical events which finds its origins in the reenactments of the life, death, and rebirth of Dionysus that were staged in the Dionysian mysteries. Such "unexpected junctures" – to quote the title of a 1928 essay in which Eisenstein had highlighted a whole series of analogies between the future of Soviet sound cinema and the ancient tradition of Japanese Kabuki theater[15] – appear throughout all the genealogical lines traced by Eisenstein in the *Notes*. For him, they were the only way to discover and analyze the various "recurrences"[16] in a history of images and media that had to be approached with a gaze that was at once a "retrospect" (*Rückblick*) and a "prospect" (*Ausblick*).[17]

In the following pages I will try to underline some of the central ideas of this "general history of cinema," while at the same time locating this project in the context of the rest of Eisenstein's oeuvre (films, film projects, writings, drawings) and in the context of other attempts, during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, to reflect on the relationships between cinema, time, and history.

Section 1 (Cinema, Montage, and the "Vertical Column of History") argues that the montage-based approach to history writing that we find in the *Notes* might have been influenced by Eisenstein's experience as a film director working on several occasions on historical films. A special attention is dedicated here to films and film projects such as *The General Line* (1926-1929), *Que Viva Mexico!* (1930-1932) and *Moscow 800* (1947), since they all deal with the problem of how to use montage to portray historical processes that are characterized by the coexistence of several different historical layers.

Section 2 (Theory, History, Creation: "A Flash in Slow Motion through Centuries of Evolution") focuses on two diary entries written by Eisenstein in the summer of 1947 in which we find elements very important for understanding how he considered the project of a "general history of cinema" to be closely connected to his creative activity as a film director and to his theoretical writings. In one of these two diary entries Eisenstein presents himself as "the historian of the *One Thousand and One Nights* of the possibilities of cinema," highlighting the open and unconventional nature of his "general history."

Section 3 ("Heir" and "Synthesis": The "Place of Cinema" in the History of the Arts) discusses the passages of the *Notes* in which Eisenstein presents cinema as "heir" and "synthesis of the arts." This idea of cinema as "synthesis of the arts" is here analyzed through a reconstruction of the various meanings and connotations that the notion of "synthesis" takes on in Eisenstein's previous writings.

Section 4 (Cinema's "Forerunners": "The History of Cinema's Expressive Means" and "The Route to the Chronicle") provides a schematic presentation of the two main genealogical lines traced by Eisenstein in the *Notes:* the one reconstructing the way that cinema's "expressive means" have appeared in the history of the arts, and the one reconstructing the various media and forms of representation that have responded to the same "urge to record phenomena" to which cinema has responded.

Section 5 (The Psychological and Anthropological Foundations of Eisenstein's "General History": The "*Urphänomen* of Cinema," the "Formula of Pathos" (Eisenstein and Warburg), and the "Urge to Record Phenomena") shows how in the *Notes* Eisenstein looks for psychological and anthropological principles capable of explaining the historical appearance of cinema and the genealogy of its "forerunners." The "urge to record phenomena" that we find in the *Notes* is here compared with the "*Urphänomen* of cinema" mentioned in *Montage* and with the "formula of pathos" that Eisenstein introduces in *Nonindifferent Nature*, a notion which presents significant analogies with Aby Warburg's *Pathosformeln*.

Section 6 ("Urge" and "*Instinkt*," "Dynamic Mummification" and "*Momie du changement*": Eisenstein, Bazin, Kracauer) discusses a number of "unexpected junctures" between the *Notes* and the writings of Bazin and Kracauer. The "urge to record phenomena" is here compared with the "instincts" and "fundamental impulses" mentioned by Kracauer in the "Marseiller Entwurf" (1940), one of the preparatory stages of his later *Theory of Film* (1960).[18] Eisenstein's idea of cinema as "dynamic mummification" is then compared with Bazin's statement (in "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," 1945) that cinema has to be considered a medium capable of embalming time: a "*momie du changement*," or "change mummified."[19]

Section 7 ("*Rückblick*" and "*Ausblick*," "Fore-history" and "After-history": Eisenstein and Benjamin) argues that Eisenstein's attempt to construct his "general history of cinema" through an anachronic montage of examples taken from very

different historical and cultural contexts presents significant analogies with Benjamin's attempt, in the *Arcades Project*, "to carry over the principle of montage into history." In both cases, historical phenomena are always considered in relation to their "fore-" and "after-history."

Section 8 (The Spherical Book and the Atlas: History as Cartography) shows how the project of a "general history of cinema" was accompanied by an attempt to completely rethink the traditional book format, and by a use of drawing as a cartographic tool capable of visualizing different phases of historical development within the rectangular space of the page.

Section 9 ("An Excursion into the Future": "From Dionysus to Television"), finally, presents Eisenstein's views on television as a form of representation that is part of a long genealogical line that has its roots in Dionysian rites, and shows how his "general history" is characterized by an opening toward the future developments of cinema and of audiovisual media.

As I would like to show throughout the nine sections of this text, Eisenstein's project for a "general history of cinema" – although clearly rooted in the context of the rest of Eisenstein's oeuvre, in the political and ideological context of the Soviet Union of the second half of the 1940s, and in the history of film theories of the first half of the twentieth century – can also be read with a whole series of issues that are at the center of contemporary film and media theory in mind.

The way Eisenstein treats cinema as a dynamic, evolving set of "expressive means" and "possibilities" may be considered in the light of contemporary discussions on the past and present status of cinema as a medium and as a *dispositif* in a rapidly changing media landscape.[20] Judging from what we read in the *Notes* and in previous texts, Eisenstein never believed that cinema had reached a final, fixed stage of development. On the contrary, both in his films and in his theoretical writings, he always tried to explore and understand the new possibilities, in terms of montage, introduced by the technical development of the various parts of the cinematic *dispositif*: the 28 mm lens he used for the first time in *The General Line*, the arrival of sound cinema, the new screen formats, the first experiments in stereoscopic cinema and, as we have already seen, television, which he considered a development of cinema that allowed new forms of montage and a live, continuous participation in the unfolding of historical events.

His constant attempt to highlight the connections between cinema, other media and other arts, and his conviction that montage was a compositional process whose traces could be found throughout the history of the arts, may be analyzed in connection to contemporary notions in film and media theory such as *medium specificity*, *intermediality*, *remediation*, and *relocation*.[21] With these notions in mind, one can read the *Notes* and come to the conclusion that Eisenstein never theorized cinema's medium specificity, but rather always considered cinema in an interme-

dial perspective, as a medium remediating previous media and relocating previous forms of spectatorial experience.

The idea of presenting cinema as both "synthesis" of the history of the arts which preceded it, and as an "heir" in which the other arts survive as if they were "embedded" in it, can be considered in relation to contemporary studies concerning the "anachronic" nature of media, images, and works of art. Considered in this perspective, Eisenstein's decision to use "anachronic montage" to construct his "general history of cinema" may be seen as a way of highlighting the various layers of cinema's "plural temporality."[22]

Eisenstein's search for the "urges" and the "*Triebe*" that have determined the appearance of cinema within the *longue durée* of a history of media that have responded to the same fundamental needs may be compared with contemporary attempts to establish an anthropology of images and media.[23] The several references that we find in the *Notes* to the roles that images play in funerary practices and religious rituals, staged reenactments and acts of commemoration, are a clear sign of Eisenstein's intention to approach cinema's history from an anthropological perspective.

The way Eisenstein, who in his youth had published two essays on the "montage of attractions" praising the value of the traditions of circus and music hall,[24] lists in the *Notes* "boulevard attractions" together with a whole series of other forms of popular entertainment ("boulevard melodrama," funambulists and ventriloquists, Barnum's circus and Grand Guignol theater, fairy-tale plays and light shows) as "the fairground *forerunners* of cinema in battle with 'higher forms' of spectacle,"[25] can be compared with the way the founders of the so-called "New Film History" have studied "early cinema" or early "kinematography," a period which has also been defined as the "cinema of attractions."[26] This "historical turn" in film studies – initiated by the landmark 1978 FIAF[27] congress in Brighton, which hosted a symposium entitled "Cinema 1900-1906" – can also be related to Eisenstein's attempt to identify the various coexisting "cultural series"[28] with which cinema has been connected since its origins, as well as to his rejection of the linear, continuous, chronological models of history writing that characterize most of the histories of cinema that precede the *Notes*.[29] Read in this perspective, Eisenstein's "general history of cinema" shows how *already in the 1940s* a different, intermedial, nonlinear approach to the history of cinema was possible: an approach that combined history and theory and that was well aware that writing a history of cinema implied a reflection on what it means to write history *in general*.

Finally, Eisenstein's attempt to understand the future of stereoscopic cinema and television (the "new media" of the 1940s) through the rediscovery of a "deep time of the media"[30] which is situated far back in history, highlighting "the new in the old, and the old in the new," can be considered in relation to the research field that has recently developed with the name of "media archaeology."[31] As it

has been written, this research perspective invites us to consider media history as "an archaeology of possible futures and of the perpetual presence of several pasts,"[32] and this, it seems to me, is exactly what we find in Eisenstein's "general history": a history of the "possible futures" and the "several pasts" of cinema that, as we will now see, can be considered a form of media archaeology also because it is based on an "archaeological" understanding of culture as the coexistence of various different historical "layers."

1. Cinema, Montage, and the "Vertical Column of History"

The project for a "general history of cinema" was conceived by a film director whose films – whether fully completed, begun but unfinished, or simply planned – dealt largely with events belonging to Russian and Soviet history.[33] *Strike* (1924) and *Battleship Potëmkin* (1925) showed events leading to the October Revolution, which was directly portrayed in *October* (1928). *Bezhin Meadow* (1935-1937) and *The General Line* (later renamed *Old and New*) (1926-1929) represented the social conflicts accompanying the deployment of collective farming policies in the Soviet Union. *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) and *Ivan the Terrible* (1942-1946) focused on two legendary figures of Russian history, while the unrealized projects *Moscow in time* (1933-1934), *The Great Fergana Canal* (1939) and *Moscow 800* (1947) were conceived as large historical *frescoes* spanning through centuries and portraying a series of crucial historical turning points that had led to the glorious present of the Soviet Union. Other films and film projects dealt instead with the history of revolutionary events throughout the world: *Black Majesty* and *The Black Consul* (both 1930-1931) dealt with the Haitian Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century and with the historical figures of the revolutionary leaders Henri Christophe and Toussaint Louverture; *Que Viva Mexico!* (1930-1932), finally – which Eisenstein never had a chance to complete because the rushes were kept in the United States and never sent to Moscow by the American writer Upton Sinclair, who had financed the project – was supposed to present a spatio-temporal itinerary throughout Mexican history and culture.

What impact did all these historical films and film projects have on Eisenstein's idea of history? What lessons did he derive from them when the time came to write the "general history" of the medium he had been working with since *Glumov's Diary*, the short film which he had included in the 1923 theater production of *The Wise Man*?

On the one hand, working on films such as *Battleship Potëmkin* and *October* had led Eisenstein to understand how cinema could contribute to the production of a powerful, epic vision of history and to the construction of a widely shared collective memory. In the *Notes* Eisenstein considers these films as belonging to the specifically Soviet genre of the "cine-chronicle" (*kino-khronika*), a way of documenting and narrating history through cinema which could be fully understood

only within the wider context of a history of all the forms of historical "chronicle" (*khronika*), especially those based on spectacular restaging and symbolic reenactment.

On the other hand, films and film projects such as *Que Viva Mexico!*, *Moscow in Time*, *The Great Fergana Canal*, and *Moscow 800* showed Eisenstein how montage in all its forms (visual, audiovisual, chromatic) could be considered as a powerful tool for portraying the different "shifts" that characterized historical processes unfolding through long spans of time: the history of Mexican culture from the pre-Columbian civilizations to the new, postrevolutionary Mexico of the 1920s, the centuries-long struggle of the Uzbeks with the problem of the supply of water, and the 800 years of the glorious capital of the Soviet Union. In a chapter of *Metod* entitled "Diffused Perception," Eisenstein states that what renders a work of art emotionally powerful is the capacity to host within itself a number of "shifts" (*sdvig*) between different historical layers.[34] In a film project like *Moscow 800* this idea was carried out in the representation of the different "shifts" of the centuries-long history of Moscow through a chromatic montage capable of weaving together different epochs according to what Eisenstein defines, in English, as a "jumping chronology": a way of organizing the sequences of the film according to thematic recurrences rather than linear chronologies.[35]

In this perspective, the work on *Que Viva Mexico!* during the months spent in Mexico between December 1930 and February 1932 plays a particular important role.[36] According to what we read in various texts, Eisenstein returned, during the 1930s and 1940s, to his beloved but unfinished Mexican film, the trait of Mexican culture that had most struck him was the fact that in Mexico "history had been replaced by [...] geography" in such a way that traveling throughout the various regions of that country one had the impression of traveling "in time, across centuries of history."[37] This same idea can be found in a passage of *Montage*, in which Eisenstein explains how the structure of *Que Viva Mexico!* – its division into a prologue, four "novellas" (entitled *Sandunga*, *Fiesta*, *Maguey*, *Soldadera*) and an epilogue – was based on a *spatial vision of history*, as if "the vertical column of history" (which Eisenstein imagines here as something like Trajan's column, which he mentions in the 1930 conference "The Dynamic Square"[38]) had been unfolded and spread out "like a fan" across the various regions of Mexico:

> The chain of novellas was held together by a set of linking ideas, proceeding in a historically based sequence, but not so much by chronological epochs as by geographical zones. For the culture of Mexico of any one epoch from the vertical column of history seems to be like a fan spread across the surface of the land. Various parts of Mexico have retained the cultural and social features which characterised the country as a whole at certain stages of its historical development. When you travel from Yucatan to tropical Tehuantepec, from the tropics to the central plateau, to the civil war battlefields in the north or to

> the completely modern Mexico City, you seem not to be travelling in space but in time.[39]

Eisenstein had already experienced a journey through space that was simultaneously a journey through time during the second half of the 1920s, when he was working on the film *The General Line*. As we read in the article "The Five Epochs," published in *Pravda* on July 6, 1926,[40] the condition of the Russian countryside that Eisenstein had encountered while working at a film which was supposed to celebrate the process of collectivization and mechanization of agriculture reminded him of what Lenin had written about the condition of *mnogoukladnost'*: the coexistence of "several" (*mnogo*) different social and economical "regimes" (*uklad*) stemming from different historical stratifications that according to Lenin characterized Russian society just after the October revolution. Here is how Lenin names the five different "socioeconomic structures" that according to him one could find scattered across the Russian territory:

Let us enumerate these elements:
1. patriarchal, i.e., to a considerable extent natural, peasant farming;
2. small commodity production (this includes the majority of those peasants who sell their grain);
3. private capitalism;
4. state capitalism;
5. socialism.[41]

Even though in his article on *Pravda* Eisenstein quotes Lenin's notion of *mnogoukladnost'*, his attitude toward the fragmented condition of the Russian countryside was different. Lenin believed that the condition of *mnogoukladnost'* had to be replaced in revolutionary Russia by a new, homogeneous social order, while Eisenstein was convinced that the representation of the problematic coexistence of different social regimes in the Russian countryside could have enhanced the pathos of the story narrated in *The General Line*: as he proudly writes in *Pravda*, "we construct in all the five epochs at the same time."

In his article, Eisenstein mentions a specific filmic example of such a construction in different epochs "at the same time": Buster Keaton's film *Three Ages* (1923), which had been conceived as a parody of Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916). In both cases, a series of events unfolding in different historical periods were woven together in order to emphasize the suprahistorical nature of certain deeply rooted human behaviors. In Griffith's film the fall of the Babylonian Empire to Persia in 539 BC, Christ's Passion, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572 and a drama of crime and redemption in the United States of the 1910s were woven together like a grandiose historical *fresco* in order to show how a same attitude, intolerance, had manifested itself throughout history. In Buster Keaton's parody,

three historical periods are intercut (prehistoric times, ancient Rome, the 1920s), and the general theme that is followed through history is men's love for women. Buster Keaton's *Three Ages*, with its explicit reference to Griffith, seemed to Eisenstein to be a possible reference point for a film like *The General Line* which tried to portray the "five epochs" that Lenin had distinguished in Russian society at the times of the October Revolution. As Eisenstein writes in the article "The Five Epochs": "In our movie theaters has circulated the American film *Three Ages*. All woven in one. And this is silly. In dealing with the problem of agriculture, we have the 'five epochs' of Lenin. All woven in one. And this is grandiose."[42]

Five years after beginning to work on *The General Line*, Eisenstein found himself dealing with another kind of *mnogoukladnost'*, the one that could be found while traveling across Mexico. The problem was now that of weaving together the different historical layers of a culture in which the traces of the pre-Columbian civilizations (Olmec, Maya, Aztec), the Catholicism imposed by the Spanish *conquistadores*, the regime of Porfirio Diaz (the "Porfiriato," 1876-1910), and the Civil War (1910-1920), coexisted across the various regions of Mexico, giving place to various forms of cultural and iconographic montage. Traveling through space and time across such a stratified cultural landscape, Eisenstein conceived *Que Viva Mexico!* both as "travelogue" and as "cine-chronicle," two forms which will be mentioned repeatedly in the *Notes*. It was to be a "travelogue" and a "cine-chronicle" which used *montage* – not only the *filmic* montage that Eisenstein was planning for the editing of *Que Viva Mexico!*, but also the free, instinctual, *graphic* montage that he was experimenting in the hundreds of drawings produced during his travels through Mexico – in order to play with the different elements of a culture which seemed to be itself the result of a long process of montage.

Considered in this perspective, the Mexican journey appears to be a decisive turning point in Eisenstein's life and work:[43] a turning point whose consequences can be clearly felt in the late project for a "general history of cinema." Preceded by a period of six months spent in Paris (from November 1929 to May 1930) in which Eisenstein had already discovered – through the encounter with the circle of intellectuals, artists, art historians, and ethnologists that had gathered around the Surrealist magazine *Documents* (whose subtitle was *Doctrines, Archéologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie*) and its founder Georges Bataille[44] – how montage could be used in order to give place to a kind of cultural criticism which united art history and theory, archaeology and ethnology, the Mexican journey showed Eisenstein how montage could become a powerful historiographical tool. Just as Ernst Bloch, in his *Heritage of Our Times* (1935), had found in montage the only appropriate writing style in order to analyze the coexistence of various "noncontemporaneous" (*ungleichzeitig*) layers in the German society of the early 1930s,[45] Eisenstein found in montage the tool with which one could weave together the various historical layers of Mexican culture. All the theoretical writings and all the film projects that Eisenstein worked on after his return to Moscow in

1932 show the awareness that no form of filmic montage can be properly theorized nor put into practice without analyzing its position within a history of the arts which can be studied through montage itself: a montage which, in Eisenstein's texts, juxtaposes or organizes in sequences artistic examples taken from very different cultural and historical contexts in order to discover unexpected analogies and continuities among what seemed to be at first sight heterogeneous and disconnected.

The kind of *historiographical montage* that Eisenstein discovered while working on *Que Viva Mexico!* is widely used, as we will see, in the *Notes*, in which cinema is presented as the "heir" of a long history of media and forms of representation which are deployed in front of the eyes of the historian as if "the vertical column of history" had been "spread out like a fan."

There is another reason, though, why the Mexican journey can be considered as particularly important in order to understand the theoretical foundations of the *Notes*, and it has to do with the way in which Eisenstein considered his "general history of cinema" to be closely connected to his artistic practice. As we will see in the next paragraph, Eisenstein believed that all the historical strata that coexist in the present are accessible in the same way to the historian and to the artist, because both are capable of moving freely, up and down, across the different "layers" of culture and of consciousness. As Naum Kleiman explains in his commentary to the article "The Five Epochs," the *mnogoukladnost'* Eisenstein discovered in Mexico was not only the coexistence of different socioeconomic forms and different iconographical traditions in Mexican culture: it was also a "*mnogoukladnost'* of consciousness," the discovery that to the different "layers" of culture corresponded different layers of mental activity which were constantly present and which could be constantly be reactivated.[46]

Already in Paris, in the context of his readings connected to the idea of intellectual montage, Eisenstein had begun reading Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's *Les Fonctions mentales des sociétés inférieures* (1910), in which he had found not only an analysis of the forms of "prelogical thinking" that according to Lévy-Bruhl structured the "mental life" of "inferior societies," but also some observations on how such "prelogical" forms, rather than disappearing, continued to be present and active even in "civilized societies" in which the dominant ways of thinking were logical and rational. As Lévy-Bruhl writes, traces of "primitive mentality" could be found, "in more or less visible forms," in a series of behaviors such as "racial hatred," the emotional reactions to whatever is perceived as "foreign," as well as in a whole series of beliefs concerning life, death, and the nature of the soul.[47]

After his return to Moscow in 1932, Eisenstein continued this research on the nature and on the survival of "prelogical" forms of thinking within the context of the project for a book entitled *Metod*, whose central idea was that every artistic form in any media could gain emotional force by reactivating "lower," "earlier" strata of consciousness and culture.[48] In the only public presentation of the ideas

contained in *Metod*, the speech given to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers in January 1935, which is known with the title "Film Form: New Problems,"[49] Eisenstein tried to show how various examples of "sensuous" (*chuvstvennoe*), "prelogical" (*dologicheskoe*), or "protological" (*pralogicheskoe*) thinking derived from the "inner monologues" of children and the beliefs of the Bororo Indians, the language of the Bushmen studied by Wundt in his *Völkerpsychologie* (1900-1920) and that of the Klamath studied by Lévy-Bruhl, all the way up to the cases of mental regression caused by brain damage studied by Vygotsky and Luria, could provide powerful material for the construction of emotionally engaging artistic forms. The conclusion Eisenstein arrived at – a conclusion that would be harshly criticized by the participants in the conference[50] – was that every powerful artistic form had to involve some kind of "dialectic polarity" between "regression" and "progress":

> The dialectic of a work of art is constructed upon a most interesting "dyad." The effect of a work of art is built upon the fact that two processes are taking place within it simultaneously. There is a determined progressive ascent towards ideas at the highest peaks of consciousness and at the same time there is a penetration through the structure of form into the deepest layer of emotional thinking [*v sloi samogo glubinnogo chuvstvennogo myshleniia*]. The polarity between these two tendencies creates the remarkable tension of the unity of form and content that distinguishes genuine works. All genuine works possess it.[51]

As we will see in the next paragraph, this vision of the creative process as at the same time a "progressive ascent towards ideas at the highest peaks of consciousness" and "a penetration [...] into the deepest layers of emotional thinking" also informs Eisenstein's understanding of the nature of history writing. According to him the historian, just as the artist, had to be capable of "living simultaneously with all the strata" (*zhit' vsemi sloiami odnovremenno*), as Eisenstein writes in one of the chapters of *Metod*.[52]

Considered from this perspective, the passage from *Montage* in which Eisenstein explains how the different historical layers of Mexican culture coexisted with one another and seemed to be "like a fan spread across the surface of the land" can be compared with the famous archaeological metaphor that we find in Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1929). This metaphor occurs in a passage dedicated to "the more general problem of preservation in the sphere of the mind" and to the observation that "in mental life nothing which has once been formed can perish – that everything is somehow preserved and that in suitable circumstances (when, for instance, regression goes far back enough) it can once more be brought to light":

> Let us try to grasp what this assumption involves by taking an analogy from another field. We will choose as an example the history of the Eternal City. [...].
>
> Let us, by a flight of imagination, suppose that Rome is not a human habitation but a psychical entity with a similarly long and copious past – an entity, that is to say, in which nothing that has once come into existence will have passed away and all the earlier phases of development continue to exist alongside the latest one. This would mean that in Rome the palaces of the Caesars and the Septizonium of Septimius Severus would still be rising to their old height on the Palatine and that the castle of S. Angelo would still be carrying on its battlements the beautiful statues which graced it until the siege by the Goths, and so on. But more than this. In the place occupied by the Palazzo Caffarelli would once more stand – without the Palazzo having to be removed – the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; and this not only in its latest shape, as the Romans of the Empire saw it, but also in its earliest one, when it still showed Etruscan forms and was ornamented with terracotta antefixes. Where the Coliseum now stands we could at the same time admire Nero's vanished Golden House. On the Piazza of the Pantheon we should find not only the Pantheon of today, as it was bequeathed to us by Hadrian, but, on the same site, the original edifice erected by Agrippa; indeed, the same piece of ground would be supporting the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva and the ancient temple over which it was built. And the observer would perhaps only have to change the direction of his glance or his position in order to call up the one view or the other.
>
> There is clearly no point in spinning our phantasy any further, for it leads to things that are unimaginable and even absurd. If we want to represent historical sequence in spatial terms we can only do it by juxtaposition in space; the same space cannot have two different contents. Our attempt seems to be an idle game. It has only one justification. It shows us how far we are from mastering the characteristics of mental life by representing them in pictorial terms.[53]

Both Freud and Eisenstein believed that in mental life "nothing which has once been formed can perish," and both tried to express this idea through archaeological metaphors presenting a spatial vision of history and memory. Freud tried to compare "the past of a city with the past of a mind,"[54] while Eisenstein used the metaphor of the "vertical column spread out like a fan" in order to visualize the coexistence of the different cultural and historical stratifications that he had discovered while shooting *Que Viva Mexico!*: a film in which ruins and historical superimpositions (for example, the Catholic cathedrals built on top of the previous pre-Columbian religious sites) play a central role.

One of the reasons why the *Notes* can be considered as an example of "media archaeology" *ante litteram*, so to say, is that the idea of history that lies in the background of this project conceives of history as the coexistence of different archaeological "layers." With Freud and Benjamin – who in the short text "Excavation and Memory" (1932) had argued that memory can be considered as "the medium [*Medium*] of that which is experienced, just as the earth is the medium [*Medium*] in which ancient cities lie buried," so that "he who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging"[55] – Eisenstein shared an *archaeological understanding of history and memory* which constitutes an important element in order to understand the "general history" he was trying to establish.[56] The two diary entries we will comment on in the next paragraph, with their insistence on the "layers" of history and consciousness, confirm this idea.

2. Theory, History, Creation: "A Flash in Slow Motion through Centuries of Evolution"

In the first diary entry, written on June 25, 1947, we read (all terms and phrases in italics followed by * are written in languages other than Russian):

> On Balzac descended the unitary conception of the *Comédie Humaine* (according to Émile Ludwig).[57] On me descends instead the awareness that I have, for already many years, been writing a history *such as** it appears to me. Almost all of my essays on cinema involve some historical excursus. "Griffith" and the history of montage thought. "The history of close-up *pars pro toto**" is a section derived from it as if by germination. "Disney" and the multitude of prelogical influences on him. "Stereo" and the history of scenic actions. "Chronicle" and the Dionysian commemorative actions. Montage and the Chinese culture of hieroglyphs. Landscape and the history of the Chinese understanding of nature. Cinema in color and the history of coloristic perceptions – the origin of the notion of complementary colors, etc. And I have become a historian of the *One Thousand and One Nights* of the possibilities of cinema.[58]

In this diary entry, Eisenstein acknowledges how most of his theoretical writings – from "Dickens, Griffith and Ourselves" (1942) to the various texts on the history of close-up as a form of *pars pro toto* contained in the *Memoirs* and in *Metod*, from the essay on Disney (1940) to the one on stereoscopic cinema (1947), from the remarks on the musicality of Chinese landscape painting contained in *Nonindifferent Nature* (1941-1945) to the essays on color, from the essays on Chinese culture and "hieroglyphs" all the way up to the genealogical line connecting Dionysian dithyrambs to historical cinema and television which we find in the *Notes* –

had been characterized by a constant intertwining of theory and history.[59] Such a history, though, had for Eisenstein a very peculiar nature: it was a history of *possibilities*, the history "of the *One Thousand and One Nights* of the possibilities of cinema" (*kinematograficheskikh vozmozhnostei*). This expression is probably an implicit reference to the title of the history of cinema published by Terry Ramsaye in 1926, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture Through 1925*,[60] but it is also a way of underlining the extravagant nature of the history Eisenstein had been gradually elaborating in his writings, roaming freely through time and space – from the Acropolis to Le Corbusier, from Kabuki theater to Stanislavsky, from Indian miniatures to El Greco, from Japanese haiku poetry to Joyce's *Ulysses* – in order to find, decipher and compare the most interesting precinematographic manifestations of the aesthetic principles that Eisenstein was theorizing in his texts: "montage" in all its forms in the book *Montage*, "pathos," "organicity" and "ecstasy" in *Nonindifferent Nature*, and "regression" in *Metod*.

The historical and theoretical analysis of such principles was always conceived by Eisenstein as inseparable from the possibility of their practical applications. *Theory* and *history*, in other words, could never be considered as separate from *practice*, as we read in a second diary entry, written on June 30, 1947, with Eisenstein's typical multilinguism:

> It is as if *alea iacta est.** The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences has confirmed to me that I will be leading the Section dedicated to the history of cinema of the Institute of Art History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In order to begin this enterprise, determination was never enough. Now the state of my heart *obliges me to do that** independently of my *desires.** [...]
> The difference with the creative work in a strict sense lies in the fact that whereas in the creative work there is a contact with the *lowest layers** of consciousness *in a spark** of inspiration, in the work on the history of cinema, *as I planned it*,* the whole chain of consecutive phases unfolds *from today backwards*,* towards those same phases: and before us there isn't an image [*obraz*] *in a flash*,* but the goose bumps caused by the fact of contemplating and of living such a *flash in slow motion through centuries of evolution.**
> The *ecstasy in touching (simultaneously) both poles – the thrill** – is the same.
> But whereas many are the ones capable of creating, there is almost nobody capable of revealing such a historical process *as I do see it.** And *history** becomes a third ring of the chain. The practice of creation. The theory of creation. The history (*Belegmaterial und Übersicht durch Jahrhunderte**) [documentary evidence and overview through centuries]. Essentially, almost everything that I have written during the last years (already since 1929, on Japanese hieroglyphs) is *in a certain basic way** not only the theory, but also the history of the issues that interest me: *theory being history*,* compressed in the

> conception of the phases, while artistic creation is the phylogenetic, simultaneous reunification of all these phases of development in an act.[61]

This second diary entry contains several indications that can help us understand what idea of history Eisenstein had in mind while working on his "general history of cinema."

To begin with, Eisenstein reminds us that his interest in the connection between theory and history ("theory being history") dates all the way back to 1928-1929 – to the period in which he wrote essays such as "An Unexpected Juncture" (1928), "Beyond the Shot" (1929) and "The Dramaturgy of Film Form" (1929), in which the principles of "intellectual" and "audiovisual montage" were studied through a comparison with the forms of precinematographic montage that could be found in Japanese traditions such as Kabuki theater, haiku and tanka lyrical epigrams, the portraits of Kabuki actors by the painter Sharaku, as well as in the Japanese ideograms which Eisenstein considered as "hieroglyphs."[62] Through one of those anachronic juxtapositions that can be found throughout his writings of the 1930s and 1940s as well as in the *Notes*, Eisenstein draws here a comparison between the future of Soviet audiovisual cinema and the past of the archaic culture of the Japan of the Edo period, a culture that in his view contained "an infinite multiplicity of cinematic characteristics."[63]

Furthermore, we may notice how in this diary entry history is conceived of as the source of a pleasure – an "ecstasy," a "thrill" producing "goose bumps" – comparable to that which accompanies artistic creation. In both cases, the historian and the artist experience a pathos produced by the contact with two temporal "poles" which are distant from one another: the "today," the present to which they belong, and the past of the "lowest layers of consciousness" from which all artistic forms, as we have seen in our discussion of the essay "Film Form: New Problems," could draw their expressive and emotional energy.

If every creative act and every historical reconstruction is for Eisenstein the moment of a "contact" between two different temporal dimensions, the *duration* of this "contact" can be very different. Whereas in the creative act the "contact" between the present and the "lowest layers of consciousness" takes place "in a spark of inspiration" – and therefore in the form of a sudden "flash" dialectically uniting present and past, which recalls the fragments of the *Arcades Project* in which Benjamin describes the "dialectical image," an image in which "*what has been* comes together in a flash *with the now* to form a constellation"[64] – in the work of the historian this "contact" is "contemplated" and "lived" as "a flash in slow motion through centuries of evolution," in order to produce an "*Übersicht durch Jahrhunderte*," an "overview across centuries."

The reference to "slow motion" introduces in this diary entry another crucial idea that needs to be taken into account in order to fully understand the vision of history that lies at the basis of the project of a "general history of cinema": the

idea that cinema – with its capacity for *manipulating time* by arresting, inverting, accelerating, slowing down, fragmenting, and recomposing the continuity of the temporal flow – could be considered as a powerful epistemic tool for the construction of history.

Already in "The Dramaturgy of Film Form," a text dedicated to the effort of establishing the foundations of what he called in that period "intellectual cinema" or "intellectual montage" – a montage based on "collisions" and "intervals"[65] – Eisenstein had underlined how in a shot a "conflict in tempo" or a "conflict between an event and its temporality [*zwischen dem Vorgang und seiner Zeitlichkeit*] (achieved by slowing down [*Zeitlupe*] and speeding up [*Multiplikator*])" could produce some kind of intellectual or emotional "dynamization" of the spectator.[66] According to what we read in this text, a "purely intellectual film" capable of activating the spectator and of producing "thoughts, systems and concepts without any transition or paraphrases," had to be based on a dialectical, conflictual montage, and in this perspective the temporal conflicts and the variations of speed through "slowing down" or "speeding up" played a crucial role.

When the time came to work on his "general history of cinema," Eisenstein maintained this idea that cinema, by manipulating time, could produce thought. The temporal conflicts that in 1929 he considered as a tool of a "purely intellectual film" became now the temporal "shifts" and the "jumping chronology" of a "general history of cinema" in which time is treated as a *malleable* entity. It is according to this idea of a fundamental *plasticity of time* that Eisenstein, in the diary entry we are discussing, assigns to history the task of "unfolding," in front of the eyes of the historian, "the whole chain of consecutive phases" not only "in slow motion" but also "from today backwards," that is, by inverting the flow of time.

Compared with the slow motion and the inversion that characterize the contemplating "overview" of the historian, the creative act of the artist produces what Eisenstein calls a "phylogenetic, simultaneous reunification of all these phases of development in an act." The term "phylogenetic" introduces yet another element that needs to be considered in order to understand Eisenstein's "general history." Such a term refers to a scientific paradigm – the *parallelism between ontogeny and phylogeny*[67] – which often appears in Eisenstein's writings as a way of understanding the development of individual forms (social systems, forms of knowledge, artistic styles) within a wider historical context.

According to such a paradigm, whose origins can be found in Aristotle's *De Generatione Animalium*, the genesis and the development of the single *individual* (the *ontogeny*) recapitulates in a shorter time those of the entire *species* (the *phylogeny*). As a model of historical development which combines *progress* and *recursivity*, such a paradigm can be detected in the writings of authors such as Herder and Goethe,[68] and becomes a common reference at the turn between the nineteenth and the twentieth century, thanks to Engels, who in the *Dialectics of Nature*

presents it as one of the most important tenets of Darwin's theory of evolution, and thanks to the German philosopher and biologist Ernst Haeckel, who popularized it in his *Welträtsel* (The riddle of the universe) (1899). According to Haeckel, such parallelism – which he summed up with the statement that "ontogeny is an abbreviated recapitulation of phylogeny"[69] – had the status of a "fundamental biogenetic law" (*biogenetisches Grundgesetz*) that was valid across all natural phenomena. For him, it was like "the thread of Ariadne," since only with its aid one could find "any intelligible course through the complicated labyrinth of natural forms."[70]

Translated from the field of the natural sciences to that of the history of cultural forms, this paradigm appears in the writings of the art historians Alois Riegl and Heinrich Wölfflin, who considered the evolution of artistic styles through history – especially the passage from tactile, "haptic," "linear" forms of representation to "optical" and "pictorial" ones – as somehow parallel to the evolution of the single human being from infancy to adulthood. As Wölfflin writes in the "general observations" on the distinction between "linearly (draughtsmanly, plastic) and painterly, tactile and visual picture" which open his *Principles of Art History* (1915):

> The tracing out of a figure with an evenly clear line has still an element of physical grasping. The operation which the eye performs resembles the operation of the hand which feels along the body, and the modelling which repeats reality in the gradation of light also appeals to the sense of touch. A painterly representation, on the other hand, excludes this analogy. It has its roots only in the eye and appeals only to the eye, *and just as the child ceases to take hold of things in order to "grasp" them, so mankind has ceased to test the picture for its tactile values. A more developed art has learned to surrender itself to mere appearance.* With that, the whole notion of the pictorial has shifted. The tactile picture has become the visual picture – the most decisive revolution which art history knows.[71]

Freud refers to the ontogeny-philogeny parallelism in his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), in which the theory of the "death drive" (*Todestrieb*) is formulated in reference to an "embriology" conceived as "repeating [...] the history of evolution."[72] Benjamin as well mentions this paradigm in the essay *On the Mimetic Faculty* (1933), in which we read that the "mimetic faculty" – "a gift for seeing similarity" which can be compared with Eisenstein's notion of "sensuous thinking" – "has a history [...] in both the phylogenetic and the ontogenetic sense."[73]

The idea according to which the contemplating "overview" of the historian studies phenomena which unfold "through centuries of evolution," finally, reveals the presence of yet another model of historical development in the notes for a "general history of cinema": the model of a biological evolutionism, which we

also find in the essay "About Stereoscopic Cinema" (1947), written in the same period as the *Notes*, in which the history of artistic forms is presented in a way that recalls the ideas of struggle for existence, extinction, and natural selection:

> In my view, the only *vital* varieties of art are those which, of their very nature, are an embodiment of the hidden urges existing in the depths of human nature itself. What matters is not only which subject is incorporated in a work of art, but also which of the means peculiar to a given art form are employed. In the problems connected with the *extinction* of one or another art form, there probably exists the same law of *natural selection* as in everything else.
> And the forms which *survive* are those which are composed as to embody the deep, inner, organic tendencies and needs of both the spectator and the creator.[74]

Together with all the references that we have found condensed in the diary entry mentioned above – the references to cinematic "slow motion," to the regression to the "lowest layers of consciousness," to the ontogeny-phylogeny parallelism – this idea of interpreting the development of artistic forms in terms of struggle for existence, natural selection, survival and extinction shows once more how Eisenstein's approach to history writing in the *Notes* drew inspiration from different, often apparently incompatible sources and models, editing together concepts and ideas stemming from different conceptual traditions. Such a "montage" approach to theory has been defined as "theory as quotation," referring to a text written by Eisenstein in 1927 with the title "My Art in Life":

> The rightfulness of a method that is valid for a whole as well as for a tiny detail. The first attempt to formulate it in a series of axiomatic propositions, that can serve as guides (theoretical and practical) for the majority of questions in our profession. [...]
> Each doctrine coexists in our profession. But in our heads each of them exists separately [*individual'no*]. To define the moment of their intrusion – and by what part – into the theory of our main activity – it's a second task. I didn't invent sublimation, the notion of a reflex, an interaction between social order and 'creative individuality', the principle of unity in Darwin and James. But to bring all this together, to put all this in a needed "context," one in relation to another – I consider this task to be no less ambitious.
> "The principle of context" is valid here – a fragment [*Bruchstück*] of a scientific discipline is nothing – it's similar to a montage fragment, to a verb without complement, as a primordial element in a decomposed movement.[75]

In Eisenstein's writings of the 1930s and 1940s, this idea of theory as montage of preexisting conceptual "fragments" derived from other, previously existing the-

ories continues to be present, and contributes to shape Eisenstein's approach to the construction of a "general history of cinema." This history, as we will now see, can be conceived of as an attempt to answer three key questions:

1. How can we locate "the place of cinema" within the history of the arts?
2. How can we identify the "forerunners" of cinema within such a history?
3. How can we define the psychological "urges" and "*Triebe*" to which cinema, like other art forms and media before its appearance, has responded?

3. "Heir" and "Synthesis": The "Place of Cinema" in the History of the Arts

The answer to the first question – how to define the "place of cinema" within the history of the arts – can be found at the beginning of the first text published in this volume, "The Heir," in a series of notes written on October 22, 1946, that present cinema as both "the heir [*naslednik*] of all artistic cultures" and "a synthesis of the arts [*sintez iskusstv*]." These two terms, writes Eisenstein, defined the "perspective" according to which "the history of cinema must be established":

> Cinema is the heir of all artistic cultures, as is the nation itself that elevated it for the first time in all history – both in estimation and creatively – to the very heights of art, and it is the heir of all cultures of the preceding ages.
> Cinema is the art of the USSR *par excellence*,* and it is so in a natural and organic way.
> It is according to this perspective that the history of cinema must be established.
> **1. The historical place of cinema in the history of the arts**
> Its origins in the ruins of the "second baroque."
> Other arts disintegrate to level zero.
> "-Isms." Each based on one particular feature.
> The collapse of bourgeois society.
> Cinema begins from level zero.
> Technical invention.
> The social structure (USSR), seeking a type of mass art, etc.
> The social pre-condition *and [the] technical [one] coincide.**
> As a new totality, social and aesthetic.
> **2. A synthesis of the arts**
> A real synthesis in the technique of film, and in our aesthetics.
> Taking the place of "dreams" about synthesis.
> *Recurrence** of the idea of synthesis form the Greeks (at first morphological in the dithyramb) – liturgies (architecture, organ, stained glass, *plain chant*,* the merging of the audience with the action) – Diderot – Wagner – Scriabin – we.[76]

"The heir of all artistic cultures," "a synthesis of the arts." These two expressions on the one hand sum up the view of cinema that Eisenstein had been developing in his writings of the 1930s and 1940s,[77] and on the other are a clear sign of his decision to inscribe his "general history of cinema" within the framework of the official aesthetic discourse that was circulating in the Soviet Union in those decades. This decision is confirmed by the passages in which Eisenstein presents cinema as "the art of the USSR *par excellence**": an art which responds to "the collapse of bourgeois society" and to the way in which the other arts, the "-isms" of the Western avant-gardes (Futurism, Expressionism, Surrealism, etc.), "disintegrate to level zero," with a "technical invention" which, "in a natural and organic way," produces "a new totality, social and aesthetic," a "mass art" capable of corresponding to "the social structure" of the USSR.

Eisenstein had already formulated similar ideas in *Montage*[78] and in "Achievement," an article published in 1940 for the celebrations of twenty years of Soviet cinema, in which Eisenstein presents cinema as "a child of socialism," "the highest stage of embodiment for the potentialities and aspirations of each of the arts," and "the ultimate synthesis of all artistic manifestations":

> For sculpture – cinema is a chain of changing plastic forms, bursting, at long last, ages of immobility.
> For painting – cinema is not only a solution for the problem of movement in pictorial images, but is also the achievement of a new and unprecedented form of graphic art, an art that is a free stream of changing, transforming, commingling forms, pictures, and compositions, hitherto possible only in music.
> Music has always possessed this possibility, but with the advent of cinema, the melodious and rhythmic flow of music acquired new potentialities of imagery – visual, palpable, concrete (true, our practice of the new art knows as yet but few cases of any complete fusion of aural and visual images).
> For literature – cinema is an expansion of the strict diction achieved by poetry and prose into a new realm where the desired image is directly materialized in audio-visual perceptions.
> And finally, it is only in cinema that are fused into a real unity all those separate elements of the spectacle once inseparable in the dawn of culture, and which the theater for centuries has vainly striven to amalgamate anew.[79]

Passages like this show how Eisenstein, at least in the texts written to be published, was trying to fit his vision of cinema within a wider public discourse centered on the idea of a "synthesis of the arts." After the confrontation, during the early 1920s, between the partisans of a revolutionary art conceived as a new beginning after a tabula rasa of all previous artistic traditions, and those who instead defended the importance of preserving and reevaluating the heritage of

the past, the official aesthetic discourse of the 1930s and 1940s celebrated the Soviet Union as heir of all preceding cultures, and as a nation in which the introduction of socialism on the social level had to be accompanied, on the aesthetic level, by a "synthesis of the arts." This expression had become, during the 1930s, the title of a number of cultural initiatives among which we may recall the First Conference of Soviet Architects, Sculptors and Painters, whose proceedings were published by OGIZ (Union of the State Book and Magazine Publishers) in 1936 in a volume entitled *Voprosy sinteza iskusstv* (Questions on the synthesis of the arts).[80] This volume gathered texts by artists and theorists such as the sculptor Vera Mukhina (who created the notorious *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman* for the 1937 World Exhibition in Paris), David Arkin (author in 1935 of a book entitled *The Problem of Synthesis in Soviet Architecture*) and Bela Uits, who considered the notion of a synthesis of the arts as a "weapon"[81] in the hands of socialist art.

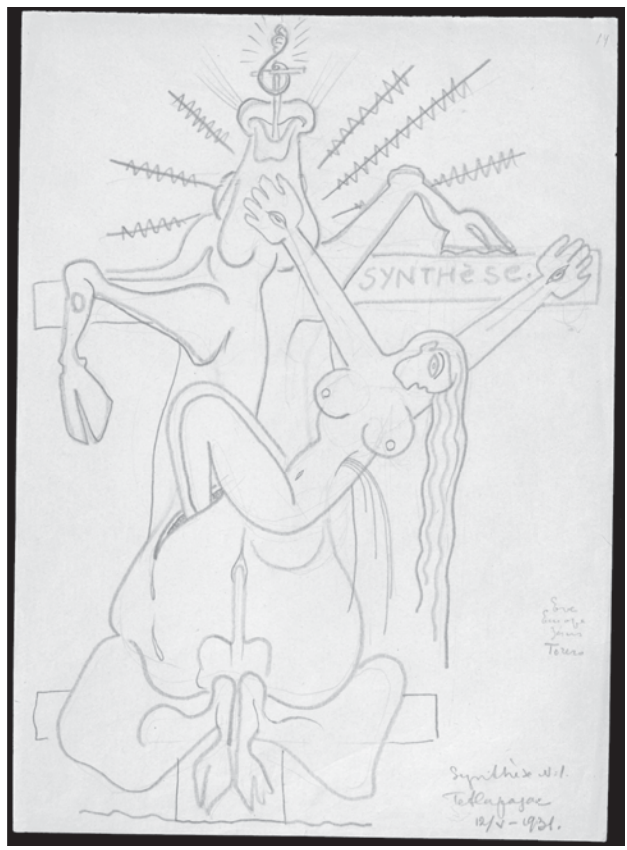
Just as the notion of "socialist realism," which became state policy in 1934 with the First Congress of Soviet Writers, the idea of a "synthesis of the arts" likewise became the object of several competing interpretations. David Arkin, for example, interpreted it in the sense of a "cooperation [*sotrudnichestvo*] founded on a common idea and a common theme,"[82] while one of the other authors of the texts published in the proceedings of the 1936 conference, Mikhail Alpatov, understood it as the way in which a dialectical set of "contradictions" could lead "to a new unity."[83]

Eisenstein's idea of cinema as "heir of all artistic cultures" and a "synthesis of the arts" fits straight into this context and aligns itself to some of the slogans that were circulating in the public discourse. We find further traces of such an alignment in the passages of the *Notes* in which Eisenstein mentions the idea of the Soviet Union as "a friendly cooperation [*sodruzhestvo*] of nations" which becomes the "basis for a friendly cooperation of the arts,"[84] or in the passages in which the synthesis of the arts is presented as dialectical "removal [*sniatie*, the equivalent of the German *Aufhebung*] of contradictions."[85]

This said, the idea of cinema as "heir of all artistic cultures" and as a "synthesis of the arts" that we find in the *Notes* cannot in any way be reduced to an attempt to conform to the slogans of the official, Soviet aesthetics. As Naum Kleiman underlines in his foreword to this volume, the transnational, transcultural character of the "general history" Eisenstein had in mind was in sharp contrast with the strong nationalism of the public discourse in the second half of the 1940s, and the idea of history as the survival and coexistence of various temporal "layers" that he had developed during the Mexican journey was not in line with the progressive, teleologically oriented ideology of Stalinism. Furthermore, Eisenstein's use of the term "synthesis" in the passage in which cinema is defined as a "synthesis of the arts" has to be considered within the framework of all the meanings that he had assigned to such a term in his previous writings, since the end of the 1920s.[86] A *flashback* through some of these texts is therefore necessary.

To begin with, Eisenstein was convinced that one could find fully accomplished forms of artistic synthesis *outside the realm of cinema*. In the two texts dedicated at the end of the 1920s to the analogies between the future of sound cinema and the past of Japanese culture – "Beyond the Shot" (1928) and "An Unexpected Juncture" (1929) – for example, Eisenstein praises the "monism of the ensemble" of Kabuki theater, which is capable of *editing together* various expressive means (scenes, costumes, voices, gestures, music) in order to "stimulate" the audience with a maximum of precision and effectiveness.

During the months spent in Mexico, the notion of "synthesis" takes on another meaning. Now it is the result of the montage of different cultural iconographies that Eisenstein was exploring in his drawings, as we can see in the drawing entitled *Synthèse (Eve, Europe, Jésus, Torero)* (1931) (Ill. 2), which weaves together, in one image, a series of iconographic motifs extracted from heterogeneous cultural traditions: the rape of Europa, the birth of Eve from Adam's rib, Christ's crucifixion, and the popular and pagan tradition of the bullfight.[87]



Ill. 2 – Synthèse (Eve, Europe, Jésus, Torero), 12 May 1931

In *Montage*, "synthesis" becomes the process through which a series of separate, distinct "representations" (*izobrazhenie*) are united into a general, meaningful, emotionally powerful "image" (*obraz*).[88] The principle of filmic and artistic montage is here considered as corresponding to a tendency toward synthesis which can be found in every form of mental activity: sensorial perception, imagination, memory, all the way to inductive and deductive reasoning.

A different interpretation of the idea of "synthesis" can finally be found in the essays written for *Metod*. Here, as we have seen, Eisenstein formulates the idea according to which every emotionally powerful work of art bears in itself, in one way or another, the traces of early phases of biological, psychological or cultural history. Different "paths of regression" (*puti regressa*)[89] are examined in the chapters of *Metod*, and all of these "paths," according to Eisenstein, lead to some kind of synthetic, unified, undifferentiated state: "androgyny," considered as a mythical unity of masculine and feminine appearing in different ways in the history of philosophy, literature, and alchemy; "prelogical thinking," as a form of "diffused perception" characterized by the presence of what Lévy-Bruhl had named "*loi de participation*," a belief in the magic interconnectedness of all beings; "protoplasmaticity," the state of all primitive organic forms which had not undergone any process of anatomic differentiation; and finally "communism," as a social condition which preceded, in its primitive form in archaic societies, the division in classes.[90]

The importance Eisenstein attributed to all these "paths of regression" toward organic, psychological or social conditions characterized by a lack of differentiation, was in sharp contrast with a state ideology which was centered around the celebration of the conquests of a forward-moving socialism fighting against all forms of backward-oriented resistance. Eisenstein was well aware of this contrast, as he writes in a passage of *Metod* (not meant for publication) in which he dares to formulate a criticism against Stalin:

> In my studies, I have never accepted the idea of a distinction between strata that are considered as "superior" and others that are considered as "inferior," between "forward moving" or "resisting" tendencies, at the avant-garde or "reactionary," as comrade Stalin has stated, referring to another area of the discipline dealing with "the residues of the past in the realm of consciousness."[91]

Reinterpreting it according to his own perspective, Eisenstein found in the notion of "synthesis" a way of legitimizing his interest in "regression." As he writes in a text entitled "My system," "they will never forgive me the idea of art as 'regression' [...] let therefore art be... *synthesis*."[92] This was a dialectical synthesis of forward and backward tendencies of which Eisenstein had found a reassuring

definition in Friedrich Engels's *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, in a passage that is quoted in "Film Form: New Problems":

> An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men, can therefore only be obtained by the methods of dialectics, with its constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of life and death, of progressive and retrogressive changes [*mit steter Beachtung der allgemeinen Wechselwirkungen des Werdens und Vergehens, der fort- oder rückschreitenden Änderungen*].[93]

Considered within the framework of all the various definitions of "synthesis" that we find in Eisenstein's writings from the end of the 1920s onward, the passage of "The Heir" in which cinema is defined as "the heir of all artistic cultures" and as "a synthesis of the arts" should therefore not be taken literally as the product of a teleological, progressive vision of the history of the arts which finds in Soviet cinema and in Eisenstein's own cinema its final stage and its highest accomplishment. Following the passage of Engels that we just quoted, Eisenstein conceived history as a constant unfolding of "progressive and retrogressive changes," as a complex dynamics of transformations, survivals, and recurrences, and even in a celebratory text like "Achievement" he states that "cinema is a step ahead of all related fields, *while remaining a contemporary of theater, painting, sculpture, and music.*"[94] In the *Notes* a similar idea is expressed in a passage of "The Heir" in which Eisenstein writes that in cinema "each art is embedded [*zakliucheno*] in a qualitatively new way, such that it cannot be organically taken out."[95]

By defining cinema as "contemporary" with the arts it is supposed to have overcome, Eisenstein presents us with a view of history that is neither linear nor progressive,[96] and this explains why in the same notes gathered in "The Heir" he mentions various forms of "recurrence" of the idea of "synthesis," locating cinema within a genealogy that starts with the "the Greeks" and continues with "liturgies," "Diderot," "Wagner," "Scriabin," and finally "we" – a "we" that Eisenstein employs here in order to underline how his own cinema should be considered within the wider context of Soviet cinema:

> *Recurrence** of the idea of synthesis from the Greeks (at first morphological in the dithyramb) – liturgies (architecture, organ, stained glass, *plain chant*,* the merging of the audience with the action) – Diderot – Wagner –Scriabin – we.[97]

This genealogical line can be found in several other texts by Eisenstein, for example, in *Montage*, in which "Greek tragedy" is presented as the "common cradle [*kolybel'*] of future cultures"[98] and is followed by a series of historical appear-

ances of the idea of a total, synthetic work of art which aligns "the opera as it developed during the Renaissance," "music drama in the form in which Diderot longed to see it," and finally the "French Revolution," with its "solemn processions, triumphs or celebrations such as those held on the Champ de Mars," during "the era that saw the *birth* of that ultimate form of class society which, after achieving its final form in 1848, was simultaneously destined to become the gravedigger of the whole class system."[99]

Eisenstein was interested in understanding why in certain "stages" of history "the tendencies towards synthesis arise," and believed that the idea of a synthetic, total work of art was the natural outcome of "periods of social unification." Among such periods, classical Greece and Greek tragedy are often mentioned by Eisenstein as a founding moment, based on an interpretation of Greek tragedy as a moment of profound collective "unification" which Eisenstein probably found in Nietzsche, although *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872/1886) is often not mentioned, probably for political reasons.

An implicit reference to Nietzsche can be found in the passage of the *Notes* in which Eisenstein writes that "the dithyramb is like a chronicle, performed by everyone (without any distinction between audience and performers), of the 'adventures' of Dionysus." In it, "according to the norms of sensuous thinking (primary logic), the image of an ancestor *is* the ancestor, and the reenacted mystery *is the actually reoccurring event*." With their "primary synthesis [of] movement and sound," adds Eisenstein, the dithyrambs could be considered as "the commemorative foundations of the origins of art."[100]

This idea of Dionysian cults and Dionysian dithyrambs as a moment of profound, synthetic unity not only between expressive forms (singing and dancing, music and movement) but also between actors and spectators, scene and audience, can be found in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*. According to Nietzsche, the Dionysian ceremonies which led to the birth of tragedy were a moment in which "at the evangel of cosmic harmony, each one feels himself not only united [*vereinigt*], reconciled, blended with his neighbor, but as one with him, as if the veil of Maya had been torn and were now merely fluttering in tatters before the mysterious Primordial Unity [*vor dem geheimnisvollen Ur-Einen*]. In song and dance man exhibits himself as a member of a higher community [*als Mitgled einer höheren Gemeinsamkeit*],"[101] performing a "rupture of the *principium individuations*" which becomes "an artistic phenomenon,"[102] a moment in which every form of separation is overcome in a profound, synthetic, "Primordial Unity" (*Ur-Eines*). The tragic chorus, directly descending from the Dionysian dithyrambs, was composed according to Nietzsche by individuals whose state of ecstatic rapture led them to consider *as real* the actions performed on stage: "The chorus of the Oceanides really believes that it sees before it the Titan Prometheus, and considers itself as real as the god of the scene."[103] The audience, in turn, merged and identified with such a chorus, thus producing a situation in which all distinctions between

actors and spectators, stage and audience were overcome. This "attempt to pass beyond the bounds of individuation and become the *one* universal being" (*das Zerbrechen des Individuums und sein Einswerden mit dem Ursein*),[104] this "joy in the annihilation of the individual,"[105] which was at the basis of Dionysian mysteries produced in the tragedy a situation in which "the public of the Attic tragedy rediscovered itself in the chorus of the orchestra," in such a way that "there was in reality no antithesis of public and chorus."[106]

In the passage from "The Heir" that we quoted above, Eisenstein moves from this interpretation of the Greek dithyrambs to the second form of "recurrence of the idea of synthesis," which is described as "liturgies (architecture, organ, stained glass, *plain chant*,* the merging of the audience with the action)." We find here an interpretation of rituals and liturgies as an intense, fusional, empathic event which appears in most of Eisenstein's films: for example, in the sequence of the workers' demonstrations in *Strike*, in the pilgrimage of the citizens of Odessa to pay homage to the dead body of the hero Vakulinchuk in *Battleship Potëmkin*, in the Orthodox procession and the public presentation of the milk separator in *The General Line*, as well as in the various religious processions which Eisenstein filmed for the episodes of *Que Viva Mexico!* One of these in particular – the reenactment of the pilgrimage to the Catholic cathedral of Amecameca, a former Aztec pyramid, which is portrayed in the rushes that were meant to be used for the episode entitled *Fiesta* – seems to be behind the passage of the *Notes* in which Eisenstein associates the dithyrambs with Christian pilgrimages: if the chronicle contained in the dithyrambs is performed "without any distinction between audience and performers," "pilgrimages are absolutely identical – the passing by the pilgrims themselves through the twelve stations of the passion of Christ."[107] As we read also in the essay "About Stereoscopic Cinema," Eisenstein believed that there was a direct connection between "the commemorative reproduction of the tragic death of Dionysus, first in the place in which it presumably took place, and then in all the places in which the Dionysian cult was present," and the "medieval mysteries" which reproduced the passion of Christ "first in the cathedral, then in the parvis, and later in the squares of the cities and on the stages on which Paradise, Hell and the Universe were represented."[108]

The following example of a "*recurrence** of the idea of synthesis" – "Diderot" – can be explained by referring to this same connection between Dionysian mysteries and medieval mysteries, since in the same essay "About Stereoscopic Cinema" Eisenstein recalls how Diderot had imagined to present his drama *The Natural Son* (*Le Fils naturel*) in the actual site in which the events that had profoundly shocked the family of Dorval, the protagonist, had taken place.[109] In other texts, such as the 1943 essay "Diderot Wrote about Cinema," Eisenstein presents Diderot's ideas on the musical drama in the *Entretiens sur Le fils naturel* as crucial references for the theory of sound cinema as a synthetic art form.[110] In "Vertical Montage" (1940), finally, Diderot appears as part of a sequence of attempts –

"The Greeks, Diderot, Wagner, Scriabin" – "to demolish the contradictions between picture and sound, between the visible world and the audible world," in order "to create a unity and a harmonic concordance between them."[111]

Wagner and his idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk* may seem an obvious reference in this context, but once again it is important to underline the specificity of Eisenstein's interpretation of Wagnerian aesthetics, an interpretation which he developed after the experience of the staging of the *Valkyrie* at the Bolshoi Theater in 1940.[112] Eisenstein had found in Wagner "one of the undoubted predecessors and ancestors of the audiovisual polyphony of contemporary montage,"[113] a filter through which one could simultaneously analyze both the social and political implications of the idea of a synthesis of the arts, and the possibility of reactivating, in the present, the deep layers of "earlier," sensuous, prelogical thinking. The way in which the young, "progressive," and "revolutionary" Wagner had called for a "revolution" both in art and in society, insisting on "the curse of private property" and referring explicitly, although with an anarchic bent, to that same idea of "communism" that one could find in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848,[114] was considered by Eisenstein as an important example of how one could link the idea of a synthesis of the arts with the production of a new, unified society. What for Wagner was the unified "people" (*Volk*) that the *Gesamtkunstwerk* was supposed to produce, was for Eisenstein the socialist, classless society that corresponded to Soviet cinema as a synthesis of the arts.

Wagner's musical dramas, furthermore, represented for Eisenstein an example of a fusional, empathetic spectacle (which explains the reference in this section of the *Notes* to "the aesthetic of Lipps"[115]), and a model of how one could interpret what he called "vertical montage": the arrangement of various expressive elements into a powerful, polyphonic, vibrating whole. In staging the *Valkyrie*, Eisenstein had tried to experiment with some solutions intended to force the opera beyond its traditional limits, such as the installation of amplifiers throughout the Bolshoi theater, with the aim of transforming Wagner's opera into a truly synthetic and synesthetic experience. In a passage from the section entitled "Pathos" of *Nonindifferent Nature* he associates the colored lights passing through the stained glass windows of the Gothic cathedrals – which in the *Notes* are presented as "forerunners" of the projected tridimensional images of stereoscopic cinema – with the lightplays that he had designed for the performance of the *Valkyrie*:

> It is difficult to forget that enjoyment of *pathos* with which the blue flame grew to sound of the "Magic Fire" music in the last act, sometimes repeating it, then conflicting with it, then isolating it, then absorbing it; the blue flame grows, devouring the red, red subduing the blue, and both – rising out of the crimson ocean of fire to which the whole bronze wall of the backdrop returned, which became like this after first having turned its original silver

into heavenly azure – at the moment of the culminating scene of Wotan and Brünnhilde's farewell.[116]

The lightplays experimented by Eisenstein in the staging of the *Valkyrie* – a crucial reference in order to understand the color sequence in the second part of *Ivan the Terrible*[117] – connect us directly with the fifth station of the genealogical line described in the passage of "The Heir": "Scriabin." Here we find an implicit reference both to the synesthetic, audiovisual experience that Scriabin had planned for his symphonic poem *Prométhée. Poème du feu* (1910) – in which one of the lines of the score was called "Luce" ("Light") and indicated a series of color projections that was intended to accompany the musical performance – and to the ritual, mystical, eschatological dimension of his unfinished project entitled *Mystère*. Scriabin, together with the tradition of Russian symbolism, plays a very important role in Eisenstein's late speculations on "vertical" and "chromatic montage" and on the theme of the "synthesis of the arts." Even though he considered Scriabin's experiments with synesthesia as "dreams of synthesis" that lacked any attempt to have a concrete social impact, Eisenstein was highly interested in exploring all the ways in which the *correspondences* between sounds and images, colors and words had been historically conceived and put into practice: in this perspective, the Taoist chart of synesthetic correspondences that we find in "Vertical Montage," the "color palette" of Pushkin studied by Andrei Bely, Rimbaud's poem "Voyelles," Čiurlionis's pictorial sonatas and fugues, and Joyce's *Ulysses* could all be considered as "forerunners" of cinema's synthetic ambitions.

The final stage in the genealogical line we are discussing – the "we" that ends the genealogy begun with the Dionysian dithyrambs – was for Eisenstein Soviet cinema as, once more, "the art of the USSR *par excellence*": a form of "mass art" in which "the social pre-condition and [the] technical [one] coincide" giving place to "a new totality, social and aesthetic." Cinema, therefore, as a profoundly *socialist medium*.

The latest developments of Soviet stereoscopic cinema seemed to confirm this idea of a coincidence of social and aesthetic totality made possible by a technical discovery. As we read in the essay "About Stereoscopic Cinema" – written a few years after the public presentation of the first Soviet stereoscopic film, *Kontsert: Zemlia molodosti* (1941) by Semion Ivanov[118] – Eisenstein considered stereoscopic cinema as responding to "certain of our deeper needs, to some kind of latent urges [*zapros*]":[119] a "striving" for unity which found in stereoscopic cinema a successful way "to 'cover' the breach, to 'throw' a bridge across the gulf separating the spectator and the actor."[120]

Nevertheless, stereoscopic cinema did not represent for Eisenstein the endpoint of a linear, progressive, teleologically oriented search for unity. To begin with, he saw in it more a return to the origins than an endpoint. Three-dimen-

sional films, as he writes in "About Stereoscopic Cinema," could be considered as part of a historical dialectics that leads from the unity of primitive spectacles ignoring the distinction between actors and spectators to forms that introduced such a distinction, in order to then return to "a new union of action and public in an organic whole in which the spectacle seems to penetrate a mass of spectators which it simultaneously attracts within itself."[121] Furthermore, since the end of the 1930s Eisenstein was convinced that other artistic forms and other ways of practicing montage were ready to pursue synthesis beyond the boundaries of the traditional cinematic *dispositif*: *television*, to which we will return in the last section of this text, but also the massive, environmental, "total [...] 'montage' spectacles" which he mentions in the final chapters of *Montage*:

> If painting, sculpture and architecture are now on the way to a fusion of the visual arts in [the design of] socialist housing and in the overall layout of the socialist city, then the arts which exist simultaneously in space and time, being both aural and visual, are with similar completeness and for the first time in history merging into the total spectacle that is the sound film of the era of socialism.
>
> Of course, sound film itself as a complete entity may also merge with an even broader synthesis of all the arts in a unique "montage" spectacle: this would unite the natural surroundings of the urban complex with the masses that have their being in the city and the individual protagonists of the drama taking place within it; with a sea of colour and light, music and radio; with theatre and sound film; with steamers on the Moscow-Volga Canal; and with squadrons of aircraft.[122]

Eisenstein's understanding of cinema as a "synthesis of the arts" cannot therefore be considered a way of presenting cinema as the endpoint of a linear, teleologically oriented history that found in Soviet cinema and in Eisenstein's own films its highest and final achievement. What we find in the *Notes* is rather the idea that the effort to reach a "synthesis of the arts" was a "recurring" effort that in the past had been pursued outside the realm of cinema and that in the future could be pursued also through future developments of the cinematic *dispositif* such as stereoscopy and television. Such an idea precisely reflects the open attitude that Eisenstein always had as a film director and as a film theoretician. In his films and film projects, as well as in his theoretical writings, Eisenstein never considered cinema a medium that had reached a final and definitive form. Rather, cinema was for him a constantly evolving set of elements and techniques, each one of which opened up new "possibilities" that needed to be explored in order to produce art forms increasingly capable of exerting a powerful influence on their spectators. This is why, throughout his entire oeuvre, Eisenstein always embraced the new means that the development of technology offered him: from

the new 28 mm lenses to the arrival of sound cinema, from the new screen formats to color film, all the way through to stereoscopic projections and television.

As we will now see, such an open approach to the cinematic *dispositif* can be found in the vast double genealogy that is contained in the *Notes*: the genealogy of cinema's "expressive means" and that of all the media and all the forms of representation that have responded, throughout history, to the same "urge to record phenomena" to which cinema had responded. Through the meandering "lines" of this double genealogy, cinema is presented as a medium whose nature can be fully understood not so much by emphasizing its *medium specificity*, the properties that distinguish it from other media, but rather by revealing all its intermedial connections with a wide variety of other media, techniques, art forms, public spectacles, and religious rituals.

4. Cinema's "Forerunners": "The History of Cinema's Expressive Means" and "The Route to the Chronicle"

In a passage of the *Notes* written on January 3, 1948, six months after being appointed head of the Cinema Section of the Institute of Art History and a few weeks before his death on February 11, Eisenstein tried to sketch an outline of the project he was working on, clearly distinguishing between two parts: a "general history of cinema," whose "opening volume" was supposed to deal with "the history of cinema's expressive means" (*istoria vyrasitelnykh sredstv kino*), and a "history of Soviet cinema," which was to be dedicated, instead, to what here Eisenstein names, with a clear reference to Darwin, "the origin of the species": that is, the origins of the typically Soviet film genre of the "cine-chronicle" (*kinokhronika*).

> Apparently, the topic is lining up:
> The history of cinema's expressive means will go in the opening volume of *The General History of Cinema*.
> While in the opening volume of *The History of Soviet Cinema* – "the origin of species."
> Which is to say in the first:
> The history of the close-up
> The history of the problem of time
> The history of sound in painting
> The history of audiovisual combination in painting
> The history of the problem of space
> The history of the problem of motion
> The history of the problem of color *up to the cinema**
> The history of montage
> in painting

in literature
in architecture etc., etc.
While in the second:
The route to the chronicle (panopticons, the history of the newspaper and illustrated leaflet etc.)
The route to developed photos
The routes of the fixation of images
Commemorative action as *nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] of all arts
representative of themselves
*Vorstufe** [in German: *preliminary stage*]
to representation
in sound
in synthesis
And the cine-chronicle (reconstruction = an event in *pars pro toto*),
and playacting
Dionysus – mysteries – Diderot – K.S.[123] – *Gas Masks.*[124]

The notes gathered in the six texts presented in this volume can be read through the lens of this double outline, which gives us some essential information in order to understand the structure of Eisenstein's project.

According to this plan, the opening volume of the "general history of cinema" would have contained a synthesis of all of Eisenstein's previous writings concerning "the history of the close-up," the history of the "sound" and "audiovisual combination in painting," the history of the problems of "time," "space," "motion" and "color" in the arts all the way "up to the cinema," as well as the history of montage in all its forms and in all artistic media: "painting, literature, architecture, etc., etc."

Just as in the chapters of the book *Montage*, montage is here presented as a process whose manifestations can be detected in different media and throughout the history of the arts *long before the appearance of cinema*, even though such manifestations can only be recognized *après-coup*, from the retrospective vantage point of a cinema which acts as "a magnifying glass, through which the method of each of them is visible."[125] Many of the sequences of examples that we find in the *Notes* are dedicated to the effort of reconstructing, through the usual "jumping chronology" that we find in most of Eisenstein's texts of 1930s and 1940s, the different "lines" of a genealogy that brings together examples taken from the most heterogeneous historical and cultural contexts. The variety and the sheer number of the references that one finds in these lines is dazzling and often confusing. Still, a number of primary genealogical lines can be identified, even if they are often intertwined with one another. Here is a list of some of them, reorganized in order to help the reader navigate the fragmentary texts of the *Notes*.

Ill. 3 – An example of reverse perspective from the film *Bezhin Meadow*, 1935-37

1. The first "history" mentioned in Eisenstein's outline – "The history of the close-up" – is dealt with only in a few passages of the *Notes*. In the text entitled "Revelation in Storm and Thunder" Eisenstein mentions as an example of how the close-up may attain a "heightened expressive *tension**" the "Father and Son" sequence of *Bezhin Meadow*, a sequence in which he had tried to revive the old figurative tradition of "reverse perspective." Widely employed in Byzantine and Orthodox icons (for example, in Andrei Rublev's *Trinity*), reverse perspective had been the object of a famous lecture by Pavel Florensky in 1920.[126] In it, the vanishing point (or points) are located *in front* of the painting rather than *beyond* the picture plane, and therefore the objects that are farther away from the point of view of the spectator appear larger than the objects that are closer, exactly the opposite of what happens in conventional linear perspective. In the *Notes* Eisenstein remembers how he had explicitly referred to this tradition in a sequence of *Bezhin Meadow* in which "the Father had to be in 'rear-projection,' shot in greater close-up than Stepok, even though he was [placed] further from the viewer." (Ill.3) Other passages of the *Notes* present other views on the issue of the close-

up. The text "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle" discusses the role of the "close-up detail" in the film genre of the "cine-chronicle" and refers to the role of the close-up in Griffith. "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," after having stated that cinema is "a copy of man's psychological apparatus," considers the close-up in relationship to attention, interest, and desire: "Close-ups as points of insistence of interest (cf. dreams)."[127]

2. Different stages of the second "history" mentioned in Eisenstein's outline – "The history of the problem of time" – can be found in several examples mentioned in the *Notes*: a painting by Memling (c. 1470) in which the different consecutive phases of Christ's Passion are represented simultaneously in the same image as taking place in different parts of the city of Jerusalem, Botticelli's illustrations of Dante's *Divina Commedia* (1480-1500), Hogarth's *Marriage à-la-mode* (1743-1745) as well as Goya's series of small paintings dedicated to the killing of the bandit El Maragato by the monk Pedro de Zaldivia (1806-1807). All are examples of sequential pictorial representations of events unfolding in time.

3. The singing angels in the *Ghent Altarpiece* by Van Eyck (1430-1432) (which Eisenstein analyzes at length in the text entitled "Dynamic Mummification"[128]), Munch's *Scream* (1893), and Čiurlionis's pictorial *Sonatas* (1907-1908) are all part of "the history of sound and of audiovisual combination in painting." The notes of "Revelation in Storm and Thunder" add to this genealogy of "audiovisual combinations" a series of considerations concerning the history of musical instruments and of sounding objects. Eisenstein lists here different examples of sounding objects whose outward appearance is mimetically connected to the type of sound they produce: for example, the "Peruvian vessels," whose shape is that of a stomach, "the dwelling place of a fetus," and whose whistling sound, writes Eisenstein, recalls the "howling of the birthing room."[129] In all these cases, the correspondences between the shape of the sounding objects and the type of sound they produce is considered a form of "audiovisual combination."

4. Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait* (1434), Leonardo's *Last Supper* (1494-1498), the *View and Plan of Toledo* by El Greco (c. 1610) with its combination of perspectival and planimetric views, Serov's portrait of the actress Ermolova (1905), and Robert Delaunay's painting of the Eiffel Tower (1911), all belong to "the history of the problem of space," and more precisely to the history of the montage of multiple points of view in one single image.

5. The combination of *frontal* representations of the body and *profile* representations of the faces in the human figures painted by the Egyptians – "the Picassism of the Ancients," "a multi-perspectival (dual-perspectival) perception of a human being"[130] – is considered by Eisenstein to be similar to the bodies represented by El Greco, Tintoretto and Daumier,[131] who join together in a single figure, through an anatomically impossible montage, parts of the body that are represented in different phases of the same movement.[132] Together with the surprising figures with multiple hands and multiple heads of the medieval manu-

script of the *Sachsenspiegel*, (see Ill. 22 and 23 on p. 144) the chronophotography of Étienne-Jules Marey, the "chronophotographic" paintings of the Italian Futurists (for example, Giacomo Balla's *Girl Running on a Balcony* [1912]) and the "cinematographic effects" (*kinoeffekt*)[133] in Degas's *Les Blanchisseuses* and *Les Repasseuses* (1869-1895) (see Ill. 46 p.185), they belong to "the history of the problem of motion," that is, the history of how montage was used in drawing, painting and photography to represent human bodily movement.

6. Chinese ink drawings, "Eastern monochrome landscapes," the pictorial genre of the *grisaille*, Daumier's monochrome lithographs, the use of color in the popular tradition of the Russian *lubok*, avant-garde monochrome paintings, and black-and-white photographs, all belong to "the history of the problem of color *up to the cinema*." Just as in his late essays on color, in the text "Revelation in Storm and Thunder" Eisenstein underlines how chromatic montage should be based on the same principle of "asynchronism" that he had already formulated in 1928 in relation to audiovisual montage, in the "Statement on Sound-Film" written together with Pudovkin and Aleksandrov.[134] Such a principle of "asynchronism," which according to Eisenstein manifests itself in its simplest form in the time span between a lightning strike and the following thunder (this is the "revelation in storm and thunder") was for him an example of how montage should be thought of as a way of "dismantling" the natural order of phenomena in order to "express the will of the author":

> The most complex problem, because it is the most fundamentally significant for the principles of audiovisual aesthetics in cinema, has been (and, alas, still is) establishing some principles for the dismantling of the natural synchronism (the way it is in the "order of things") and establishing one's own synchronism between the world of sounds and the world of visual appearances, expressing the thoughts of the author.
>
> In this sense, sound cinema was a descendent of that very same principle in ordinary montage: where the will of the author, in pursuit of the expression of his own creative volition, "dismantles" the order of events and recreates it according to his own – authorial – established laws.
>
> And in this sense, sound cinema was the premise for the understanding of color. Color becomes understood and familiar in cinema aesthetics only from the moment when the separation of the object's natural coloring from the object itself, as well as the author's own new artificial, emotional and conceptual, unification of the colors with the objects are both acknowledged.[135]

7. The tradition of mosaic images and the pictorial style of Pointillism are considered to be "forerunners" of the way in which montage, "as a unity in diversity," produces a single, synthetic image from a multiplicity of separate compo-

nents. They both belong to "the history of montage in painting." To this same history, but in a different way, belong the sequential pictures mentioned above, the dynamic bodies of Tintoretto and Daumier, as well as other composite figures such as Zeuxis's legendary portrait of Helen composed by using five different female models, or the grotesque hybrid bodies painted by Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Brueghel the Elder.

8. Literary passages in which an action or the quality of a feeling are described through a series of verbs or adjectives in such a way that each one of them seems to be considering the same phenomenon from a different angle, belong to "the history of montage in literature." In the notes of "Dynamic Mummification" Eisenstein mentions examples taken from Pushkin's poem "Poltava" (1828-1829) and from Tolstoy's *The Death of Ivan Ilyich* (1886), and distinguishes between "adjectival," "substantival," and "verbal" montage.[136]

9. The disposition of the building on the Acropolis of Athens, Hokusai's "gigantic contour drawings on mountains," the labyrinth represented on the floor of the cathedral of Chartres, the design of Michelangelo's square on Rome's Capitoline Hill, the landscape views in English parks, Renaissance loggias and the glass architecture of Le Corbusier with its redefinition of the distinction between exterior and interior,[137] all belong to "the history of montage in architecture" and more precisely to an architectural montage conceived of as the articulation of the different views of a spectator in motion.

Other genealogical lines that can be considered part of "the history of cinema's expressive means" reconstruct the "forerunners" of several elements of the cinematic *dispositif*.

10. The *vertical screen*, for example, has its "forerunners" in the whole history of images painted or hung on a wall in order to be presented vertically in front of the spectator: paintings, frescoes, hanging rugs, or tapestries.

11. *Projection* is also the object of a genealogical reconstruction in the *Notes*. Eisenstein mentions a series of examples which includes the colored light projected through the stained glass windows into the space of the nave of Gothic cathedrals, the projections of magic lanterns,[138] the various traditions of shadow theater and shadow projection (Javanese *wayang*, Turkish *karagöz*, Lavater's silhouettes), the French *chambres ardentes*, the projected light of the dioramas, Loïe Fuller's light shows, the revolving lighthouse on the Palais de l'Industrie in 1889 and the centuries-long tradition of fireworks. Such a genealogy, according to Eisenstein, culminated with stereoscopic cinema: as we read in "Dynamic Mummification," "film is also (*besides everything in fusion*) *translucent painting*,* planned for projection. To a certain extent, it is *vitraux*,*" since "a stained glass window" can be considered "a color form of volume penetrating into the space of the nave."[139]

12. The genealogical line of *animation*, finally, begins with petroglyphic drawings depicting animals and runs all the way – through Aesop, La Fontaine, Hans

Christian Andersen and Krylov – to the *Silly Symphonies* of Walt Disney (1929-1939), never losing its archaic, animistic, and totemistic dimension.

According to the outline quoted above, the opening volume of the "history of Soviet cinema" was supposed to present a vast genealogy of the genre of "cine-chronicle": a genre which had found its most accomplished form in the tradition of Soviet historical films, and to which Eisenstein had made a major contribution, beginning with *Strike* and ending with *Ivan the Terrible*. As we will now see, the notes for this second opening volume are characterized by the same "jumping chronology" and the same anachronic montage that we have found above. Here is a list of some of the most important genealogical lines:

1. Egyptian mummies and Roman death masks, private tombstones and public monuments to national heroes, national shrines ("Peter's cottage, Roosevelt's home"[140]) and the repository of saints' relics belong to a genealogical line of media and forms of representation that were conceived as a way to arrest time and preserve visible traces of the dead. Eisenstein insists on the importance of following this genealogical line, which traces "the routes of the fixation of images," "from the mummy (*preservation of the self*[sx]) to photography."[141] In other passages, stereoscopic cinema is mentioned as belonging to this same line: "The stage of factual, physical (relief) casting. Mortuary masks (Egypt, Rome. Continuation of the tradition even now). Resonance with (stereoscopic) cinema in relief."[142]

2. To the same "routes of the fixation of images" belong various instruments for the precise transferring of three-dimensional bodies onto a two-dimensional plane (Dürer's grid, the pantograph, Lavater's instrument for the tracing of silhouettes, Gilles-Louis Chrétien's Physionotrace), as well as all the main stages of the history of photography, from its origins to the 1920s. Eisenstein mentions the early photographic techniques (calotypes, daguerrotypes, ambrotypes), still life, landscape and "genre" photography, the first photographic portraits, the first snapshots, the first photocollages and photomontages, stereoscopic photography, war photography, aerial photography, plein air photography, photojournalism and photo documentary, the double exposures in spirit photography, Atget's views of Paris, avant-garde photography such as Moholy-Nagy's *Fotogrammen* and Man Ray's rayographs, and the photomontages of George Grosz and John Heartfield, Rodchenko and Stepanova.

3. Another line belonging to the same "routes of the fixation of images" and to "the route of developed photos" lists a series of techniques that are based on "the negative/positive principle":[143] handprints in caves, the various forms of "branding and stenciling," Babylonian seals, "Mayan seals for decorating the body," "ancient heel-marks on material and preservation of tradition in artisanal textile of East and West," again the techniques of mask casting, the entire history of the techniques of book and image printing, all the way up to the "paper positive

invented by Fox Talbot and the beginning of the era of modern negative/positive photographic techniques."

4. Mechanical miniature theaters, wind-up dolls, mechanical pianos and mechanical toys, automatons and moving wax figures lead up to the cinema as a technique for the mechanical reproduction of movement: a genealogical line which underlines the mechanical nature of cinema and the origins of the process of montage in the history of mechanics and automatons.[144]

5. In a series of notes that begin with a repeated quotation from Pushkin's "Notes on Popular Drama" that says that "theater was born on the public square,"[145] Eisenstein aligns *Kunstkammern* and *cabinets de curiosités*, wax museums (Musée Grévin, the Hamburg Panoptikum, Madame Tussaud's and the "copies of the severed heads of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, the assassinated Marat, the executed Charlotte Corday, the guillotined Robespierre"), scenes of martyrdom in mystery plays, Grand Guignol theater and Nikolai Evreinov's ideas on the relationships between theater and public executions (formulated in a 1918 lecture entitled "Theater and the Scaffold"), panoramas and dioramas, the "Negro village" in the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900 and the "delivery of entire tribes" to the Brussels International Exposition of 1935, the fake "wet nurse of George Washington" exhibited by Barnum in his shows, "boulevard melodrama" and fairground performances, circus spectacles with funambulists and ventriloquists, rope dancers and weight lifters, in order to establish a genealogy of cinema as a public, popular, sensational, "attraction-based" spectacle.

6. Homeric poems, the old Slavic poem known as *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, Shakespeare's "historical chronicles," Callot's *Les Grandes misères de la guerre* (1633), Goya's *Desastres de la guerra* (1810-1815), the literary genre of the *travelogues*, and the wax museums already mentioned above, belong to the genealogical line that reconstructs "the route to the chronicle" which leads to the Soviet film genre of "cine-chronicle."

7. In the notes gathered in the text entitled "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," the origins of this "route to the chronicle" are found in the history of *ornament*. Eisenstein explains here how the "cine-chronicle" can be considered as "a stage of the artistic film," "the initial one," "just as petroglyph and ornament are a stage of a future visual art." The "cine-chronicle," in its initial forms (Lumière's *Arrival of a Train in the Station of La Ciotat* and *Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory*, the prerevolutionary *Pathé-journal* shot from one point of view, but also Dziga Vertov's "Kino-Eye," based on the principle of "life caught unawares") is considered by Eisenstein as "fundamentally eidetic" with its desire to adhere to reality, just as petroglyphic drawings adhere to the walls of a cave, and archaic tattooed ornaments adhere to the skin. As Eisenstein writes, "*If this is to go*[x] into the history of film, then say that the beginning landmark of the new era (in the arts as well – the Soviet art of cinema) began with the same thing as the first threshold of culture in humanity in general – the chronicle [*khronika*]."[146]

8. The genealogical line of "commemorative actions as *nux** of all arts" has its "*Vorstufe*," its preliminary stages, in the Dionysian rites reenacting of the life and death of Dionysus, in the Christian reenactments of the Passion such as the *Passionsspiele* taking place each year in the Bavarian town of Oberammergau, in the large ceremonies commemorating the French Revolution, all the way up to the mass events organized in Leningrad during the early 1920s in order to commemorate the anniversaries of the October Revolution: for example, the famous case of *The Storming of the Winter Palace*, directed in 1920 by Nikolai Evreinov. This line, according to Eisenstein, had to be followed from the Dionysian rites to the Soviet historical film ("Cult spectacles – both Dionysia and Mystery plays – these are 'historical' film") and beyond, all the way up to television ("The dithyramb – dynastic chronicle – reconstruction of an action – television"[147]), as we will further see in the last section of this text.

The last line of the synthetic outline mentioned above – "Dionysus – mysteries – Diderot – K.S. – *Gas Masks*" – shows clearly once more how Eisenstein considered his own works as being one of the crucial stages of this vast genealogy. The line begins in fact with Dionysian rites, continues with the Christian mysteries of the Passion, then with Diderot's ideas on theater as union between spectators and stage, with Konstantin Stanislavsky's ("K.S.") ideas on acting as a "lived experience" (*perezhivanie*) based on empathy, and ending with *Gas Masks*, the theater play Eisenstein had staged in 1924 in a real factory of gas masks. He considered this play as a turning point in his career, since after that he came to the conclusion that the limits of theater in the representation of reality had to be overcome by moving on to cinema.

Throughout the various genealogical lines that we have just tried to summarize, the cinematic *dispositif* is treated as an "assemblage" of elements which can be dismantled and studied separately.[148] Each one of these elements – the choice of point of view and the composition of forms within the frame, the recording of images onto light-sensitive film, the passage from negative to positive, the projection of light and images onto a vertical screen, as well as all the possible forms of visual, audiovisual, and chromatic montage – becomes the object of a genealogical reconstruction that searches for its "forerunners" in the history of the arts and of religious rites. The same approach is applied to the study of the *functions* of cinema: Eisenstein presents cinema as a way of *dismantling* and *reorganizing* audiovisual phenomena in time and space, of *recording* and *preserving* phenomena which would otherwise be destined to decay and disappear, of *narrating*, *commemorating*, and *reenacting* past events, and then tries to find the genealogical "forerunners" of each one of these functions by organizing into nonlinear, "jumping" sequences long lists of examples derived from very different historical and cultural contexts.

The only moment in which Eisenstein's genealogy follows a linear, chronological order is when he mentions, as "forerunners of cinema," a "list of inventions" taken from Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilisation* (1934).[149] In his study, Mumford had presented the history of technology as unfolding in three, partially overlapping phases: the "eotechnic" (roughly from 1000 to 1800), the "paleotechnic" (from 1700 to 1900), and the "neotechnic" (from 1900 to Mumford's present, the 1930s). The seven chapters of the book are followed by a list of "inventions" in which Mumford tries to sum up the "family lineage" listing names of technics and inventors organized in chronological order, but avoiding any reference to the countries to which the inventors belonged, since "modern science and technology are part of the common stock of Western Civilization."[150] After having presented a "summary of the existing technics before the tenth century," Mumford begins a list which begins with "999: Painted glass windows in England," a date that appears in Eisenstein's *Notes* in a section dedicated to the genealogy of projection: "Stained glass windows (999). As a transparent image. As a means to throw colored shadow. Magic lantern."[151]

Even though by copying into his notes certain sections of Mumford's "list of inventions" Eisenstein momentarily follows a linear chronological order, what is interesting is that in the list of media and technics mentioned by Eisenstein one finds examples which go way beyond what one would expect in a history of cinema, as "general" as it may be. Just like Sadoul in his *Histoire générale du cinéma* (in whose first volume we find many of the examples mentioned in the *Notes*), Eisenstein was interested in underlining how cinema had its roots in the *longue durée* of a history of technical experimentations, which included both optical media and other kind of media that were not dedicated to the recording and the presentation of images.[152] Besides optical media such as the camera obscura, the first lenses, the microscope, the first photographic techniques (calotype, daguerreotype, ambrotype), celluloid, chronophotography, Edison's first motion picture camera, in Eisenstein's "general history" we find also *printing media* such as the first movable types (1041-1049), wooden type (1300), metal type (1390) and the first typewriter (1714), as well as *sound media* such as the phonautograph invented by Scott de Martinville (1857), the microphone and the phonograph invented by Edison (1877) all the way to the first radio broadcasting in 1920 and the first experiments in radio television in 1927. The presence of these references shows how Eisenstein did not consider cinema as a primarily *optical* medium, but rather as a medium whose technical "forerunners" could be found in a vast and differentiated history of techniques which included those that had been invented in order to mechanize printing and writing or to record, manipulate, and transmit aural phenomena.

The list of examples that Eisenstein gathers in this vast and meandering genealogy is often disorienting, since it often seems to be drifting away in all possible directions. Still, several passages in the *Notes* indicate how all these examples

could be referred to a small number of founding principles. The genealogical lines dealing with the "origin of the species" of the "cine-chronicle," for example, are considered by Eisenstein as aligning all the forms of representation, the media, and the ritual actions that had been invented and performed in order to respond to a primary "urge" to "record phenomena": a "resistance against transience," a "nostalgia for the imperishable" and a search for "immortality,"[153] which according to him had remained the same through history. Once more, as had already happened in *Montage* and *Nonindifferent Nature*, Eisenstein "was searching for *ce qui ne passe pas dans ce qui passe*," for that which doesn't change among what changes, as he writes with his usual mix of languages in a passage of *Metod*.[154]

5. The Psychological and Anthropological Foundations of Eisenstein's "General History": The "*Urphänomen* of Cinema," the "Formula of Pathos" (Eisenstein and Warburg), and the "Urge to Record Phenomena"

Since the beginning of the 1920s, since his very first texts on the nature of the "expressive movement" and on the "montage of attractions" in theater and cinema, Eisenstein had always tried to find the *psychological* and the *anthropological foundations* of the aesthetic principles he was elaborating. The "urge to record phenomena" mentioned in the *Notes* as a way of explaining the historical appearance of the media and the art forms belonging to the genealogy of the "cine-chronicle" can be compared with the way in which in his texts about theater and film direction and in books like *Metod*, *Montage*, and *Nonindifferent Nature* Eisenstein had tried to untangle the web of conscious and unconscious associations which lies behind every creative intuition, and to find some solid, psychological foundations for the aesthetic principles of "regression," "montage," and "pathos."

A text like "Torito," written in 1934 in the context of his courses in film and theater direction at GIK and conceived as part of the first volume of *Direction*, shows well how Eisenstein was interested in unfolding in front of his students the intricate montage of intuitions, associations, and recollections that lead to a compositional solution in film and theater. Taking as an example one of the scenes of the episode *Maguey* of *Que Viva Mexico!* – the scene of the rebellion of the *peones* following the rape of Maria, the young fiancée of the *peon* Sebastian – Eisenstein remembers how behind the image of the arcades of the inner courtyard of the *hacienda* where the rebellion takes place, and behind the white *sarape* of Sebastian, one could find an intricate web of heterogeneous references such as the colored photographs of Venice that Eisenstein had seen as a child in Riga, De Chirico's urban landscapes, the Surrealist montages in Max Ernst's *La Femme 100 têtes*, the white surcoats of the *raskol'niki* sentenced to death in Mussorgski's opera

Khovanshchina, white as a traditional color of mourning in China, and the white togas of ancient Roman candidates to the Senate, the *candidati* (from the Latin *candidus*, "white"). In this same text, Eisenstein recalls the psychological analysis of the invention of the press by Gutenberg that one could find in Joseph-Marie Montmasson's *Le Rôle de l'inconscient dans l'invention scientifique* (1928),[155] a study of the unconscious drives behind technical inventions, and a possible reference point for Eisenstein in his search for the "urges" and the "*Triebe*" that lay behind the media and the art forms dedicated to the recording and the preservation of phenomena.

A similar search for the psychological foundations of artistic creation and media invention can be found in *Metod*. The central idea of the book, as we have seen quoting the essay "Film Form: New Problems," is that artworks can be truly effective only if they are capable of activating a dialectic movement which combines "a determined progressive ascent towards ideas at the highest peaks of consciousness and at the same time [...] a penetration through the structure of form into the deepest layers of emotional thinking."[156] The different texts that Eisenstein wanted to gather in *Metod* are all dedicated to the exploration of the various "paths of regression" (*puti regressa*) that could lead to such "deepest layers": not only of "emotional thinking" but, more in general, of organic, psychological or social life. The "protoplasmatic" body of simple organisms such as the amoeba, the prenatal condition of the fetus in the placenta, the initial stages of individual consciousness and the ways of thinking of archaic societies, the earliest forms of communal life – all these "early stages" are considered by Eisenstein to be the "deepest layers" which never disappear and are never completely overcome as organisms, minds, and societies evolve toward "higher" forms. As Eisenstein shows at length in the chapters of *Metod*, traces of these "deepest layers" can be found throughout the history of the arts: traces of the floating condition of the fetus in the mother's womb can be found, for example, in the gliding, suspended figures of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* and El Greco's *Ascension of Jesus*, or in the drawings and models of flying machines of Leonardo da Vinci, Arnold Böcklin and Vladimir Tatlin:

> It's one impulse [*pozyv*].
> It's one surge [*poryv*].
> And this is why the artists, just as the engineers, have turned to the flight of wings.
> The flight of imagination is not enough for them.
> They need a real, concrete flight. Tangible. Be it Leonardo or Böcklin (see the mass of his notes and his works on the same analysis of the flight of birds and of the models of flying machines) or even today – a paradox in the age of the "flying fortresses" and of the "radar" – the *Letatlin*, the naïf apparatus invented by our friend and contemporary [Vladimir Tatlin].[157]

In other sections of *Metod* Eisenstein uses the same term "urge" which appears in the *Notes* in order to indicate the way in which certain artistic forms bear the traces of the same desire of "*Mutterleibversenkung*," of "sinking into the mother's womb," which he had identified reading Otto Rank's *Trauma der Geburt* and Sandor Ferenczi's *Thalassa: Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*, both published in 1924.[158] This "urge" had according to Eisenstein both a psychological and a social dimension: it was both the desire to return to a state of indifferentiation between the body of the fetus and that of the mother, and an "urge towards a non-division in classes" (urge *k besklassovosti*),[159] the desire to return to a state of originary "communism" which for Eisenstein was both an origin deeply rooted in the past, and a goal to be pursued in the future. It is according to this perspective that Eisenstein sees in Disney's *Silly Symphonies* the regression toward a world of "protoplasmatic" forms which is both a "*Rück-Rück* [return-return] to evolutionary *prae-history*"[160] and a projection toward a utopian future. In the same way, in the text "Surge towards Gliding" ("Poryv k pareniiu") Eisenstein sees in the circular forms and in the floating, flying figures that can be found through the history of the painting the sign that "art tries invariably [...] to revive in people this incessant thirst [*zhazhda*] for *ideal* states which precede the division in classes": an "Eden-Paradise" that

> In the social biography of nations, is the state that precedes the division in classes, the state in which there isn't yet any exploitation of man by man, any servitude.
> In the individual and biological biography of man, it is the happiness of the uterine state of the embryo which is free from the need to fight for its life, and which exists in a state of serene well-being, of warmth and protection against any possible discomfort.[161]

In *Montage* as well Eisenstein tries to establish the psychological and the anthropological foundations of the aesthetic principle that constitutes the focal center of the book: the principle of montage. The foreword begins with a quotation from Gorky's *Man* ("All is in man – all is for man's sake!"[162]) with which Eisenstein tries to convey immediately the idea that montage is a process that is deeply rooted into human nature. The following chapters provide both an anthropological and psychological foundation for montage.

The first one can be found in a section of the chapter of *Montage* entitled "Laocoön" in the English edition, a section in which the origins of montage – here defined as "method of dismemberment and reassembly" (*metod i raschleneniia i vossoedineniia*)[163] – are found, through a "miraculous voyage deep into the history of art,"[164] in "the myths and mysteries of Dionysus," in which the crowd of the participants took part in ceremonies remembering and reenacting "the legend of the dismembered and reconstituted god":

> The myths and mysteries of Dionysus, of Dionysus being torn to pieces and the pieces being reconstituted in the transfigured Dionysus. Here we are at the very threshold of the art of theater which in time was to become the art of cinema, that threshold at which religious ritual gradually turned into art, at which the straightforward *cult act* gradually turned into *symbolic ritual*, then to metamorphose into an *artistic image* [*obraz*].[165]

In the myth of the young god Dionysus dismembered by the Titans and brought back to life by Zeus, Eisenstein found the primordial example of an act of "dismemberment" which is then followed by a reunification "in some superior new quality," just as in filmic montage the "dismantling" of a natural order of phenomena is followed by the reunification of these separated phenomena into a new, meaningful and emotionally charged "image" (*obraz*). Dionysus was for Eisenstein the first of a series of gods whose bodies had been dismembered and then reunified into a new whole. In the chapter "Dionysus and Osiris" he quotes Alfred Winterstein's *Ursprung der Tragödie* (The origin of tragedy) (1925), a psychoanalytic study in which the author mentions the possibility of reducing the content of different Attic tragedies to a small number of recurring figures of dying gods: for example, "a *pathos* of the year-*daemon*, usually a ritual or sacrificial death, in which *Adonis* or *Attis* is killed by the taboo animal; the *Pharmakos* is stoned to death; *Osiris*, *Dionysus*, *Pentheus* or *Hippolytus* are torn to pieces."[166]

All these mythological figures represented for Eisenstein different manifestations of a fundamental need to establish a community on the basis of the dismemberment and the reconstitution of a sacrificial body: be it the real chief of a tribe, a surrogate figure such as the slaves that the Aztec selected to be honored for a year in order to then be sacrificed as "images of the king," a totemic animal, the sacrifice of the body of Christ being commemorated in the sacrament of the Holy Communion, or the killing of the bull in the "*corridas* in honour of the Virgin" that Eisenstein had witnessed in Mexico.[167]

What interested Eisenstein in all these rites involving some form of real or symbolic sacrificial dismembering was, on the one hand, their social and political meaning: the fact that through such rites what was achieved was "the unity" of a collectivity, "its fusion into a single entity,"[168] showing how montage, since its origins, could exert a concrete social and political function. On the other hand, he was also interested in the passage from *real* sacrificial acts to their *representation* (the real sacrifice being substituted by a ceremony of commemoration and reenactment and then by a theatrical representation, the tragedy), and, finally, the elevation of the actions of dismembering and recomposing to the status of a founding artistic principle: the principle of montage. At this stage, writes Eisenstein,

> we are now no longer dealing with a *narrative account* of a dismembered *damon* undergoing his "epiphany," or even with the *structure* of the consecutive peripeteias in his story (which form the basis of a different plot-line), but with a *principle*, which has absorbed the basic characteristics of the narrative and reassembled them in a form that gives it a new quality.
> This, *as a principle*, permeates the structure of all possible kinds of artistic composition.
> In the course of its progress, the principle oscillates between being directly figurative and moving away as far as possible from figurative representation in the direction of pure principle. This does not only involve a simple forward development in a straight line; it can also include unexpected reversals and regressions [*Zdes' est' i neozhidannye vozvraty, retsidivy*].[169]

The second attempt to establish a psychological and anthropological foundation of the principle of montage can be found in another section of the same chapter of *Montage* entitled "Laocoön." Here Eisenstein presents what he considers as "the most fundamental cinematic phenomenon" (*samyi osnovnoi kinofenomen*):

> The most fundamental cinematic phenomenon – the fact that the picture moves – is a montage phenomenon. What does this phenomenon of the moving photographic image consist of?
> A series of still photographs of different stages of a single movement are taken. The result is a succession of what are called "frames."
> Connecting them up with one another in montage by passing the film *at a certain speed* through a projector reduces them to a single process which our perception interprets as movement.[170]

According to Eisenstein, this basic form of cinematic montage can be considered "most fundamental" for at least two reasons.

On the one hand, it exhibits in a simple form the human mind's capacity of uniting "separate phenomena into a generalised image":[171] a capacity that the mind exercises not only in the specific case of viewing a film, but in every cognitive activity. Interpreted in this perspective, perception and memory, imagination and logical reasoning are all carried out by the mind through some form of montage in which multiple impressions, memories, images, or concepts, are "edited" together in order to produce an "image" (*obraz*) imbued with a broader meaning. "To think," writes Eisenstein, "is above all to generalise."[172] As we read in "Laocoön," when we consider

> the unique nature of the cinematic phenomenon – the creation of motion out of the collision of two motionless forms – [...] we are not dealing with natural, physical movement but with something that has to do with the way

> our perceptions work. This is not only the primary phenomenon of cinematic technique [*pervichnyi fenomen kinematograficheskoi tekhniki*]; it is above all a primary phenomenon of the human mind's capacity to create images. For strictly speaking what occurs in this case is not movement; instead, our consciousness displays its ability to bring together two separate phenomena into a generalised image; to merge two motionless phases into an image of movement.[173]

Referring to the way in which single perceptions are "edited" by consciousness into a continuous and uninterrupted perceptual flow, Eisenstein continues:

> The principle of cinema is no more than a reflection, transferred to film-stock, footage, frame and projection speed, of an inevitable and absolutely basic psychological process that is common to each individual consciousness from its first steps in the absorption of reality. I refer to what is called eidetics. Reality exists for us as a *series* of foreshortenings and images. Without eidetics we would never be able to reduce all those "split-second photographs" of the separate aspects of phenomena into a single image.[174]

On the other hand, the "most fundamental cinematic phenomenon" is considered by Eisenstein as a paradigmatic example of the unification of several "representations" (*izobrazhenie*) into a general, meaningful, and emotionally powerful "image" (*obraz*) of which one can find an infinite number of variations throughout the history of the arts. Here it is important to underline how in several passages of the chapter entitled "Laocoön" Eisenstein uses the German term *Urphäomen* ("originary" or "fundamental phenomenon") in the expression "the *Urphänomen* of cinema,"[175] a clear reference to Goethe's scientific writings[176] and to his idea that one could consider the infinite, metamorphic variety of natural phenomena as an endless series of variations of a small number of transcendental models or "types." The different plants could be considered a series of morphological variations of an "originary plant" (*Urpflanze*), the variety of animal bones could be reconducted to an "originary vertebra" (*Urwirbel*), while the different colors could be considered as resulting from the interaction of the *Urphänomene* of light and shadow.[177]

Like several other authors writing during the first decades of the twentieth century – we may recall the names of art historians, philosophers, film theorists and cultural critics such as Gottfried Semper, Alois Riegl and Heinrich Wölfflin, Georg Simmel and Béla Balázs, Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer – Eisenstein had found in Goethe's morphology the model of a "tender empiricism" (*zarte Empirie*)[178] capable of finding morphological analogies among phenomena that at first sight could seem distant and heterogeneous.[179] If Goethe conceived the *Urphänomen* for the first time during his trip to Italy in 1786, when, aston-

ished by the endless variety of botanical forms he was encountering, dreamed of the possibility of deriving all of them from a transcendental model that he called *Urpflanze*, Eisenstein arrived at the decision to use the term *Urphänomen* after having contemplated the endless variations on the idea of montage that one could find scattered throughout the history of the arts.

Considered in this perspective, all the texts written for *Montage* can be read as a series of analyses and evaluations – in terms of their possible reemployment in cinema – of different variations of the same "*Urphänomen* of cinema." In the chapter entitled "Laocoön," for example, we find aligned one after the other in a meandering sequence the "Futurist drawing of 'eight-legged' people" (likely a reference to Giacomo Balla's *Girl Running on a Balcony* [1910]), "certain very early miniatures of the 11th-12th centuries" (probably the miniatures of the *Sachsenspiegel* mentioned above), "the many armed Hindu gods," the mythical, metamorphic figure of Proteus, "Tolstoy's description of a running horse at night by the light of flashes of lightning," the dynamic figures in the lithographs of Daumier and in the ceilings of Tintoretto, Watteau's *L'Embarquement pour Cythère*, Rodin's statue of Balzac, all the way up to the different variants of "'montage-approach' and 'montage thinking'" (*raznovidnosti montazhnogo podkhoda y myshleniia*) that one could find in the battle scenes of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Richard III*.[180] As Eisenstein writes, Shakespeare's mastery in introducing a whole series of precinematographic forms of montage in his plays allowed one to understand the nature of the "cinematic *Urphänomen* [...] outside cinema":

> It only remains to say one last thing: if Shakespeare has such mastery of all the forms that derive from the *Urphänomen* of cinema, i.e., or all those specific compositional devices that we have enumerated, then is he not equally inclined towards the very *Urphänomen* itself?
> What can that cinematic *Urphänomen* be [...] outside cinema? For an author who is not a film-maker, what can its attraction be when he is working within his own, non-cinematic art form?
> The main attraction will, of course, be the essential content of that phenomenon: *movement*. And more precisely: not so much movement as such but the *image of movement* (in the sense in which we have been discussing it hitherto). If we were to be utterly pedantic, we could say that perception of the phenomenon of any movement consists in the continual break-up of certain static form and the *reordering* of the fragments of *that* static form into a *new* form.[181]

The chapters of *Nonindifferent Nature* can be read in the same way: as a series of analyses of different historical manifestations of a few fundamental aesthetic principles. The equivalent of the "*Urphänomen* of cinema" mentioned in *Montage*

is now what Eisenstein calls – with a surprising coincidence with Aby Warburg's notion of "*Pathosformel*" – a "formula of pathos" (*formula pafosa*).[182]

In his atlas entitled *Mnemosyne*, Warburg decided to use the montage of different photographic reproductions of artworks, diagrams, pages of newspapers, and images derived from various fields (news, advertising, etc.) within the rectangular space of plates with a back velvet background in order to study and exhibit the migrations throughout the history of images of a few fundamental *Pathosformeln*: a few formulas of bodily gesture which were the expression of a series of emotions (suffering, grieving, mourning, fury, delirium, Dionysiac pathos, etc.) deeply impressed, almost "engraved," in collective memory.[183]

In a similar way, in the various chapters of *Nonindifferent Nature* Eisenstein analyzes the different historical manifestations of a "formula of pathos" that manifests itself in the simplest form as a series of "nonstatic," "ecstatic" (from the Greek *ek-stasis*) bodily gestures: standing, moving, jumping, screaming, up to the point of being "beside oneself."[184] Translated from the realm of bodily gestures to the realm of artistic form, this "formula" according to Eisenstein defined a work of art as properly "pathetic" if it was characterized by a similar state of being "beside oneself": a state produced by an inner energy which grows, reaches a climax and explodes producing a series of dialectic, qualitative leaps from one level to another. As we read in the chapter of *Nonindifferent Nature* entitled "Organic Unity and *Pathos*":

> To be beside oneself is unavoidably also a transition to something else, to something different in quality, to something opposite to what preceded it (no motion – to motion, no sound – to sound, etc.).
> Thus, just from the most superficial description of the ecstatic effect, which produces a construction of *pathos*, we can see what basic feature the construction must have in a composition of *pathos*.
> In this structure the condition of "being beside oneself" must be observed in all of its features, as well as the constant transition to a different quality.
> To be beside oneself, to be out of the usual balance and state, to move to a new state – all this, of course, contributes to the conditions necessary for the effect of any art capable of captivating us.[185]

For Eisenstein such a "formula of pathos" was "a single universal principle" whose manifestations could be found "in the creative works of the most varied countries, nations, epochs and periods."[186] Like Warburg's *Pathosformel*, it should not be conceived of "statically and mechanically," as a fixed set of formal prerequisites which remain unaltered in time, but rather in a "dynamic sense," as an energetic, dialectical principle which migrates through time and space manifesting itself in new configurations across a history which is a history of "recur-

rences," "unexpected returns and relapses," just as for Warburg the history of *Pathosformeln* was a history of "survival," "*Nachleben*."

Both for Eisenstein and for Warburg, montage provided the most appropriate instrument to extract from the course of history, organize and compare various examples of the "formula of pathos." In a series of notes written in Russian as a complement to the German text of "The Dramaturgy of Film Form," Eisenstein presents montage as a "comparing activity" (*deiatelnost' sopostavitelnaia*),[187] while Warburg, in his introduction to the *Atlas Mnemosyne*, defines the type of visual analysis that the atlas plates allowed as a "comparative analysis" (*vergleichende Betrachtung*) thanks to which one could see how "the dancing Salome from the Bible appears as a Greek maenad, or [...] a female servant carrying a basket of fruit in Ghirlandaio rushes by in quite conscious imitation of the Victory of a Roman triumphal arch."[188]

Looking at art history through the lens of such a "formula of pathos," and using montage as a heuristic and hermeneutic principle just as Warburg had done in the plates of *Mnemosyne*, Eisenstein conceived the chapters of *Nonindifferent Nature* as a series of flowing, "ecstatic" sequences aligning one after the other different examples of works of art in which one could find forms that somehow bore the traces of the dialectic energy of the "formula of pathos": for example, the *explosions* (intended as accumulation of tension and sudden release) that one could find in El Greco's *Resurrection*, in Piranesi's *Prisons*, as well as in the scene of the milk separator in *The General Line*.[189]

The way in which Eisenstein presents the principles of "regression," "montage," "pathos," and "ecstasy" in *Metod*, *Montage*, and *Nonindifferent Nature* seems to qualify them as *transhistorical* principles capable of cutting across history and of finding different manifestations in different media. Eisenstein was well aware of the fact that positing the existence of such principles as the basis of his own aesthetics could have exposed him to the accusation – particularly dangerous in the Soviet Union of the 1930s and 1940s – of denying the progressive nature of history and the social and historical conditions of all artistic forms. Two chapters of *Nonindifferent Nature* entitled "Sverkhpredmetnost' i sverkhtelesnost'" (Supraobjectivity and supracorporeality) and "K voprosy nadystorichsnosti" (On the question of suprahistoricity)[190] give a preemptive answer to a criticism Eisenstein was clearly expecting. Commenting on the "extrahistorical, extranational, extrasocial" nature of the "one and the same formula of pathos," Eisenstein writes:

> We discovered a certain "formula" according to which works of *pathos* are constructed.
> We found an extremely clearcut condition for that state, in which all elements and features of a given work must be or appear, in order that the *pathos* effect of the whole be achieved (this condition was the ecstatic state of all its

elements – a state that presumes the continuous spasmodic transition from quantity to quality as well as a series of other features).
We tried to verify the generality and universality of this "condition of a certain state," and following this, the characteristics of the compositional structure in the most varied areas and branches of art. We selected our examples so that they are as colorful and varied as possible, without taking into account time, place, nationality, or theme of the works chosen. [...]
And we discovered everywhere that one and the same formula by which, without regard to person, epoch, or field, the fundamental ecstatic explosion is achieved, which lies at the basis of the *pathos* effect of the whole.
The question naturally arises – what is this extrahistorical, extranational, extrasocial "panacea" with certain "immanent" features "outside of time and space"?
And how can it be that with the greatly varied and incompatible *contents* in these most diverse examples of the principle of "*pathosization*," the principle of their *pathos* exposition, the conditions of the *pathos* quality of their sound – they suddenly turn out to be exactly the same?
If I did not think I had an answer to this question, I would hardly emphasize it so much, but, on the contrary, like a circus juggler performing his tricks, would detract attention in every way possible from posing such a question. But I really think that it is perfectly possible to reply to such a perplexing question.[191]

The answer to this "perplexing question," according to what we read in the following pages of this chapter of *Nonindifferent Nature*, has to be found in the connection between "the psychic conditions" in which the work has been created by the "inspired author," the way in which they are translated into the "*pathos* construction" of the artistic form, and the way in which this artistic form can in turn produce some specific "psychic conditions" in the spectator. What Eisenstein imagines, in other words, is an ecstatic "flow"[192] that circulates between the artist, the work, and the spectator: a flow which becomes possible if all three of them "participate" in the stream of dialectic, ecstatic energy which runs across all natural phenomena, across a "matter" which Eisenstein conceived "as a continuous process of becoming":[193]

This psychic state was characterized by us [...] as the sense of participation in the laws governing the course of natural phenomena (from which also comes the scheme of the composition of works of *pathos* as a copy of the dialectic laws, according to which the continuous process of the formation and development of the universe occurs, second by second). [...]
The norms of this state, as we have already said, are known to us.
They are single and unchanging.

> These are those basic laws according to which the formation of everything that exists flows.
> The "obsession" relates to them.
> The structure of its psychic state is tuned in unison to it.
> And through it this system becomes the basic structure of the work and "the formation of its material."
> And in a vivid experience, those perceiving this structure, through the system of images of the work, participate in the operating of the norms of motion of the whole existing order of things and, experiencing it in dizzy ecstasy, participate in the state of being possessed by *pathos*.
> Now it is clear why, independent of the material and the figurative execution of the content, all examples of art of genuine *pathos* of different periods and nations – by the mark of concreteness – by the mark of the structure of itself – unavoidably and inevitably correspond and must correspond.
> For this structure is a copy of the structure of those norms of general movement and development, according to which, changing geological eras and historical epochs and succeeding social systems, the cosmos and history and the development of human society move.[194]

The "universality" of the "formula of pathos," with its foundations in the "subjective experience" of the dialectical laws of nature,[195] could be compared according to Eisenstein with other universal forms such as rhetorical figures or musical rhythms.[196] Just as one could detect the presence of the "principle of the metaphor" in authors as distant as Homer and Mayakovsky, the presence of the "waltz" form in Johann Strauss and Prokofiev, or, even more generally, the presence of "rhythm" in Gregorian chants and Gershwin,[197] one could detect the presence of the same "formula of pathos" through different cultures and ages, even though each time "incarnated" in different media and different techniques.

History, according to what we read in these passages, is a process through which a small number of recurring psychic states manifest themselves in different ways and find different responses through different media:

> Alexander Borgia and Shakespeare, Count Benckendorff or Hafiz, all burn with an identical feeling of hunger in exactly the same way.
> But one satisfies it with Eastern fruits, another with Renaissance viands, a third with the substantial food of the time of Queen Elizabeth, a fourth with the refinements of French cooking.
> Dante, Pushkin, Simonov or Mayakovsky in the final analysis, all burn with lust in exactly the same way [...].
> And in the same way, "I love" is similar to [Simonov's] "Wait for Me" and stanzas of Dante to [Pushkin's] "I Remember the Wonderful Moment." [...]

> Such a dynamic generality of "the formula of ecstasy" also passes through ecstatic works of *pathos*, which are both extremely different in subject, aim, idea, theme, time, and place, and are from different countries and peoples appearing at times as a quite unexpected echo.[198]

In the *Notes*, as we will now see, the "suprahistorical," "supraobjective," and "supracorporeal" principle capable of explaining the wide variety of media that Eisenstein mentions as part of the genealogical line leading to the Soviet "cine-chronicles," is what he calls an "*urge*" or, in German, a "*Trieb*" "to record phenomena." We find a very clear presentation of the different manifestations of this *urge* or *Trieb* in a passage from "The Heir":

> PHOTOGRAPHY
> Photography *and the urge** to record a phenomenon [*fiksirovat' iavlenie*].
> *Primärer** [in German: primary] eideticism – *lost paradise** of the eideticism with the awakening of consciousness – the *urge** towards substitution for the loss *through a mechanical device (great!!!).**
> The camera and the retina of the eye: the camera – a portrait of the eye (*The Clansman*!).
> "Photography as a *craft** begins with the mummy – Egypt.
> The death mask – Rome (the naturalism of the death mask).
> The pyramid and the idea of resistance against transience – immortality. Nostalgia for the imper[ishable]. In this – photo is *nec plus ultra** [in Latin: that which cannot be surpassed].
> To research from the mummy (*preservation of the self**) to photography. The photographs of the relatives and of the dead.
> CINEMA
> Cinema *and the urge** to record a process [*fiksirovat' protsess*].
> All cine-toys.
> The reason behind doll-automatons (the immortalized actor), mechanical miniature theatres etc., wind-up dolls.
> SOUND CINEMA
> Sound cinema *and the urge** to record sound processes [*fiksirovat' zvukoprotsessy*].
> *Balloons** in comic drawings.
> The same in the middle ages. *Justicia** [sic; in Latin: *Justitia*, "justice"].
> The same with the ancient Maya.
> Hieroglyphs, but also graphically deformed for the transmission of intonation (my interpretation from observations).
> Photo-element as *nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] of aesthetics.
> CHRONICLE

If we follow along the line of the *urge** to secure phenomena (chronicle, photography, document), impressions (*travelog[ue]*).*
"Objectively": Homer
Later: tendentiously (*par exemple*,* the figures of pharaohs and ordinary mortals already in disproportion).
Later: emotionally.
The Tale of Igor's Campaign.
Les désastres de la guerre, Callot
(as a sequential cine-chronicle).
Later: patheticized.
Los desastres de la guerra, Goya
(as non-sequential patheticized impressions).
Later: dramatized, i.e., by the means of staged delivery, being true to the essential facts.
Mysteries
poeticized – the chronicles of Shakespeare.
("Garbling" – for ex., *The Horrors of Kalish*, shot in the courtyard of the Nirnsee Building, 1914).[199]

In this passage, photography, cinema, sound cinema, and the tradition of the "cine-chronicle" – with all their various "forerunners" – are presented as different media responding to the same *urge* of "recording phenomena." Each medium responds to this *urge* according to its own possibilities: photography records static phenomena, silent cinema records processes which in sound cinema become audiovisual processes, while the "cine-chronicle," here represented by the film *The Horrors of Kalish* based on a script by Vladimir Gardin, records entire historical events.

Photography, in particular, is presented as the technical response to a traumatic loss: the loss of that "paradise" which Eisenstein calls "primary eideticism [*eidetizm*]." What is this "eideticism" which is lost "with the awakening of consciousness" and substituted "through a mechanical device," an idea that Eisenstein found so appealing that he underlined it with "great!!!"?

We find an answer in the essay entitled "Rodin and Rilke" (1945), in which Eisenstein explains how in the works of the French sculptor and in those of the German poet one could find the examples of two different artistic methods, opposite but dialectically connected: one method that produces the artistic form moving from the inside outward, and another that instead produces the form moving from the outside inward. Eisenstein had found a similar distinction reading one of Rilke's letters to Rodin, dated December 29, 1908, in which Rilke writes:

> In writing poetry one is always aided and even carried away by the rhythm of external things; for the lyric cadence is that of Nature; of the waters, of the wind, of the night. But to make prose rhythmic one must go deep into oneself and find the anonymous and multiple rhythm of the blood. Prose wants to be built like a cathedral; there, one is truly without name, without ambition, without help: among scaffoldings, with only one's conscience.
>
> And just think, in that prose I now know how to make men and women, children and old men. I have evoked women in particular by carefully making all the things about them, leaving a blank which might be only a void, but which, fashioned amply and with tenderness, becomes vibrant and luminous, almost like one of your marbles.[200]

Referring to this letter, in "Rodin and Rilke" Eisenstein distinguishes the two, opposite but symmetrical methods of the sculptor and the poet: "Rilke's prose juxtaposes all the elements surrounding the image in nature and, through a mysterious spell, generates an image which seems to have come to life by itself. Rodin, instead, sculpts the image in stone, but the image is conceived in order to radiate into its surrounding environment."[201]

These two artistic methods corresponded, according to Eisenstein, to two different ways of experiencing the world, which could be referred to two different stages of development of man: the experience of the fetus inside the mother's womb feeling the objects in the outside world through the "imprints" that they eventually create on the inside wall of the womb (and this is the "primary eideticism" mentioned above, the primary experience of form, *eidos*),[202] and the experience of the child after birth as she touches the objects surrounding her. In the first case, the fetus feels the form as a sort of "counterform" (*kontr-forma*) or "counterrelief" (*kontr-rel'ef*), as a "negative," while in the second case the child feels the "positive" volume of a "form" (*forma*) or "relief" (*rel'ef*).[203]

As he does in several other passages of the texts written in the 1930s and 1940s, Eisenstein refers to the ontogeny-philogeny parallelism in order to derive from the development of the "individual" some conclusions concerning the development of the "species."[204] The ontogenetic passage from the experience of the "negative volumes" or "counterreliefs" felt from inside the womb to the experience of the "positive volumes" touched with the hands in the outside world becomes therefore the equivalent of the phylogenetic historical development of artistic forms, which move from the *negative* to the *positive*, from the *tactile* to the *optical*: from the imprints of the hands and the casts of the faces in the death masks (negative images which are produced by contact) to the various positive volumes of sculptures that are supposed to be viewed from a distance. A vision of the history of the arts that recalls Alois Riegl's ideas on the historical development from the *haptic* to the *optical*.[205]

This said, the historical development described by Eisenstein is neither linear nor progressive, but rather characterized by "continual shifts forwards and backwards," since the latest phase of the history of the arts sees the appearance of two art forms, two media, which are entirely based on the production of a "negative" image: *photography* and *cinema*.

The appearance of these two media is described by Eisenstein in "Rodin and Rilke" as the response to a need, a "thirst" (*zhazhda*) that humans have always felt to "transpose" their "physical actions" and "psychological processes" into "mechanical devices" (*apparaty*), as it happened with the hammer that replaced the punch given with the fist, or the mechanical loom that replaced the weaving done by hand.[206] The most advanced art form, cinema, rejoins therefore the earliest ones: the technique of the "detaching of the mask" (*technika sniatiia maski*) used for the production of death masks reappears in the technique of the "super mask" (*technika supermaski*), the technique of the photographic negative that lies at the basis of cinema.[207]

The passage of "The Heir" that we quoted above returns to the ideas presented in "Rodin and Rilke" in 1945, and makes the connection between photography and death masks explicit. To this connection it adds another one to which we will return later, that with Egyptian mummies: "Photography as a *craft** begins with the mummy – Egypt. The death mask – Rome (the naturalism of the death mask)."[208]

The following line ("The pyramid and the idea of resistance against transience – immortality. Nostalgia for the imper[ishable]. In this – photo is *nec plus ultra*") further develops the interpretation of photography and cinema contained in the *Notes*: after having been presented as a technique developed in order to respond to the "lost paradise" of the intrauterine state – a loss which, as we have seen, Eisenstein interpreted as generating a never-satisfied desire to return in the mother's womb, indicated in *Metod* with the acronym *MLB* (*Mutterleibversenkung*) – photography is now presented as the *nec plus ultra* of a "resistance against transience," a longing for "immortality."[209]

Such a longing is presented in another passage of the *Notes* through a reference to one of the most famous verses from Goethe's *Faust*, the verse in which Faust expresses his desire to arrest the flow of time with the exclamation "*Verweile doch, du bist so schön!*," "Stay, you are so beautiful!":

> ***"Verweile doch, du bist so schön!"***[210]
> One can view all artistic activity *als Auswuchs dieses Triebes* [as development from this urge].
> Beginning even beyond the bounds of art itself. *Woher dieser Urtrieb?* [Where does this primary urge come from?]
> Man is eternally subject to the power of creation and destruction, just as nature, history, and society are.

> His aspiration is *toujours inassouvie* [never satisfied] – stability – eternity.
> It is all the same whether it is physical immortality (VIEM[211]) – immortality through children – eternal life through metempsychosis – by going to paradise – through the creation of enduring things of value – in the hearts of the people, etc. (The American's longing for "*security*").[212]

According to this passage, "all artistic activity" can be considered as *Auswuchs*, as some form of "growth" or development, of a primary *Trieb*, an *Urtrieb* toward "stability" and "eternity." Just as it happened with "the *Urphänomen* of cinema" in *Montage*, Eisenstein searches for an "originary" dimension capable of explaining a series of historical manifestations: the *Urtrieb* replaces here the *Urphänomen*. The German term *Trieb*, an equivalent of the previous *urge*, is clearly an implicit reference to Freud and to psychoanalysis, and defines the *urge* as an unconscious drive or impulse which runs through history searching for a response along very different routes: in works of art but also in giving birth to children, "the creation of enduring things of value," the belief in paradise or in metempsychosis, or the scientific studies on illnesses and the possibility of physical immortality conducted at the Soviet Institute for Experimental Medicine (VIEM).

In a series of notes dated December 2, 1946, Eisenstein tries to summarize the main forms of "recording" [*fiksirovat'*] or "securing" [*zakreplyat'*] phenomena, and distinguishes three main forms:

> 1. the reproduction of an event or person (dynamically)
> or
> 2. the mummification of a person or event
> or, if you like, a third way:
> 3. the recording by the means of a sign (from a pyramid to a gravestone, or the inscription on a cross in a cemetery).[213]

The second form, the "mummification of a person or event," summarizes a genealogical line which includes Egyptians mummies, the Roman portraits of the ancestors, derived from death masks, that Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia* calls *imagines*,[214] the "gigantic Buddhas in the cave temples and niches of cliffs in Tibet," the portraits of the American presidents sculpted on Mount Rushmore. As in the passages we quoted above, Eisenstein once again connects photographs to death masks, referring to Balzac's ideas on the photograph as a spectral layer effectively removed from the body and captured by the emulsion – "Removal (from the corpse) of the mask [...] A photo is a 'take' (Balzac)" – and ends with a definition of cinema as "dynamic mummification" (*dinamicheskaia mumifikatsiia*).[215] A form of mummification which in other passages from the *Notes* is connected to the *relic* in all its various historical manifestations – the Christian "re-

positories of relics," Tsar Peter's cottage, Roosevelt's home, souvenirs, the collections of signatures of famous people, etc.

This idea of "dynamic mummification" constitutes another one of the "unexpected junctures" that we find in the *Notes*. We have already underlined the similarities between Eisenstein's "formula of pathos" and Warburg's "*Pathosformel*," and in section 7 of this text we will discuss the analogies between Eisenstein's "*obraz*" and Benjamin "dialectical image." Now it is the time to analyze the unexpected convergence between, on the one hand, what Eisenstein writes about the "urge to record phenomena" and the way that Kracauer, in the preparatory materials to his *Theory of Film* (1960), describes the "instincts" and the "primordial impulses" to which cinema was responding; and on the other hand, between Eisenstein's idea of cinema as "dynamic mummification" and Bazin's idea, in "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" (1945), of cinema as "*momie du changement*," "change mummified."

6. "Urge" and "*Instinkt*," "Dynamic Mummification" and "*Momie du changement*": Eisenstein, Bazin, Kracauer

Kracauer worked on a book on the theory and the aesthetics of film for more than twenty years before publishing *Theory of Film* in 1960, and in one of the first stages of elaboration of this project – the so-called "Marseiller Entwurf," written in Marseille between 1940 and 1941, while he was anxiously awaiting a visa to leave France with his wife and escape the Nazi occupation – we find a number of elements that can be compared to Eisenstein's project for a "general history of cinema."

Written in the form of fragmentary notes arranged in six vertical columns ("From where?," "Observations," "Examples," "Keywords," "Composition," "To be developed"), the "Marseiller Entwurf" presents the same attempt to identify some of the fundamental causes that have lead to the historical appearance of cinema. Just like Eisenstein, who had written that his "general history" was not supposed to be a "portrait hall of characters," Kracauer did not want to write a book based on a factual history of films and directors: he was interested instead in understanding "the phenomenon of film" (*das Phänomen des Films*), an expression that reminds us of Eisenstein's "*Urphänomen* of cinema":

> Here we need to understand the "phenomenon of film" [*Phänomen des Films*]. How can we explain its appearance around 1885, its development, and its present hegemony? What are its specific characteristics? What meaning do they have?[216]

If Eisenstein was trying to identify the "urges" and the "*Triebe*" to which cinema had responded, Kracauer was trying to identify the "instinct" (*Instinkt*) and the

"primordial impulse" (*ursprüngliches Impuls*)[217] that had led to the appearance of cinema by penetrating film's "fundamental layer" (*Grundschicht*). At this level – which is once more conceived in archaeological terms as a layer that can be reached through some form of "penetration" (*durchdringen*)[218] – films responds to a number of instincts and impulses whose nature remains in the "Marseiller Entwurf" quite undetermined: on the one hand they seem to be *human* and *psychological*, a "drive [*Drang*] towards a widening of our knowledge of the material dimension of reality,"[219] while on the other they seem to be instincts and impulses *that belong to cinema itself* as a "nonanthropocentric"[220] medium that turns away from man, "records what the eye cannot perceive,"[221] and "penetrates" the dynamic, material world,[222] as happens at the beginning of film's history in what Kracauer calls "archaic films":

> *Archaic films* (see the chapter entitled "Archaic Panorama") respond only to a still indomitable instinct when they record material phenomena and processes, without pursuing any intention other than that of representing beings in movement. These films cut across the fundamental layer of film [*Grundschicht des Filmes*]. Film is in its fundamental layer whenever it focuses on the representation of material reality.
> But: The fundamental layer becomes accessible only when no meaning is sought in the presentation of material reality, when the play of being [*das Spiel des Seiendes*] is not subjected to intentional constructions. In the fundamental layer, beings in movement stand out in themselves.[223]

The unintentional, indifferent recording of the fast movements that characterize material reality finds its paradigmatic expression in what Kracauer names "*Pferdegalopp*," "galloping horses": an implicit reference to Eadweard Muybridge's first chronophotographs, which defines the recording of fast movements as "cinema's originary motif" (*Urmotiv des Filmes*).[224] Rather than striving upward toward intentional meanings and elaborate narratives, such as the ones that can be found in theater, cinema "penetrates" downward, toward the "residues" (*zum Bodensatz*) and the "scum" (*Abhub*) of factual, contingent, fragmentary matter, where the "mere being" (*das Bloßseiende*)[225] captured by an "indifferent" camera[226] is still "devoid of intention."[227] At its "fundamental layer" (*Grundschicht*), in the "dark depth of the material dimension,"[228] cinema is therefore driven by an "impulse,"[229] but this "impulse" turns out to be something very close to Freud's *Todestrieb*, and Kracauer significantly writes the words "*Danse macabre. Kermesse funèbre*"[230] next to "*Pferdegalopp*."[231]

The expression *Kermesse funèbre* refers to the French title of the short film *Death Day* (1934) which Sol Lesser, following an invitation from Upton Sinclair, had edited using the sequences that Eisenstein had filmed for the epilogue of *Que Viva Mexico!* The impressions derived from *Death Day*, which Kracauer saw in Paris

in the spring of 1940, are recorded in his diaries in a series of notes and drawings, and become in the "Marseiller Entwurf" the starting point for a series of remarks about the possible conclusion of the book on film theory and film aesthetics that he was planning. The "impulse towards the widening of our knowledge of material reality" that gives rise, at the origins of cinema, to Muybridge's chronophotography, turns into the disquieting discovery that the realm of unintentional matter is the realm of death: "The face has no value for film unless it includes the *skull* beneath: *Danse macabre*. To what end? We will see."[232]

It is interesting to compare what Kracauer writes in the "Marseiller Entwurf" about the role that Eisenstein's *Death Day* would have had in his book, with the meaning that Eisenstein himself had assigned to the epilogue of *Que Viva Mexico!* and with the "aspiration *toujours inassouvie*" toward "stability" and "eternity" that we find in the *Notes*.

Shot in Mexico City during the *Día de los Muertos* – the "Day of the Dead" that the Mexicans celebrated as a frenzied, ecstatic response to the inevitability of death taking the form of a carnival of dancing skeletons and sugar skulls – the epilogue was conceived by Eisenstein as the end of a spiral-like movement which was supposed to lead the film back to its beginning, but on a different plane. Both the prologue and the epilogue of *Que Viva Mexico!* are centered on the theme of death, but whereas in the prologue death is presented through the images of a somber and grievous funerary ceremony, in the epilogue death becomes the object of the mocking joy of the *Día de los Muertos*, as we read in Eisenstein's first outline of *Que Viva Mexico!*:

> Death. Skulls of people. And skulls of stone. The horrible Aztec gods and the terrifying Yucatan deities. Huge ruins. Pyramids. A world that was and is no more. Endless rows of stones and columns. And faces. Faces of stone. And faces and flesh. The man of Yucatan today. The same man who lived thousands of years ago. Unmovable. Unchanging. Eternal. And the great wisdom of Mexico about death. The unity of death and life. The passing of one and the birth of the next one. The eternal circle. And the still greater wisdom of Mexico: the *enjoying* of this eternal circle. Death Day in Mexico. Day of the greatest fun and merriment. The day when Mexico provokes death and makes fun of it – death is but a step to another cycle of life – why then fear it! Hat stores display skulls wearing top and straw hats. Candy takes the shape of skulls in sugar and coffins of confectionery. Parties go to the cemetery, taking food to the dead. Parties play and sing on the graves. And the food of the dead is eaten by the living. The drinking and the singing grow louder. And night covers Death Day. Death Day that is becoming birth day of new lives, for new arrivals. And from beneath the terrifying skull of the grotesque death masquerade and fiesta peeps the smiling face of a new baby

establishing the unmovable law of death following life and life following death.[233]

Behind the "*Trieb*" toward "stability and eternity" described in the *Notes*, there is also the eternity that Mexican culture was affirming through this joyful celebration of life that turned death upside down. The carnival of the *Día de los Muertos*, which Posada had represented so well in his etchings, can be considered one of the collective, socially unifying rituals of reenactment that Eisenstein considered to be part of the genealogy of cinema. It was an ecstatic, exhilarating moment, characterized by an "*urge*" to laugh at death that Eisenstein, in a chapter of *Metod*, considered to be one of the defining traits of the "comic."[234] An *urge* to laugh which was something very different from the uncanny *vanitas* of the *Danse macabre* that Kracauer was imagining for the conclusion of his book, with its disquieting, alienating discovery of film's proximity to the most intentionless, fragmentary, dead side of material reality.

The second "unexpected juncture" we are dealing with in this section is the one between Eisenstein's idea of cinema as "dynamic mummification" (*dinamicheskaia mumifikatsiia*) and Bazin's famous statements about cinema as "change mummified" (*momie du changement*) in his "Ontology of the Photographic Image" (1945).[235] The similarity between these two expressions invites us to reconsider the relationship between the Soviet film director and theorist who spent his life trying to understand the nature and the power of montage, and the French film critic who came to the conclusion that the ethics of realism which he was promoting in cinema could lead to the famous principle of "*montage interdit*."[236]

Published for the first time in a volume edited by the French art historian and critic Gaston Diehl with the title *Les Problèmes de la peinture*,[237] "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" was later selected by Bazin to be the opening essay of the first volume of the anthology *What Is Cinema?* (*Qu'est-ce que le cinéma?*), the only volume that Bazin personally edited before his death in 1958. The text could have been read by Eisenstein, who was in close contact with Georges Sadoul, but no evidence of such a reading has been found so far. Just as with Warburg and Benjamin, what we have here is a convergence of ideas that needs to be explored, but that cannot be explained in terms of documentary evidence of mutual readings.

From the very beginning of his essay, Bazin presents his reflections on the ontology of the photographic image as part of a "psychoanalysis of the plastic arts" which finds in the ancient Egyptian practices of embalming and mummifying the same response to a "basic psychological need in man," the "defense against the passage of time" (*un besoin fondamental de la psychologie humaine: la défense contre le temps*):

> If the plastic arts were put under psychoanalysis, the practice of embalming the dead might turn out to be a fundamental factor in their creation. The process might reveal that at the origin of painting and sculpture there lies a mummy complex [*le "complexe" de la momie*]. The religion of ancient Egypt, aimed against death, saw survival as depending on the continued existence of the corporeal body. Thus, by providing a defense against the passage of time it satisfied a basic psychological need in man, for death is but the victory of time. To preserve, artificially, his bodily appearance is to snatch it from the flow of time, to stow it away neatly, so to speak, in the hold of life. It was natural, therefore, to keep up appearances in the face of the reality of death by preserving flesh and bone.[238]

Such "fundamental need" – which Bazin in another passage describes as "man's primitive need to have the last word in the argument with death by means of the form that endures"[239] – runs through history and plays here the role that the "urge" and the "*Trieb*" to "record phenomena" play in Eisenstein's *Notes*, connecting photography and cinema to a whole genealogy of forms that includes "the practice of embalming the dead,"[240] "the molding of death masks [...] which likewise involves a certain automatic process,"[241] and "the psychology of relics and souvenirs which likewise enjoy the advantages of a transfer of reality stemming from the 'mummy complex.'"[242] With their "impassive lens,"[243] their "mechanical reproduction"[244] and their direct, immediate "transference of reality [*transfert de réalité*] from the thing to its reproduction," photographs have to be interpreted, according to Bazin, on the one hand in relationship to Christian theological notions such as incarnation and transubstantiation,[245] and on the other hand in relationship to psychoanalysis, since photography is able to "*défouler*" – the opposite of *refouler*, "to repress" – from the depth of our unconscious a need that reason tends to sublimate: "Only a photographic lens can give us the kind of image of the object that is capable of satisfying the deep need man has to substitute for it something more than a mere approximation, a kind of decal or transfer."[246]

Cinema, like photography, is considered by Bazin to be strictly connected to the same "mummy complex," since they both "embalm time, rescuing it simply from its proper corruption."[247] Referring to the historical connection between baroque art and cinema that André Malraux had argued in 1940 in his *Esquisse d'une psychologie du cinéma*, later developed in the three volumes of the *Psychologie de l'art* (1949),[248] Bazin presents cinema as "change mummified":

> Viewed in this perspective, the cinema is objectivity in time. The film is no longer content to preserve the object, enshrouded as it were in an instant, as the bodies of insects are preserved intact, out of the distant past, in amber. The film delivers baroque art from its convulsive catalepsy. Now, for the first

> time, the image of things is likewise the image of their duration, change mummified [*la momie du changement*] as it were.[249]

With their definitions of cinema as "*dinamicheskaia mumifikatsiia*" and "*momie du changement*," Eisenstein and Bazin were not the first to associate photography and cinema with embalming. In his *Bonjour cinéma*, back in 1921, Jean Epstein had already defined cinema as a form of "*embaumement mobile*," a "mobile embalming."[250] Even before, the art historian Julius Schlosser, in his *History of Portraiture in Wax* (1911), had reconstructed a long genealogy of this often neglected figurative practice which had its starting point in Roman portraiture and funerary traditions. Further developing the ideas that Aby Warburg had formulated in a text written in 1902 – "The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie," which underlined the importance of studying the tradition of the wax *ex-votos* such as the *boti* which had been hanging for decades in the church of the Santissima Annunziata in Florence[251] – Schlosser came to the conclusion that wax portraiture had "survived" through centuries and had found its latest reincarnation in the wax sculptures hosted in wax museums such as the Hamburg Panoptikum (the same museum that is mentioned by Eisenstein in the *Notes*) and in the photographic image. This was considered by Schlosser to be a form of modern "survival"[252] of the peculiar "realism" and "naturalism" of wax portraits:

> In the light of the whole historical development that took place, there can be no doubt that portraiture in wax, with its permanent, inherent tendency to naturalism, served the function that in due course was likewise served by the truly middle-class art of modern times, namely photography – though with the difference that photography worked in a more readily understood way, less sensuously, with greater scientific objectivity – as it were, more abstractly – and above all much more economically: the function of delivering up a maximally "faithful," "living," "true" image of the person portrayed.[253]

In Warburg and Schlosser, the study of the tradition of wax portraiture and of the variety of beliefs surrounding it, had marked a decisive turn from an art history conceived as a history of artworks and artistic styles, to an *anthropology of images* focusing on the phenomena of anachronic "survival" and "*Nachleben*" of often anonymous practices that had been previously relegated to outside the margins of art history. A similar anthropological approach to the study of images is present in both Bazin and Eisenstein, even though they arrived at different conclusions concerning the issue of how cinema's "mummifying" nature could determine cinema's relation to history.

According to Bazin, the idea of "a total and complete representation of reality" that Niépce, Muybridge, Demenÿ, and Louis Lumière had been pursuing with their experiments,[254] had found a logical consequence in the idea that cinema

would be capable of recording a "total history": a continuous, uninterrupted recording of historical phenomena made by cameras which, during the 1940s, had reached a state of "omnipresence in space and time." This is what we read in the essay "On *Why We Fight*: History, Documentation, and the Newsreel," written in 1946 as a commentary to the seven propaganda films that had been produced between 1942 and 1945 under the supervision of Frank Capra, and which edited together documentary footage from the war:[255] an example of "cine-chronicle" similar to the ones mentioned by Eisenstein in the *Notes*. Commenting on the way in which World War II had seen the deployment of a vast media apparatus, Bazin assigns to cinema the capacity of capturing and recording on film a world whose skin "peels off" daily in front of thousand of "countless Bell-and-Howell lenses placed all over the world where important events take place":

> The taste for such documentary news, combined with that for the cinema, reflects nothing if not modern man's will to be there, his need to observe history-in-the-making, not only because of political evolution, but also because of the evolution as well as irremediable intermingling of the technological means of communication and destruction. The days of total war are fatally matched by those of total history. [...]
> We live more and more in a world stripped bare by film, a world that tends to peel off its own image. Hundreds of thousands of screens make us watch, during the news broadcasts, the extraordinary shedding performed each day by tens of thousands of cameras. As soon as it forms, history's skin peels off again. [...]
> Up to the discovery of photography, the "historical fact" was reconstituted from written documents; the mind and human language came into play twice in such reconstitutions: in the reconstruction of the event and in the historical thesis it was adduced to support. With film, we can refer to the facts in flesh and blood, so to speak.[256]

The anachronic comparison between photography and cinema on one side, and mummies and death masks on the other, is therefore interpreted by Bazin as a way to reinforce the idea of cinema as "total and complete representation of reality" that has as a consequence the possibility of recording a "total history" without any gaps or lacunas.

In his notes for a "general history of cinema," Eisenstein presents us with a very different vision of the relationship between cinema and history. If Bazin conceived cinema as a medium through which historical events are immediately embalmed, mummified and preserved, Eisenstein studies the "general history of cinema" through another one of cinema's defining traits, montage, intended as a tool for disassembling and reassembling the sequences of historical phenomena. Cinema, in other words, is not a historiographical tool thanks to its *embalming*

possibilities, but rather thanks to that capacity of "*dismantling*" any given "order of events" in order to replace it with other orders and other "established laws," as Eisenstein writes in "Revelation in Storm and Thunder."

As we will now see, this belief in montage as a powerful epistemic and historiographical tool is something Eisenstein shared with Walter Benjamin: the relation between the *Notes* and the *Arcades Project* is another "unexpected juncture" we need to examine.

7. "*Rückblick*" and "*Ausblick*," "Fore-history" and "After-history": Eisenstein and Benjamin

As we have repeatedly seen so far, Eisenstein's "general history of cinema" is entirely constructed in the *Notes* as a series of sequences of examples that do not respect, except for the "list of inventions" taken from Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*, any linear chronological order. These genealogical lines are instead constructed according to a "jumping chronology" that connects Dionysian dithyrambs with live television, Egyptian mummies and Roman death masks with photography and cinema, petroglyphic drawings and tattooed ornaments with the "adhering" realism of the early examples of "cine-chronicles."

Eisenstein was well aware of the difficulties raised by such an unconventional approach to history writing, and in "Dynamic Mummification" he writes: "*Historical evaluations*. How to look at discrete phenomena of history [*Kak smotret' otdelnye iavleniia istorii*]."[257] The question touches one of the fundamental problems raised by the *Notes*: how can *anachronism* have a real heuristic and hermeneutic value, and when is it instead misleading? When does an *anachronic montage* that joins together art forms extracted from very different cultural and historical contexts reveal meaningful morphological similarities, and when does it only show superficial, extrinsic analogies? What are the criteria for making such distinctions?[258]

These questions are raised not only by the *Notes*, but also by all the other vast and unfinished book projects that Eisenstein worked on during the 1930s and 1940s: *Montage*, *Metod*, and *Nonindifferent Nature*. In all these books, Eisenstein keeps on comparing examples that seem at first to be distant and different from one another, in order to reveal deeper morphological affinities, and he finds the criteria to establish such connections and comparisons *in the present*, in his own practice as a film director. It is *from the point of view of cinema* that every previous art form has to be considered. This means that the gaze of the film director and film theorist who turns to history has to be constantly oriented toward different directions at the same time: the *present* in which previous art forms are examined, the *past* from which they are extracted, and the *future* in which they could be reinterpreted and reactivated. Eisenstein summarizes this idea in the "Draft of 'Introduction'" to *Montage* when he writes that every form of precinematographic

montage that can been found in art history has to be contemplated with a gaze that is at the same a "retrospect" (*Rückblick*) and a "prospect" (*Ausblick*), "in the good German tradition."[259] Another passage from *Montage* presents the same idea in other words:

> I like to regard every phenomenon as some kind of intermediate stage, as a sort of "today," with its "yesterday" and its "tomorrow"; as something within a sequence, having its "before" and its "after," i.e. its preceding and subsequent stages. Certain "throwback" features lead to a leap backwards into the preceding stage, while the line of maximal forward deployment leads to a leap into the following stage: modified, the general laws proceed dialectically from stage to stage, acquiring new readings and new meanings, but retaining their common, fundamental premises.[260]

As has been rightly pointed out, the idea that every single historical phenomenon is involved in a wider and virtually endless process of development which can produce a "limitless dynamic genealogy" is a direct consequence of Eisenstein's adoption of *dialectics* as a historiographical method.[261] With his usual theoretical eclecticism, though, Eisenstein combines in the *Notes* the rhythmic flow of dialectics with a vision of history as made of "continuous shifts forward and backwards," which can only be reconstructed and exposed through anachronic montage. This vision of history, and of the relationships between cinema and history, separates Eisenstein from Bazin and Kracauer, and brings him closer to authors such as Bloch and Benjamin.

Bazin, as we have seen, believed that cinema could provide history with a tool for capturing and recording on film the historical events of a world whose skin was "peeling off" in front of the lenses of ubiquitous cameras. The "myth of total cinema," which according to Bazin explained the invention of cinema, had found its fulfillment in a "total history."

We find similar ideas, although in a different context and with different aims, in Kracauer's 1927 essay "Photography." Here Kracauer presents photography and cinema as two media which could have provided an answer to the dream of German nineteenth-century historicism (*Historismus*): the dream of reconstructing the past "as it has been" – "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*," according to the famous statement by Leopold Ranke:

> Photography presents a spatial continuum; historicism seeks to provide the temporal continuum. According to historicism, the complete mirroring of an intratemporal sequence simultaneously contains the meaning of all that occurred within that time. [...] Historicism is concerned with the photography of time. The equivalent of its temporal photography would be a giant film

[*Riesenfilm*] depicting the temporally interconnected events from every vantage point.[262]

Although in the *Notes* he insists on cinema's recording and preserving potential, placing cinema's "dynamic mummification" in a genealogical line which includes wax museums and funeral monuments, Eisenstein believed that only anachronic montage could provide the "jumping chronology" that was necessary in order to discover and analyze all the "recurrences," the "throwback features" and the "leaps in the following stage" of which history was made. As we read in the text entitled "Pioneers and Innovators," in each genealogical line Eisenstein was looking for the "pioneers" who had first invented a new technique or a new medium, and for the "innovators" who had been capable of "exploding the evenly measured flow of evolution into a revolutionary leap of a new quality within the general process of development."[263] Since often these "revolutionary leaps" were characterized by "continuous shifts forward and backwards," only a process such as montage could provide the appropriate historiographical tool.

Like other film theorists such as Elie Faure, Dziga Vertov, László Moholy-Nagy, Ernst Bloch, Walter Benjamin, and Jean Epstein, Eisenstein believed that cinema could be a tool for manipulating time. In his *La Cinéplastique* (1920), Elie Faure had described cinema as a medium capable of transforming time into "a dimension of space," allowing the spectator to be "contemporary of events which have taken place ten or a hundred centuries before."[264] Four years later, Vertov presents his "Kino-Eye" as "the microscope and telescope of time" introducing "the theory of relativity on the screen,"[265] while in 1928, in an essay entitled "Accelerating and Slowing Down Time, and Their Relation with Space," Bloch examines the expressive connotations and the epistemic potential of temporal acceleration and slowing down on the one hand, spatial magnification and reduction on the other.[266] In his *L'Intelligence d'une machine* (1946), written in the same years in which Eisenstein was working on his "general history," Epstein presents a philosophical reflection on how cinema could be considered "a machine to think time."[267]

In Eisenstein's case, as we have seen, the idea that cinema and montage could be considered as tools for the reconstruction and the presentation of history took shape during the shooting of *The General Line* and *Que Viva Mexico!* Two other elements, though, need to be remembered.

On the one hand, as we have already seen, Eisenstein's use of anachronic montage as a historiographical tool can be considered a direct heir of the "intellectual montage" that he had theorized at the end of the 1920s, and especially of the idea, formulated in "The Dramaturgy of Film Form," according to which a "conflict in tempo" and a "conflict between an event and its temporality (achieved by slowing down and speeding up") could produce an emotional and intellectual "dynamization" of the spectator.[268] In the notes accompanying this text, Eisen-

stein insists on the fact that montage can be considered a "comparative activity" (*deiatelnost' sopostavitelnaia*) similar to intellectual thinking, and we have seen how the books Eisenstein works on in the 1930s and 1940s are constructed as endless series of morphological comparisons:

> *Sehr wichtig.* Mental activity is a *correlating and comparing* [activity] [*Myslitelnaia deiatelnost' – sootnositelnaia – sopostavitelnaia*]. Montage as well is a comparing activity [*deiatelnost' sopostavitelnaia*], and the laws of development of filmic expressivity have to follow the laws of development of intellectual thought.[269]

On the other hand, anachronic montage can also be considered a direct heir of the comparative method that Eisenstein had found in Lévy-Bruhl's *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, in which a "mental function" like the "law of participation" (*loi de participation*) was studied through a comparison between its different manifestations across different cultures.[270]

Interpreted in this perspective, Eisenstein's use of anachronic montage can be compared with the role played by montage in Benjamin's *Arcades Project*, an attempt to reconstruct a "primal history [*Urgeschichte*] of the 19th century"[271] which was based on a radical critique of all linear, progressive, and teleologically oriented visions of history. In the fragments gathered in convolute N, entitled "On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress," we find a whole list of statements that can be closely compared with Eisenstein's approach to history writing in the *Notes*.

To begin with, both Eisenstein and Benjamin believed that cinema could be the medium through which one could interpret all other art forms. If Eisenstein considered cinema to be "a magnifying glass through which the method of each [art] is visible," Benjamin believed that cinema allowed the "unfolding [*Auswuchs*] of all the forms of perception, the tempos and rhythms, which lie preformed in today's machines, such that all problems of contemporary art find their definitive formulation only in the context of film."[272]

Furthermore, with its capacity for manipulating the flow of time, cinema provided for Eisenstein and Benjamin not only a crucial medium in order to interpret other art forms, but also, more generally, a set of operations that could be applied to the analysis of history.

In the diary entry we discussed above Eisenstein presented the gaze of the historian as a gaze "contemplating [...] *in slow motion through centuries of evolution*" the sudden "spark" or "flash" with which the "image" (*obraz*) produced by the "contact" between the present and "the *lowest layers* of consciousness" appears before him. "Slow motion" is here evoked as one of cinema's possibilities and as a crucial epistemic tool for the construction of a history based on the analysis of temporally complex "images" or *obraz*. As Eisenstein writes in the notes accom-

panying "The Dramaturgy of Film Forms," *obraznost'*, "imagicity," "is the sole means to understand (to take – to have, to own) phenomena."[273]

In a similar way Benjamin, who believed that "history breaks up [*zerfällt*] into images, not into stories,"[274] describes the materialist approach to history he was applying in the *Arcades Project* as "imagistic" (*bildhaft*),[275] and uses a whole series of optical terms in order to define the way in which the historian turns from the present to the past: he talks of a "telescoping [*Telescopage*] of the past through the present"[276] (where the telescoping is a form of magnification which brings closer what is far), and, quoting Rudolph Borchardt, explains how the historian needs "to educate the image-making medium [*das bildschaffende Medium*] within us, raising it to a stereoscopic and dimensional seeing into the depths of historical shadows."[277] This "imagistic" approach to history leads Benjamin to the conclusion that historical knowledge "comes only in lightning flashes,"[278] and that the object of such historical knowledge is the "dialectical image" (*dialektisches Bild*), an image "that emerges suddenly, in a flash,"[279] which brings dialectics to a "standstill" (*Dialektik im Stillstand*) by joining together the present and the past:

> It's not that what is past casts its light on what is present, or what is present its light on what is past; rather, image is that wherein what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is a purely temporal, continuous one, the relation of what-has-been to the now is dialectical: is not progression but image, suddenly emerging [*ist nicht Verlauf sondern Bild, sprunghaft*].[280]

Both for Eisenstein and for Benjamin, the method, the process capable of producing the sudden "imagistic" "constellations" that one finds in the *obraz* and in the *dialektisches Bild* is *montage*.

In the fragments gathered in convolute N Benjamin is very clear about this. In order to heighten the "perceptibility" (*Anschaulichkeit*) of historical phenomena, the historian needs "to carry over the principle of montage into history. That is, to assemble large-scale constructions out of the smallest and most precisely cut components. Indeed, to discover in the analysis of the small individual moment the crystal of the total event."[281] In another fragment of convolute N we read: "Method of this project: literary montage [*literarische Montage*]. I needn't *say* anything. Merely show,"[282] and yet another fragment adds: "This work has to develop to the highest degree the art of citing without quotation marks. Its theory is intimately related to that of montage."[283]

Eisenstein's attitude toward quotations was similar to Benjamin's, and in a chapter of his *Memoirs* entitled "Encounters with Books" we find a passage that echoes very closely Benjamin's idea of constructing a book entirely out of a montage of quotations:

> I have quotations.
> Not enough of them. I would like to make a montage from the fragments discovered by others, but for a different purpose – mine!
> It is like cinema: I don't need to play any part at all. My job is to link all the pieces up.[284]

Both in Eisenstein and Benjamin, montage becomes a historiographical tool thanks to its capacity for interrupting the continuous flow of time in order to produce sequences of anachronic junctures. Eisenstein, as we have seen, organizes the *Notes* according to a montage that connects "discrete phenomena of history," while Benjamin states clearly in the fragments of convolute N that his approach to history aims at preserving those "intervals of reflection"[285] and those "differentials of time [*Differentialen der Zeit*] (which for others disturb the main lines of the enquiry)."[286] In both authors, anachronic montage allows the consideration of every historical phenomenon with its *before* and its *after*.

Eisenstein turns to the history of the precinematographic forms of montage with a gaze which is at the same time "retrospect" (*Rückblick*) and "prospect" (*Ausblick*). Such a history is entirely considered from the vantage point of cinema, and the "cinematic effects" (*kinematische Effekte*)[287] that Eisenstein finds in the art forms of the past are divided into those that are truly effective and that can be reactivated within the domain of cinema, and those that instead have to be left aside. El Greco, Tintoretto, Daumier, and Rodin are models to follow, while the Italian Futurists and the French Simultaneists are not.

Benjamin too developed his "*Urgeschichte* of the 19th century" from the point of view of the present, and believed that the past "attains legibility (*Lesbarkeit*) only at a particular time," and that "every present is determined by the images that are synchronic [*synchronistisch*] with it."[288] Such "synchronic images," according to him, could be discovered by "blasting out the continuum of historical succession"[289] in order to determine the "fore-history" (*Vorgeschichte*) and the "after-history" (*Nachgeschichte*) of each historical phenomenon: "it is the present," – we read again in one of the fragments of convolute N – "that polarizes the event into fore- and after history,"[290] and just as Benjamin's book on German baroque *Trauerspiel* had "exposed the seventeenth century to the light of the present," in the *Arcades Project* "something analogous [had to] be done for the nineteenth century":[291]

> Historical materialism aspires to neither a homogeneous nor a continuous exposition of history. [...] Since the different epochs of the past are not all touched in the same degree by the present day of the historian, [...] continuity in the presentation of history is unattainable.[292]

Both Eisenstein and Benjamin had found inspiring ideas for their approach to history in one of the key concepts of Goethe's morphology, the concept of "primal" or "originary phenomenon" (*Urphänomen*). In the chapter "Laocoön" in *Montage*, as we have seen, Eisenstein presents "the *Urphänomen* of cinema" as that "most fundamental cinematic phenomenon" in which "a series of still photographs of different stages of a single movement," if projected "at a certain speed," produces in the spectator an impression of movement,[293] and then searches for all the possible precinematographic manifestations of such an *Urphänomen* in the history of art forms and religious rituals. In the *Arcades Project* Benjamin pursues "the origin of the forms and mutations of the Paris arcades from their beginning to their decline," locates these origins in a series of "economical facts" (the development of capitalist economy leading to the spectacular presentations of commodities), and considers these "economical facts" as "primal phenomena" (*Urphänomene*) whose "unfolding" (*Auswicklung*) "gives rise to the whole series of the arcades' concrete historical forms, just as the leaf unfolds from itself all the riches of the empirical world of plants."[294]

Finally, both in Benjamin's and in Eisenstein's cases, as we will now see, the attempt to elaborate a nonlinear, nonchronological history based on the jumps and the intervals of anachronic montage, implies a complete rethinking of the classical format of the book and, in Eisenstein, a discovery of the historiographic potential of the medium of drawing.

8. The Spherical Book and the Atlas: History as Cartography

Just like *Montage*, *Nonindifferent Nature*, and *Metod*, the *Notes* published in this volume can be read keeping in mind the idea of a "spherical book" that Eisenstein had formulated during the summer of 1929, after having been invited by El Lissitzky to take part in the Soviet section of the international exhibition organized that year in Stuttgart with the title *Film und Foto*.[295]

During the 1920s, both El Lissitzky and Moholy-Nagy – who had been involved as curator of one of the main sections of the exhibition, known as "Raum 1" – had developed ideas on how to rethink typography and the traditional book format in order to adjust them to a new visual culture heavily influenced by cinematic montage. Moholy-Nagy had formulated the proposal for a new way of organizing texts and photographic images on the printed page which he called *Typophoto*, an example of which was the project for a film entitled *Dynamik der Großstadt* (Dynamic of the great city) published in 1925 as part of his Bauhaus book *Malerei Fotografie Film* (Painting photography film).[296] El Lissitzky, who had chosen for the publication of the catalogue of the Soviet section of *Film und Foto* the format called at the time a "Leporello," a book with sections that could be unfolded and laid out in front of the reader like a film strip, had formulated the idea of a "*bioskopisches Buch*,"[297] a dynamic "bioscopic book" capable of revolutio-

nizing the traditional rhythms of reading. A few years later Benjamin as well, in a chapter of his *One-Way Street*, observed that "the book in [its] traditional form" seemed to be "nearing its end" and praised the primacy of the format of the "card index," with its three-dimensionality and its flexibility:

> The card index marks the conquest of three-dimensional writing, and so presents an astonishing counterpoint to the three dimensionality of script in its original form as a rune or knot notation. (And today the book is already, as the present mode of scholarly production demonstrates, an outdated mediation between two different filing systems. For everything that matters is to be found in the card box of the researcher who wrote it, and the scholar studying it assimilates it into his own card index.)[298]

Joining these widespread discussions on the future of the book format, Eisenstein wrote, on August 5, 1929, a note in which he formulated the idea of organizing the various essays on the theory of montage that he had written during the 1920s in a book having the shape of a "rotating sphere." At the center of this spherical book, the reader would have found the one recurring theme that cut across all the essays, that is, how to *act*, through the *effectiveness* of montage, upon the mind and body of the spectator:

> It is very hard to write a book. Because each book is two-dimensional. I wanted this book to be characterised by a feature that does not fit under any circumstances into the two-dimensionality of a printing element. This demand has two aspects. First, it supposes that the bundle of these essays is not to be regarded successively. In any case, I wish that one could perceive them all at the same time, simultaneously, because they finally represent a set of sectors, which are arranged around a general, determining viewpoint, aligned to different areas. On the other hand, I want to create a spatial form that would make it possible to step from each contribution directly into another and to make apparent their interconnection. [...] Such a synchronic manner of circulation and mutual penetration of the essays can be carried out only in the form [...] of a sphere. But unfortunately, books are not written as spheres. [...] I can only hope that they will be read according to the method of mutual reversibility, a spherical method – in expectation that we will learn to write books like rotating balls. Now we have only books like soap-bubbles. Particularly on art.[299]

This idea of a spherical book is mentioned by Eisenstein again in a diary entry written in 1947, while he was working on the *Notes*:

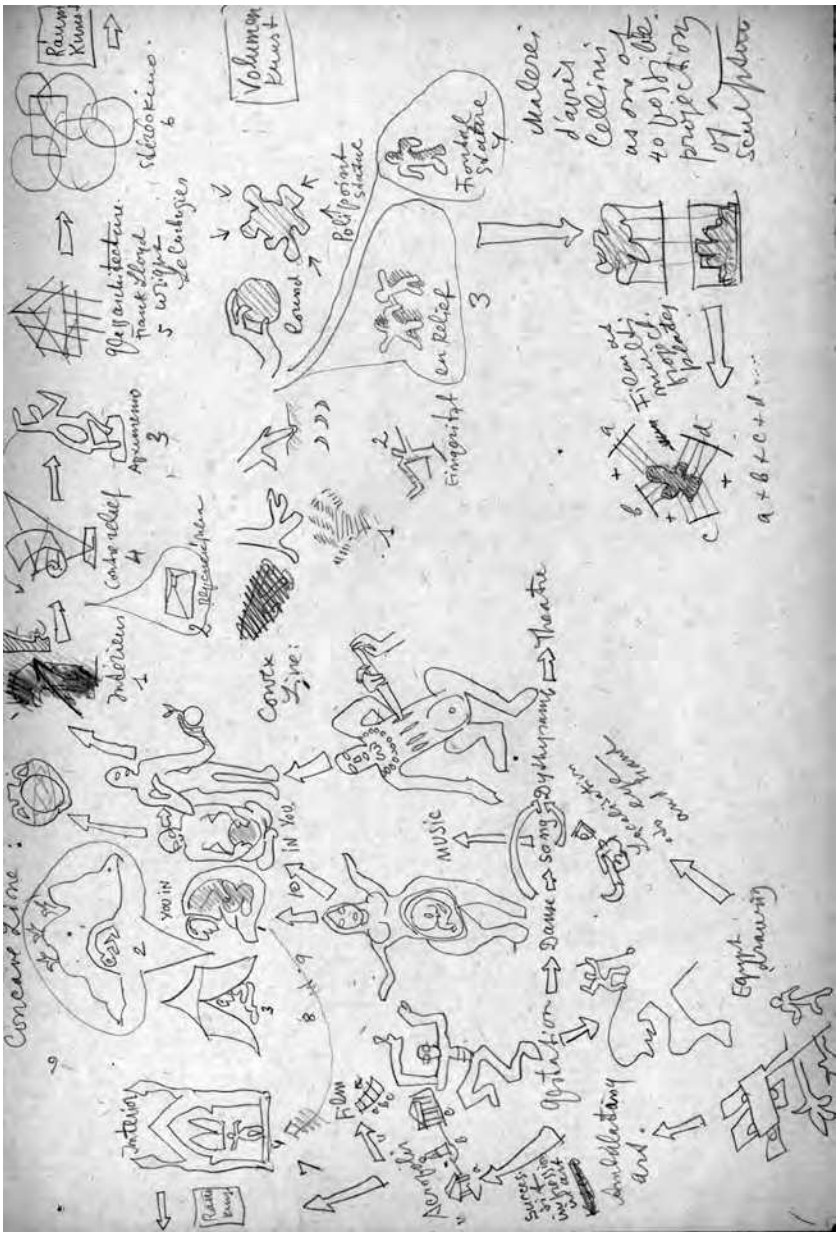
> In 1932 [sic] I had tried to organize my theoretical writings in order to publish them in a book, and fifteen years later I still want to do it. Somewhere I have written that I would like my book to be spherical, a book in which everything is connected with everything, and everything can be transformed into everything. The only form that can allow this is the form of the sphere, since in a sphere you can move from any meridian to any other meridian. I still feel a longing for a book with this form, today more than ever.[300]

Presenting his ideal reader as someone who moves through a book as if he were moving "from any meridian to any other meridian," Eisenstein introduces in these passages a *geographical* idea of reading and writing. We find this idea in other texts as well, for example, in the text published in his *Memoirs* with the title "Torito," in which he presents his writing style as a sort of journey through time and space, used in order to highlight, "in the highest possible number of heterogeneous territories, those structural regularities which concern directly our object of study." For Eisenstein, such written travels were nothing else but "an extreme variation of the composition of *mise en scène*,"[301] and therefore, once more, a form of *montage*.

The idea that the arrangement of the sequence of places that one crosses while traveling can be a form of montage – a montage of *views* offered to a spectator *in motion* – is explicitly formulated in a chapter of *Montage* entitled "Montage and Architecture," a text in which the "path" (*put'*) across the various buildings on the Acropolis, just as the one across the Stations of the Cross in the processions commemorating Christ's Passion, is presented as a form of precinematic montage, offering the spectator a *moving* experience (in terms of both *motion* and *emotion*[302]) that can be compared to that of watching a film. It is according to this perspective that Eisenstein presents the Acropolis as "one of the most ancient films."[303]

We find this same idea of a journey through space and time conceived as a form of spatio-temporal montage in a drawing that can be considered an extraordinary document of the way Eisenstein was approaching his "general history of cinema": a drawing which was made between December 1945 and January 1946, and which is connected both to the essay "Rodin and Rilke" (completed in July 1945) and to the *Notes*, since we find in it many of the same references that appear in "Dynamic Mummification."[304]

Organized in a way that resembles that of a hand-drawn map indicating different meandering paths with a whole series of arrows, this drawing can be compared to a map Eisenstein drew while traveling through Mexico and can be considered a clear example of how he was using a sort of *graphic montage* as a way of thinking about history. In many ways, it can be looked at as the initial plate of a possible *atlas* of cinema's "forerunners," a plate that can be compared, *mutatis mutandis*, with the plates of Aby Warburg's *Atlas Mnemosyne:* a precise arrange-



Ill. 4 – Sergei M. Eisenstein, a drawing connected to the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* (1945-46)

ment of artistic references set against a neutral background and organized in such a way that they form sequences and constellations that visualize connections and analogies that would remain otherwise invisible. Warburg's photo-

Ill. 5 – A map drawn by Eisenstein while traveling through Mexico (1931)

graphic reproductions are here replaced by small drawings referring to specific artworks or specific forms of representation, the neutral black velvet background of Warburg's plates is replaced by white paper, and what is at stake is not the mapping of the historical migrations of certain founding *Pathosformeln* (even though a "formula of pathos" in the Eisensteinian sense is clearly visible at the center of the drawing), but rather the connections between cinema and certain specific moments in the history of the arts. Still, even if we keep in mind all these important differences, what emerges from this drawing is once more the conviction, shared by Eisenstein and Warburg, that the history of images and artistic forms should be approached through montage. Montage here becomes an instrument of *orientation*, like a map, within a history of artistic forms that would otherwise remain an intricate labyrinth.[305]

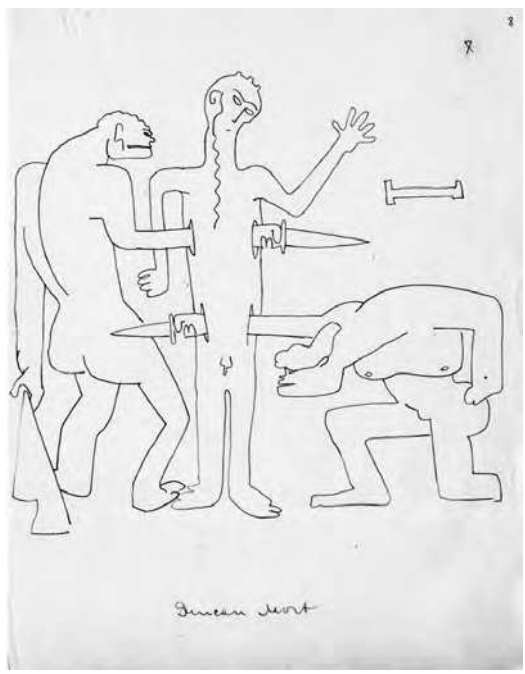
At the center of the drawing we find two crucial images which stand for Eisenstein at the origins not only of cinema but also of any form of artistic representation: the figure of a pregnant woman with a fetus clearly visible in her womb, and the figure of a body which bears the signs of the vertical wounds caused by a piercing knife.

The woman with a fetus in her womb refers to a theme we have already encountered in Eisenstein's writings. The theme of MLB, *Mutterleibversenkung*, the act of "sinking into the mother's womb," returning to that prenatal condition of the

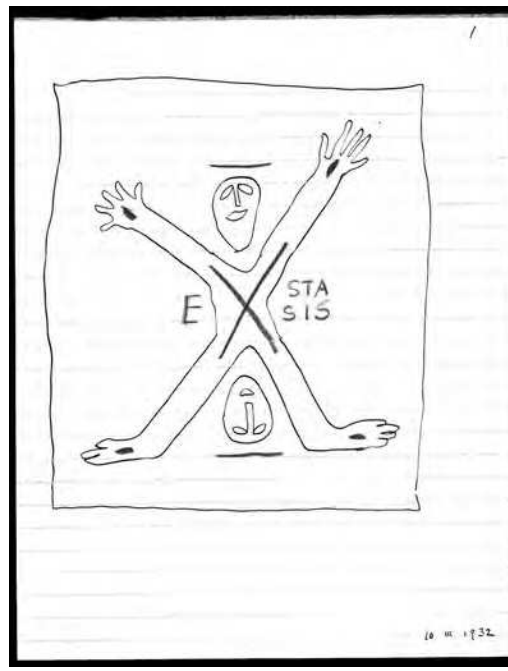
fetus that Eisenstein believed to be our first experience of form, as we have seen in our discussion of the essay "Rodin and Rilke," and a "lost paradise" traces of which could be found throughout the entire history of the arts, especially in those images representing figures floating in a space that seemed to be free from the directionality given by gravity: an "*antigrav*" space that Eisenstein had represented in the drawings for the film *Glass House*, which was to be set in the completely transparent, nongravitational space of a house, probably a skyscraper, entirely made of glass.[306]

The pierced body – which recalls the pierced body of King Duncan in the Mexican drawings of the series "Duncan's Death" from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* – can be interpreted as representing the idea that the origins of montage as a "method of dismemberment and reunification"[307] can be found in the reenactment of the dismemberment of the body of Dionysus, as Eisenstein had written in the passages of *Montage* that we have already discussed.

Interpreted in this perspective, the pierced body, whose legs seem to be those of a dancing figure, can be considered as the body of Dionysus, and the two words written just beneath the figure – "Dythiramb → Theater" – seem to confirm this interpretation. What we are looking at here is Eisenstein's founding *Pathosformel:* a dancing, ecstatic, sacrificed body like the ones Eisenstein drew in 1932 in Nuevo Laredo just before leaving Mexico in order to synthesize his idea of "ecstasy"

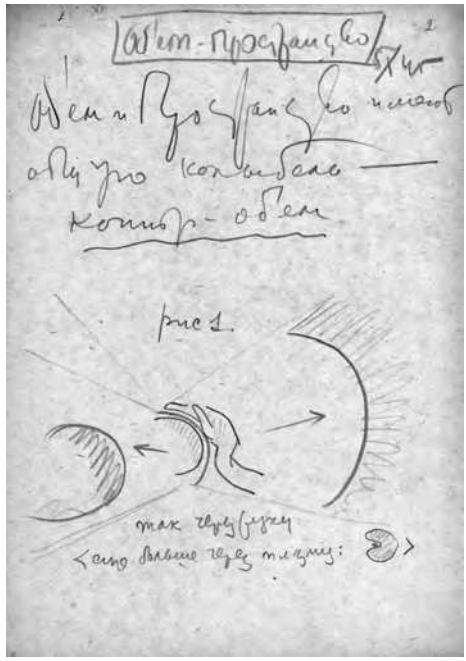


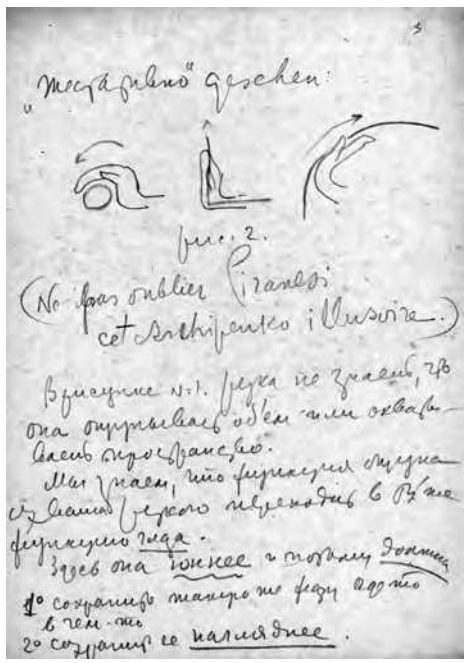
Ill. 6 – Sergei M. Eisenstein, a drawing from the series "Duncan's Death" (1931)



Ill. 7 – Sergei M. Eisenstein, a drawing from the seriesdedicated to the concept of "eXstasis" (10 March 1932)

Starting from the figure of the pregnant woman, two different genealogical lines are indicated with arrows departing from the top of her head. A first line, presented by Eisenstein as "concave line," begins with an arrow right above the pregnant woman's head and then turns to the left, aligning one after the other the figure of a person whose body seems to be contained within a sack ("you in"), the body of a man or an animal lying inside a cave, the body of a man seated inside a tent, another body inside what seems to be the space of a cathedral ("interior"), and, finally, an arrow leading to the term "*Raum Kunst*," "art of space." A second genealogical line, presented as "convex line," begins again with an arrow right on top of the head of the pregnant woman, but this time it turns to the right, aligning another human figure which seems to be touching a sphere contained in her own body ("in you"), the figure of a man whose hand touches an apple, the cast of a face (a reference to the death mask mentioned several times in the *Notes*), a schematic representation of "perspective" as a geometrical method for the representation of depth, the "counter reliefs" of Tatlin ("*contre relief*"), the voids inside the sculpted figures of "Archipenko," the "glass architecture" of two architects explicitly mentioned in the drawing ("Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier"), and stereoscopic cinema ("*stereokino*"), ending once more with the term "*Raum Kunst*.".





Ill. 8 and 9 – Sergei M. Eisenstein, two drawings on the theme "Volume and Space" (October 1945)

The passage from the act of touching a round volume with a hand to the act of looking at a space represented according to the norms of Renaissance perspective can be considered an implicit reference to Alois Riegl's idea of a historical development from a tactile and then "haptic" relation to space, to a condition of pure "optical" vision.[308] This idea appears in two drawings on the theme "Volume and Space" dated October 1945 that are connected with the one we are analyzing.[309] In the first drawing Eisenstein shows a hand wrapped around a round volume, but at the same time contained in an enclosed round space which is clearly a reference to the mother's womb. The second drawing presents the hand in three positions: in the center, the hand is touching a surface at a right angle; to the right, it touches the interior wall of the womb, while to the left it wraps again around a round volume. Above, Eisenstein writes "gesturally *gesehen*," "seen through gestures," which points to a form of tactile seeing that takes place first as the touching of a "countervolume" or "negative volume" *from the inside*, and then as the touching of a "positive volume" *from the outside*

If we return to the larger drawing, we may notice how the two genealogical lines, the "concave line" and the "convex line," seem to end with the same "art of space" (*Raum Kunst*), which is reached either through the reference to the colored light projected through the stained glass windows inside the space of the cathedral, or through stereoscopic cinema as a way of producing colored forms floating in space. The fact that the stage of the "*Raum Kunst*" can be reached either through the left or through the right side of the page, seems to imply that the drawing could be *folded*, giving it the shape of a cylinder: another example of that need to go beyond the linearity of writing and the bidimensionality of the page that we have found in the notes on the "spherical book."

To the right of the sacrificial body of the god begins yet another genealogical sequence, which could be considered another "convex line." It begins with a hand leaving its imprint in the ground, then the same hand leaving deeper imprints by pressing its fingers (a reference to the origins of writings?) and then, in another drawing, the same hand again grasping a round object ("round"): a wrapping gesture compared by Eisenstein with the way in which a tridimesional sculpture can be observed from different viewpoints ("polipoint statue"), as if it were surrounded by them. Different ways of producing a sculpture are then listed: incision ("*eingeritzt*"), low relief ("*en relief*"), a sculpture conceived to be seen frontally ("frontal statue"), and then again the same "polipoint statue" that leads to the reference to Benvenuto Cellini's statements about the *paragone* between painting and sculpture: "*Malerei* [painting] *d'après* Cellini as one of 40 possible projections of sculpture." From here we move to a diagram that shows the projection of a "polipoint statue" onto a bidimensional plane, and to the idea of film as a development of the multiple views offered by sculpture: "film as multi project. plates," next to which Eisenstein shows how the different views of the

same "polipoint statue" may give place to different shots aligned in a montage sequence: "(a+b+c+d...)".[310]

In the lower left corner, another sequence seems to be referring directly to the ideas contained in the text "Montage and Architecture" discussed above: we see a reference to children's drawings in which trees and buildings are drawn using the four different margins of the page as four different grounds on which the vertical figures can be elevated, then a reference to the multiple points of view in "Egyptian drawings," followed by the drawing of a little figure which seems to be tracing a large human profile in space: a form of "deambulatory art," as we read on the page, that reminds us of what Eisenstein writes in the *Notes* about Hokusai's "gigantic contour drawings" and "the 'running around' an object (Hokusai) with the hand."[311] From "deambulatory art" we move vertically toward the phrase "*successif* [sic] impressions in art" and then to a schematic representation of the position of three temples ("a, b, c") on the "Acropolis," next to which we see a film strip ("film") with three photograms (again "a, b, c") and an arrow leading to "*Raum Kunst*" in the upper right corner of the page.

A final genealogical line leads instead from "deambulatory art" to a dancing figure, then to the pregnant woman with a fetus in her womb, and then, as a final step which is also the first one, to the "formula of pathos" of the sacrificial body of the god. The words written below these figures are, in a sequence, "gestation," "*danse*," "song," "music," "dithyramb," "theater": a sequence with which we return to the center of the drawing and to the origins of theater – of art, of cinema – in the Dionysian dithyrambs.

The kind of montage Eisenstein uses in this drawing is the same that we find in the *Notes*: it is a montage that proceeds through nonlinear sequences made of sudden anachronic, morphological juxtapositions (think of the sequence aligning children's drawings, Egyptian figures, Hokusai contour drawings traced in the landscape, the Acropolis, and finally a film strip) that place cinema within an intricate web of possible genealogies. By linking the originary state of the fetus inside the mother's womb and the *Pathosformel* of the dancing, sacrificial god, Eisenstein shows within the space of the page that "flash in slow motion through centuries of evolution" that connects the future of cinema with the "lowest layers" mentioned in the diary entries discussed in section 2 of this text. What we see is an *Übersicht* connecting *Vorgeschichte* and *Nachgeschichte* which only a free, graphic montage seems to allow.

Within this *Übersicht*, both the origins and the future of cinema appear here to be located well outside the cinema's boundaries. The origins are situated in prenatal experience and in the Dionysian dithyrambs, while the future seems to be pointing toward an "art of space," a "*Raum Kunst*," which Eisenstein conceived of as direct development of stereoscopic cinema, a way of experimenting with montage beyond the bidimensional surface of the screen and perhaps beyond cinema altogether, in order to produce – as we read in *Montage* – a new generation of

total, environmental works of art capable of uniting "the natural surroundings of the urban complex with the masses that have their being in the city and the individual protagonists of the drama taking place within it; with a sea of color and light, music and radio; with theatre and sound film; with steamers on the Moscow-Volga Canal; and with squadrons of aircraft."[312]

This tendency to imagine the future of montage beyond the present state of cinema at the end of the 1940s also appears in all the sections of the *Notes* dedicated to *television*, a development of the cinematic *dispositif* that Eisenstein clearly wanted to include in his "general history."

9. "An Excursion into the Future": "From Dionysus to Television"

As we have seen in the opening section of this text, Eisenstein's *Notes* may be read with a whole series of issues that are currently debated in film and media theory in mind. The status of cinema as a *medium* and as a *dispositif* in a rapidly evolving media landscape; cinema's intermedial relations with other arts and other media; its "anachronic" nature and its "plural temporality" as a medium suspended between its past genealogies and its future developments; its historical appearance within the context of several different, intertwining "cultural series": the way we approach all these issues in contemporary film and media theory may find a new reference point in a "general history of cinema" that seemed to be engaged, during the second half of the 1940s, with many of the same problems we are dealing with.

Media archaeology, in particular, seems to me to be an appropriate perspective from which to approach the *Notes*. The archaeological understanding of the history of culture that Eisenstein developed in Mexico and that informed his vision of history as the overlapping of several coexisting "layers," and the way the *Notes* appear to have been written, just like the book *Montage*, from a double vantage point that is at once a "retrospect" (*Rückblick*) turned toward the past and a "prospect" (*Ausblick*) turned toward the future, present significant analogies with a research field, media archaeology, that has developed in recent years with the objective of reminding us how "new" and "old" media should never be studied separately, but rather through a constant search for "the old in the new" and "the new in the old."[313]

One of the goals of this research field, as we have already seen, is to show how the history of cinema and of media in general should be conceived not so much as a linear, chronological, teleologically oriented one, but rather as "an archaeology of possible futures and of the perpetual presence of several pasts."[314] The different genealogical "lines" that we find in the *Notes* seem to point exactly toward these two directions. Each of them – whether one of the histories of "cinema's expressive means" or one of the "routes to the chronicle" – produces a

different past and a different future, and opens up different "fore-histories" and "after-histories" of cinema.[315]

Television, as we will now see, was considered by Eisenstein to be part of this "general history of cinema" written from the vantage point of a double *Rückblick* and *Ausblick*. In the *Notes*, television is mentioned both in the "list of inventions" taken from Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* (with a reference to Arthur Korn, the inventor of the *Bildtelegraph*, a device meant to transmit photographs through the telegraph), and in a series of passages in "Dynamic Mummification" and in "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle." Here, television is presented as part of a genealogical line that runs "from Dionysus to television," insisting on the fact that live televisual transmission could allow the same kind of direct, empathic participation that one could find in the reenactments of Dionysus's birth, death, and rebirth in Dionysian mysteries. "The dithyramb – dynastic chronicle – reconstruction of an action – television" writes Eisenstein in a passage of "Dynamic Mummification" that follows one of the several quotations of the famous verse from Goethe's *Faust* that says: "*Verweile doch, du bist so schön!*"[316] Other passages mention "television and the joining with... Dionysia,"[317] underlining how television belonged to the same genealogical line leading from the origins of the "chronicle" to the "cine-chronicle." Considered in this perspective, television was according to Eisenstein the "extreme embodiment" of an "urge" toward a "real communion" with historical events (*real'noe soprichastie c sobytiem*):[318] events that the Dionysian mysteries remembered through performed reenactments, that cinema could record, preserve and re-present as a form of "dynamic mummification," and that television could instead transmit in real time, allowing the highest form of direct participation.

A number of texts written by Eisenstein during the same period he was working on the *Notes* show how he considered television one of the stages of cinema's "general history." In the very last text he wrote, a letter on "color film" addressed to Lev Kuleshov which he was completing when he fell victim of a second, lethal heart attack on February 11, 1948, Eisenstein presents television as a technical development of cinema that opens up new expressive possibilities in terms of montage, just like color film and stereoscopy:

> We regard colour as an element of the film's dramaturgy. [...]
> There is a difference between the process of the development of colour expressiveness and the status of colour in nature and in phenomena where it exists despite the will of the one who creates "something that never existed" from "something that exists," something that serves to express the ideas and feelings of the creator.
> As soon as we approach colour from this standpoint we recognize a familiar situation. We see that the problem facing us as we strive to master colour creatively is very much like the one we encountered when we had to master

montage, and later, audio-visual combinations and, we may presume, like the problem which will arise when we pass to stereoscopic films and television.[319]

"When we pass to stereoscopic films and television." Although the heart attack that Eisenstein suffered while writing this letter left these ideas forever unrealized, we can see how he was already projecting himself toward these two new developments of the cinematic *dispositif*: developments which, like all previous ones, needed to be explored in order to see how they could further enhance the power and the possibilities of montage.

Another text, written in 1946, presents "the miracle of television" as one of the "potentialities of cinema" that film directors should "master," and as one of the forms that cinema as "synthesis of the art" might take "in the era in which radar brings us echoes from the moon and aeroplanes leave the blue vault of the atmosphere at the speed of sound":

> The problem of the synthesis of arts, a synthesis realizable in the cinema, has not yet found its full solution.
> And in the meantime new problems are arising in increasing numbers.
> No sooner have we mastered the colour technique than we have to deal with the problems of volume and space, set to us by the stereoscopic cinema that is hardly out of its diapers.
> Then there is the miracle of television – a living reality staring us in the face, ready to nullify the experience of the silent and sound cinema, which itself has not yet been fully assimilated.
> There, montage, for instance, was a mere sequence (more or less perfect) of the real course of events as seen and creatively reflected through the consciousness and emotions of an artist.
> Here, it will be the course of events itself, presented the moment they occur. This will be an astonishing meeting of two extremes.
> The first link in the chain of the developing forms of histrionics is the actor, the mime. Conveying to his audiences the ideas and emotions he experiences at that moment, he will hold his hand out to the exponent of the highest form of future histrionics – the TV magician – who quick as a flash will expertly use camera eyes and angles to enthral the millions-strong TV audiences with his artistic interpretation of an event taking place at that very moment.
> Isn't this probable?
> Isn't this possible?
> Can this not be done in the era in which radar brings us echoes from the moon and aeroplanes leave the blue vault of the atmosphere at the speed of sound?[320]

Similar ideas can be found in a text written in 1947 and entitled "Ever Onwards!" Here the reflections on television take on a utopian tone. Presenting "the wonders of television technology" as the natural development of a stereoscopic cinema which had already led to the dissolution of the bidimensional screen, and comparing the view of "cinema's new possibilities" that one could have in 1947, fifty years or so after cinema's appearance, with the way in which Michelangelo's "immortal frescoes" in the Sistine Chapel revealed "the infinity of the sky," Eisenstein writes:

> Let us raise [our] eyes to the ceilings, the result of half a century's work. Look at the vaults overhead. What can we see?
> Just as, then, immortal frescoes revealed the infinity of the sky, where so recently there had been vaulting and masonry, so now we can see the endlessly unfolding horizons of the new perspectives and possibilities.
> Just as, then, the new Adam – Renaissance Man – was woken by the image of ancient Adam, so here, as we approach the completion of its first half-century, a vision of cinema's new possibilities stands before us, waiting to be realised.
> It is breathtaking to tilt your head back and look at the future. We seem to stand at the apex of a half-century pyramid of our art's existence.
> Its achievements are colossal and numerous.
> The foundations are broad and capacious.
> Its steep sides soar upwards.
> Its summit proudly pierces the sky.
> But, as you gaze up, the summit seems a new starting point, from which a new giant will grow outwards into the four corners of the heavenly vault, its sides and edges ready to take captive the unfettered expanses of the imagination as they sail upwards.
> The appearance of the new consciousness and new world advancing towards us, which the future screen has been called upon to reflect, is just as new and immense.
> Will it still be a screen?
> Surely the screen will dissolve before our eyes, in the latest achievements of stereoscopic cinema, its three-dimensional representations taking over the entire interior and space of the theatre building – not just the rear wall of the auditorium – which it hurries along into the limitless expanse of the surrounding world, in the wonders of television technology?
> And surely this implosion of the very nature and essence of visual spectacles is nothing unexpected, since it has been called into being by technology at the very moment when it is to provide a new structure of aesthetic requirements, born out of the intersection of new stages of social development and the mastery of new equipment for managing nature; equipment that promises the

same shift in awareness now as occurred at the dawn of culture, when man made his first ever tool.
A new type of art blazes across the sky as the forerunner of these new forms of consciousness, born of mankind, in the process of capturing nature, with these new tools of unprecedented and unforeseen power.
I should be very surprised if the sum of traditional arts satisfied the new humanity!
If the eye, aided by infra-red night-vision goggles, can see in the dark;
and the hand, guided by radio, can guide shells and planes to the furthest reaches of other skies;
and the brain, aided by electronic calculators, can in a few seconds do sums that previously took armies of ledger clerks months of work;
and consciousness, which in the tireless (now post-war) struggle is now forging an increasingly precise and specific image of a genuinely democratic international ideal;
and the presence of the giant Land of the Soviets, which has forever destroyed the enslavement of man by his fellow –
surely all these demand of art completely new and unprecedented forms and dimensions, far beyond the limits of the palliatives – traditional theatre, traditional sculpture and traditional cinema?
Broadening consciousness, so that it perceives these new tasks. Whetting the cutting edge of thought, so that it can resolve these tasks. Mobilising past experience in the interests of what is to come.
Tirelessly creating.
Recklessly researching.
Bravely looking ahead into the new era of the arts, which we can only guess at.
That is what the challenge should be, in these days, weeks and post-war years.
Work, work, and work.
In the name of the great art born of the greatest ideas of the twentieth century – Lenin's teaching – in the name of this art, which has, in its turn, been created so that these greatest of ideas could be brought to the millions.[321]

Written in 1947, in the context of a triumphant ideological climate that was still celebrating the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, this public text shows how Eisenstein, in the same period in which he was writing the *Notes*, was reflecting on the future of cinema in an age in which a fast-evolving technological development was producing "new equipment for managing nature" which in turn demanded a "broadening" of consciousness: a perspective that is not far from the idea of "expanded cinema" that would later circulate in the 1960s and 1970s. Faced with a scenario which seemed to announce "the same shift in awareness [that] occurred at the dawn of culture, when man made his

first ever tool," the task of the artist-theoretician-historian that Eisenstein wanted to be was both that of "mobilising past experience in the interest of what is to come," and to "work, work, work" in order to produce "completely new and unprecedented" art forms corresponding to "new forms of consciousness." What we find in this utopian text, is the same double orientation, *Rückblick* and *Ausblick*, that animates Eisenstein's "general history of cinema." A "general history" which did not consider cinema as having a single origin nor a definite end, but rather as a medium whose many different genealogical lines of development could run "from Dionysus to television" and beyond.

Part One

Notes for a General History of Cinema

Ill. A, B, and C – Photograms from *Ivan the Terrible*, part 1: the siege of Kazan

1

THE HEIR[1]

Date: 22-26.X.1946
[RGALI 1923-2-993, pp. 19-29]

Cinema is the heir of all artistic cultures, as is the nation itself that elevated it for the first time in all history – both in estimation and creatively – to the very heights of art, and it is the heir of all cultures of the preceding ages.

Cinema is the art of the USSR *par excellence**, and it is so in a natural and organic way.

It is according to this perspective that the history of cinema must be established.

1. The historical place of cinema in the history of the arts.

Its origin in the ruins of the "second baroque".[2]

Other arts disintegrate to level zero.

"-Isms". Each based on one particular feature.[3]

The collapse of bourgeois society.

Cinema begins from level zero.

Technical invention.

The social structure (USSR), seeking a type of mass art *etc.*

The social pre-condition *and [the] technical [one] coincide**.

As a new totality, social and aesthetic.

2. A synthesis of the arts

A real synthesis in the technique of film, and in our aesthetics.

Taking the place of "dreams" about synthesis.

*Recurrence** of the idea of synthesis from the Greeks (at first morphological in the dithyramb) – liturgies (architecture, organ, stained glass, *plain chant**, the merging of the audience with the action) – Diderot – Wagner – Scriabin – we.

In which stages do the tendencies towards synthesis arise?

In the periods of social unification.

Unity (*par exemple**, the unity of Catholicism and the liturgy).

Or in the discord of unity, as a protest-dream (*par exemple**, Scriabin).

*Vérifier** [in French: *verify*]: the unity of Bismarckism and Wagner (*who starts with the revolutionary unity of 1848** and ends with *Parsifal*).

The aesthetics of Lipps.

*La Nuance à Diderot** and the French Revolution.[4]

The removal of contradictions

Where has it ever been more so than in our case?

Universal unity.

"Workers of the world..."

Annihilation of exploitation (17th Congress)[5]

Annihilation of national enslavement:

a friendly cooperation of nations *as basis for** a friendly cooperation of the arts

The idea of synthesis as a *revival** of syncretism.

Hostility towards synthesis in periods of social breakdown — Nordau *against** Wagner.[6]

A synthesis not of the mechanical copresence in pure form (that was the limit of the synthetic possibilities of the theatre).

But each [art] is embedded in a qualitatively new way, such that it cannot be organically taken out.

A further "paragraph-by-paragraph" analysis of the fate of each art and of its new quality within the synthesis.

The Phenomenon of Cinema

(*History of the phenomenon*)*

"Frames" and the method of cinema.[7]

From the mosaic to pointillism.

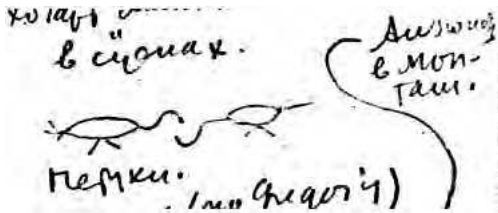
A dynamic juxtaposition instead of mixing together.

Daumier and Tintoretto in *micro**.

Goya, El *Maragato* in *macro**.

Hogarth, *Mariage à-la-mode** in scenes.[8]

Cockerels[9]

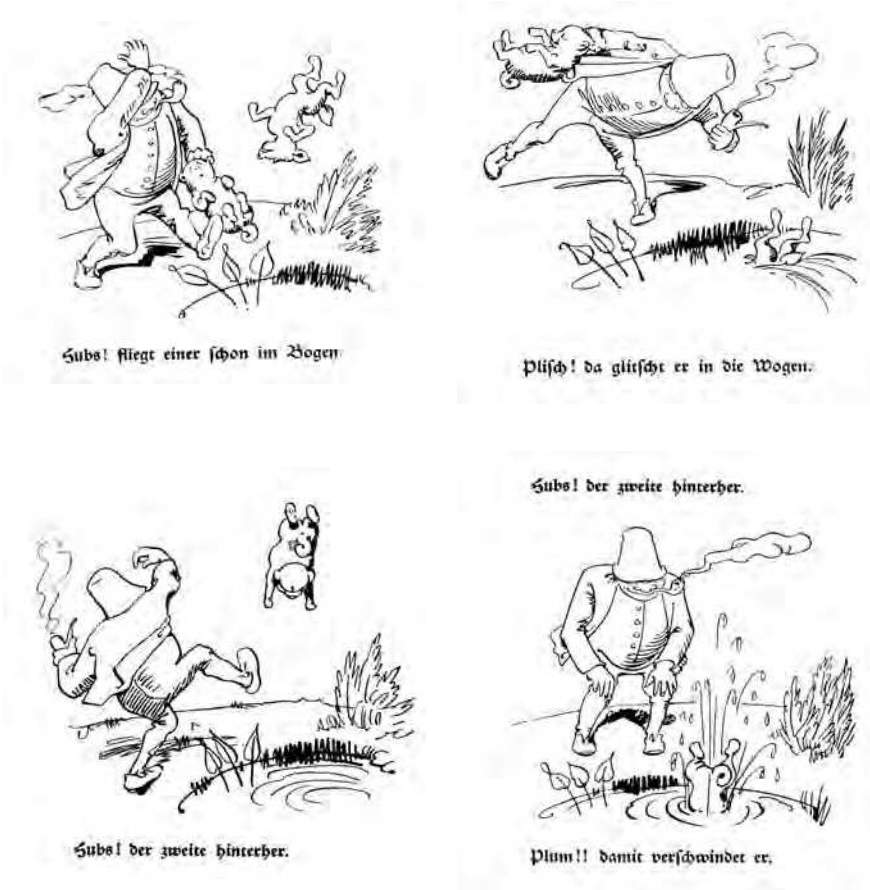


Ill. 1 – From Eisenstein's manuscript of "The Heir": drawing showing two fighting cockerels

Egyptians (according to Gregor).[10]

Ill. 2 – Illustration from Joseph Gregor, *Weltgeschichte des Theaters*, Wien: Phaidon, 1933, p. 85

Busch and *comic strip**. *Auswuchs** [in German: *growth*] in montage.[11]


Subs! fliegt einer ſchon im Bogen
Pliſch! da glitſcht er in die Wogen.
Subs! der zweite hinterher.
Subs! der zweite hinterher.
Plumm!! damit verſchwindet er.

Ill. 3 – Sequential drawings composing an action (from Wilhelm Busch, *Plisch und Plum*, 1882)

3. The Method of Cinema

Montage and counterpoint.

The ultimate exposure of the fundamental patterns of being.

Montage as a unity in diversity.

The universality of method:

Through art.

Through sociology (the national question and federalism).

Through science (the truth according to Marx).

Through all phenomena of nature (biology: worms)[12].

Through pre-science: Osiris, Bacchus, Phoenix – deconstruction and reconstitution on a *new level**.

Montage as a purposeful (tendentious), socially conditioned, ideologically tendentious reconstruction of reality in images.

(To be shown in the history of oscillation between poles: the pole of reconstruction and the pole of reflection. The strengthening and the weakening of [the two tendencies]: the clearness of montage and the bareness [of reality]).

PHOTOGRAPHY

Photography *and the urge to record a phenomenon.**

*Primärer** [in German: primary] eideticism – *lost paradise** of the eideticism with the awakening of consciousness – the *urge** towards substitution for the loss *through a mechanical device (great!!!)**.

The camera and the retina of the eye: the camera – a portrait of the eye (*The Clansman!*)[13].

"Photography as a *craft** begins with the mummy – Egypt.

The death mask – Rome (the naturalism of the death mask),

Ill. 4 – Pushkin's death mask hanging in Eisenstein's apartment in Moscow, 1930s

The pyramid and the idea of resistance against transience – immortality. Nostalgia for the imper[ishable]. In this – photo is *nec plus ultra** [in Latin: that which cannot be surpassed].

To research from the mummy (*preservation of the self**) to photography. The photographs of the relatives and of the dead"[14]

CINEMA

Cinema *and the urge to record a process.**

All cine-toys.

The reason behind doll-automatons (the immortalized actor), mechanical miniature theatres etc., wind-up dolls.

SOUND CINEMA

Sound cinema *and the urge to record sound processes.**

*Balloons** in comic drawings.

The same in the middle ages. *Justicia** [*sic*. In Latin: *Justitia*, "justice"]

The same with the ancient Maya.

Hieroglyphs, but also graphically deformed for the transmission of intonation (my interpretation from observations).

Photo-element as *nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] of aesthetics.

Ill. 5 – Drawing with balloon of comic strip – the little face saying "O Yeah" – *Justitia* giving a speech, and Maya hieroglyphs

CHRONICLE

If we follow along the line of the *urge** to secure phenomena (chronicle, photography, document), impressions (*travelog[ue]*)*.

"Objectively": Homer

Later: tendentiously (*par exemple**, the figures of pharaohs and ordinary mortals already in disproportion).

Later: emotionally.

The Tale of Igor's Campaign[15].

Les désastres de la guerre, Callot[16]

(as a sequential cine-chronicle).

Later: patheticized.

Los desastres de la guerra, Goya

(as non-sequential patheticized impressions)

Later: dramatized, i.e., by the means of staged delivery, being true to the essential facts.

Mysteries

poeticized – the chronicles of Shakespeare.

("Garbling" – for ex., *The Horrors of Kalish*, shot in the courtyard of the Nirnsee Building, 1914)[17].

ANIMATION

I. As *nec plus ultra** [in Latin] of the graphic-stroke tendency

II. as *Auslauf** [in German: *development*] of the tendency of the "animal epos":

I. Petroglyphic [drawings].

Linear woodcuts of the early Renaissance.

Linear engravings of the Japanese.

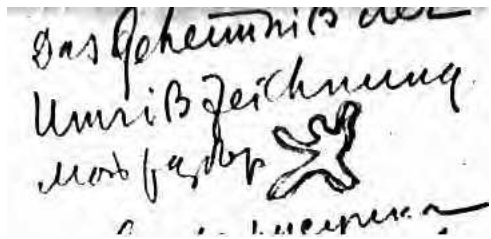
Tolstoy (19th c.)[18]

Graphics *der Jahrhundertwende** [in German: *of the turn of the century*]:

Olaf Gulbransson

Beardsley

*Das Geheimnis der Umrisszeichnung** [in German: *The Secret of the Contour*] – my analysis[19]



Ill. 6 – A small drawing illustrating "the secret of contour"

All types of line drawing as derivatives from this [secret] with a weakening *des primären dynamischen Effektes** [in German: of the primary dynamic effect] and with an increase of new attendant circumstances (as with eideticism – the more photographism declines, the more an identifiable *Gestalt*-ship increases)[20].

An "ossification" in the rectilinear elements. Breaks of contour, ruptures, etc. New ways of dynamic effect.

Eug[enio] D'Ors on Rembrandt and Watteau[21] – a "flickering" fabric of small strokes, etc.

II. The animal epos.

Disney —

Andersen —

La Fontaine —

Reynard the Fox —

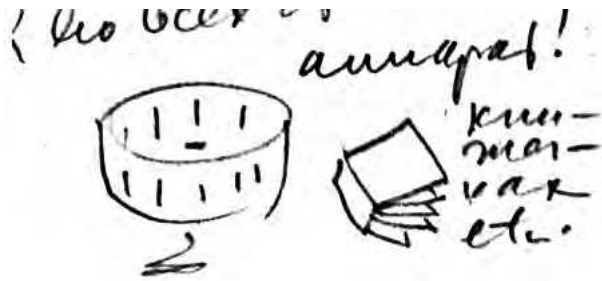
Aesop —

*Totemism**

(*d'après ce que j'ai fait au sujet de Disney* 1940-1941)[22]* [in French: according to what I have done on Disney]

NB. *We duly put him in the beginning, for this kind of drawing is primär** [in English and German: *primary*] in the visual arts. And drawn cinema precedes other types

(on all these apparatuses, booklets, etc.)



Ill. 7 – Drawing showing an example of a pre-cinematographic apparatus, probably a zootrope, and of a booklet with illustrations producing an impression of movement when the pages are turned quickly

Then here and in the remnants of the thematics – in the animal epos and so on – *basic laws** of visual impact, of mythological remnants etc.

Ill. D, E and F – Photograms from *Ivan the Terrible*, part 1: Ivan receiving the last rites on what is thought to be his deathbed

2

DYNAMIC MUMMIFICATION

NOTES FOR A GENERAL HISTORY OF CINEMA[1]

Date: 2.XII.46
[Muzei kino 40-1-12/4, pp. 3-8]

"***Verweile doch, du bist so schön!***"* [in German: *Stay, you are so beautiful!*][2]

One can view all artistic activity *als Auswuchs dieses Triebes** [in German: *as development from this urge*].

Beginning even beyond the bounds of art itself. *Woher dieser Urtrieb?** [in German: *Where does this primary urge come from?*]

Man is eternally subject to the power of creation and destruction, just as nature, history, and society are.

His aspiration is *toujours inassouvie** [in French: *never satisfied*] – stability – eternity.

It is all the same whether it is physical immortality (VIEM[3]) – immortality through children – eternal life through metempsychosis – by going to paradise – through the creation of enduring things of value – in the hearts of the people, etc. (The American's longing for "*security*"*)

In the "grimace" [this aspiration] is trauma, which is built on endlessly reproducing the situation that caused the trauma – that is, the very strongest impression – so strong, that it suffuses the fundamental elements of the psyche.

But "trauma" is only the pathological grimace of what demands enduring reinforcement in relation to yourself (as the most valuable!), or in relation to the most valuable in your own experience, or in relation to the history of your society.

This can happen in two ways:
1. the reproduction of an event or person (dynamically)
or

2. the mummification of a person or event

or, if you like, a third way:

3. the recording by the means of a sign (from a pyramid to a gravestone, or the inscription on a cross in a cemetery).

According to the norms of sensuous thinking (primary logic), the image of an ancestor is the ancestor and the reenacted mystery is the actually reoccurring event.

This first is the cradle[4] of theater.

The dithyramb is like a chronicle, performed by everyone (without any distinction between audience and performers), of the "adventures" of Dionysus.[5]

Pilgrimages are absolutely identical – the passing by the pilgrims themselves through the twelve stations of the passion of Christ.[6]

Both cases – in accordance with primary logic – are of magically, newly recurred events – that is, existing again in reality.

Next, falling on the heels of this, come the "theaters", in the first stages... chronological: the re-enactment of (mythological) history.

Prometheus, Oedipus, etc.

The same thing with Christians: the mysteries, that is, the history of Christ.

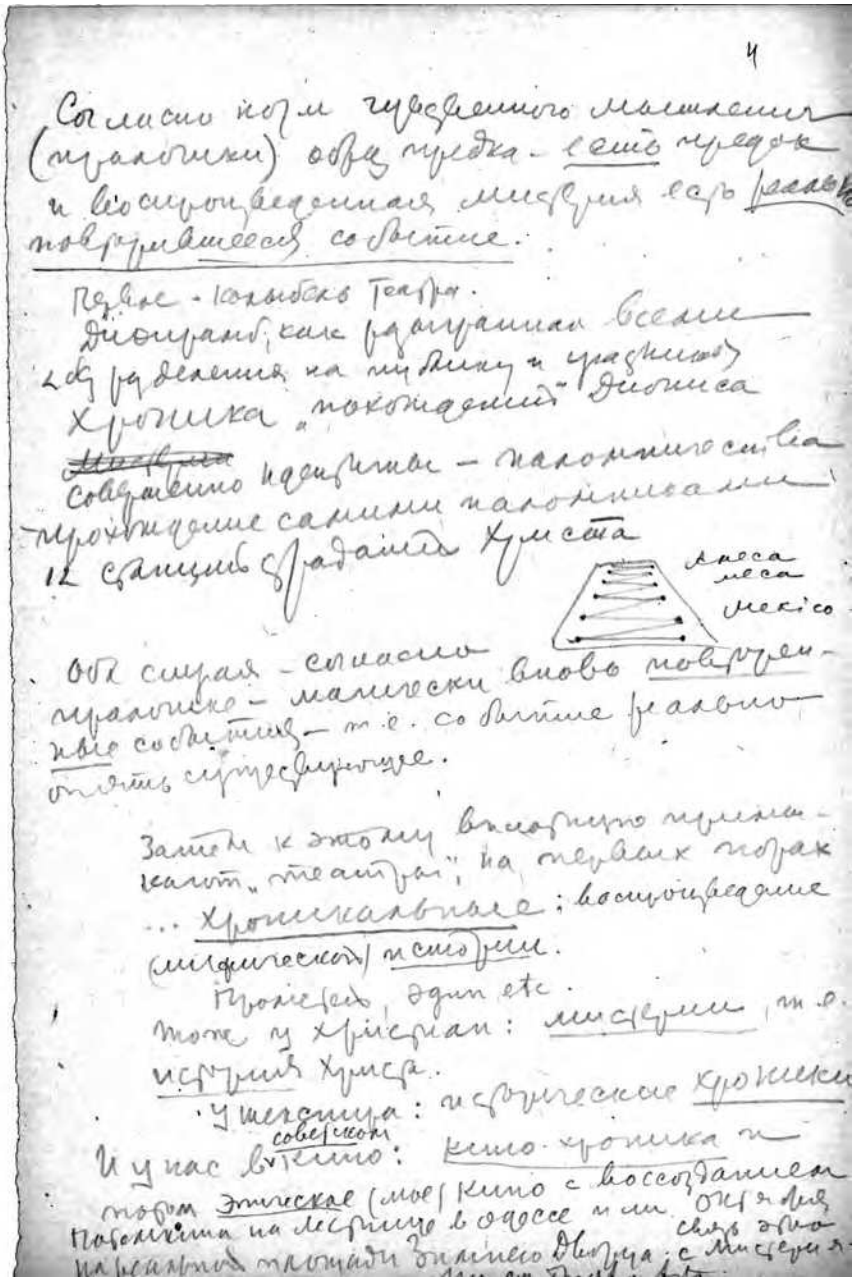
In Shakespeare: the historical chronicles.

And in Soviet cinema we have: cine-chronicle and subsequently epic (my own) film with the re-creation of *Potëmkin* on the Odessa steps, or of *October* on the actual square of the Winter Palace. For the connection of this with the mysteries, see *The Theatre Arts*.[7]

In the second category we find:
The mummification of the hero – for the eternal preservation of his physical being (that is, again in accordance with primary logic – of the hero himself) from Egypt to this day.

The posthumous publication of works as memory – belongs to the same category.

The hero's death-mask – as foundation of the naturalism of Egyptian sculpture ("if the shell is out of proportion, the spirit will not go into it!") and the images of ancestors in Rome would become the "Roman portraits" of the first centuries of our era, striking for their realism.



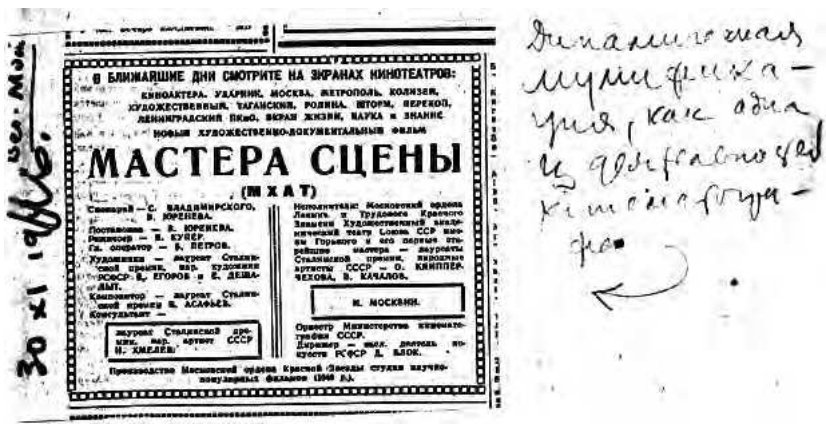
Ill. 1 – A page from Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema* containing a drawing showing a diagram of the pilgrimage to a Catholic church built on top of an Aztec pyramid in the town of Amecameca, Mexico

*Auslauf** [in German: *consequence*] of this is the sculptural portrait that is no longer that of a family member, but a general monument to a hero (the gigantic profiles of the presidents carved into the mountainsides of America – find out precisely where[8]). The gigantic Buddhas in the cave temples and niches of cliffs in Tibet. The Buddhas of China and Ceylon.

(NB. It is appropriate to say here, this is a "staging [*mizanstsena*] in relief" – of three-dimensional scope, "suited" on a "representational block" in the same way as a two-dimensional staging [*mizanstsena*] unfolds through a "representational" path (Hokusai and his gigantic contour drawings on mountains. And in the same vein, it interlocks somewhere with the problem of Stereo[9]).

Reelaborate this in relation to the walkable pictures.[10]

1. Removal (from the corpse) of the mask.
2. *Abklatsch** [in German: *copy*] from Chinese images engraved on cliffs.
3. A photo is a "take" (Balzac).[11]



Ill. 2 – Newspaper clipping from *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 30 XI 46

And another column leading up to the cine-chronicle (*photo animée** [in French: *animated photography*) – where both columns *übereinanderstimmen** [in German: *correspond to one another*].

Dynamic mummification, as one of the cinema's activities[12]

It is surprising to find all these ideas in Diderot's *The Natural Son*.[13] Here we have a full picture of the repetition of «sources», resolved in imagination, but completely in accordance with the tradition of genuine historical patterns.

It is interesting that even theater here is built as a round structure (without an «address» portal, but rather as in circle dance), that is, a theater where the audi-

ence and the actors are one and the same (without an audience: for themselves, like pilgrims[14]).

À noter⋆ [in French: *to be noted*]:
"Theater for oneself" as a theory extremely interesting in that sense (on the threshold of Revolution and the end of class society) – here the circle dance (with no audience) is projected wholly «into oneself», into the individual. The very earliest collective form reduced to a single entity.[15]

Date: Kratovo, 20.VI. 47
[RGALI 1923-2-1017, pp. 1-4]

NB. Probably, for the history of cinema.

Chronicle as cradle.

"Verbleibe doch, du bist schön!"⋆[16]

On the question of "commemorative foundations of the origins of art"

(The dithyramb – dynastic chronicle – reconstruction of an action – television[17])

N.B. Put this next to the extract about "souvenirs" and Queen Victoria's equally unbelievable cult of same (*d'après*⋆ [in French: *according to*] Lytton Strachey's biography of her[18]).

(Into the section on the universality and fundamentality of this *urge*⋆, shown by curious examples[19]).

Date: 17.VIII.47

"Verbleibe doch"⋆[20]

Chronicle – *Television*⋆

Next to "Queen Victoria" *d'après*⋆ Lytton Strachey goes – ... Miss Havisham (by the way, also *Victorian*⋆ – she is simply the "image of conservatism", as is the queen). (*Great Expectations*, 1860-61[21])

Conservatism as the "scowling face" *des Prinzips "Verbleibe doch"* ⋆ [in German: *of the principle "Stay, moment"*].

(Here also the book [by Florence Becker Lennon] on Lewis Carroll *Victoria Through the Looking Glass*.[22]

56

TRANSITION

Mount Hope Cemetery. Ten of the were sculptured out of marble in Ital Davis once admitted he was the "mo hated man in Hiawatha," because th townspeople thought he should find som better use for his money.

Married: ADELINE JUDGE, movie actres and HENRY J. TOPPING JR., tinplate hei in Miami Beach, April 29.

ADELE ASTAIRE, 47, onetime dance and sister of Fred, and KINGMAN DOUG LASS, 51, investment banker, in Warren ton, Va., April 28. It was the secon marriage for both. Miss Astaire's first hu band, Lord Charles Cavendish, die three years ago.

Born: A girl, Barbara Davis, to BETT DAVIS, 39, movie actress, and her thir husband, WILLIAM GRANT SHERRY, 3 pugilist-turned-artist; by caesarean se tion, in Santa Ana, Calif., May 1. Th child was Miss Davis's first.

Sentenced: In Frankfurt, Germany COL. JACK W. DURANT, 37, was dismisse from the Army and sentenced to fifte years at hard labor for stealing the Hes crown jewels. His wife, Wac Cap Kathleen Nash Durant, was sentence to five years at hard labor last Septembe for her part in the plot.

Locked Away: The $2,000,000 Hop diamond will not be worn for twent years under the terms of the will left b its owner, MRS. EVALYN WALSH MCLEA Washington social leader who died Apr 26. In 1967, her seven grandchildre who now range in age from 4 to 7, w decide its fate. Until then, Mrs. McLean entire jewel collection will be held trust. The Hope diamond, which on belonged to Catherine the Great an Marie Antoinette, is said to have broug tragedy to each of its owners.

Wodehouse's characters have vanished

Not So Funny: P. G. WODEHOUSE, 65, British humorist, who is on his first visit to this country since the war, was eager to explain his 1942 Nazi radio broadcasts. He had simply used that means of thanking his friends for gifts and letters, Wodehouse explained. "It was a crazy thing to do," he said. "Humor is irreconcilable with Fascism." Wodehouse has written four new books, one of them about Jeeves. "I'm afraid my characters don't exist any more," he said. "I guess you can say I'm writing historical novels now."

Memorial: JOHN MILBURN DAVIS, 92, retired Hiawatha, Kans., farmer, was buried April 28, in the elaborately costly memorial he built to his wife's memory. After Mrs. Davis died in 1930, he had eleven lifesize statues of his wife and himself placed under a granite canopy in

Residents of Hiawatha would remember Davis, whether they wanted to or not

Ill. 3 – Clipping from the magazine *Newsweek*, May 12, 1947

Date: Moscow, 10.VI.47
[RGALI 1923-2-1016, p.1]

FORERUNNERS[23]

Stained-glass windows {	The History of Cinema	Color
	Stéréo	Color

For example, about *vitraux*[24]* [in French: *stained glass windows*].

For film is <u>also</u> (*besides everything in fusion*) *translucent painting**, planned for projection.

To a certain extent, it is *vitraux**!

But stereoscopic cinema has even more in common with *vitraux*.

After all, a stained-glass window is not only *translucency** (on screen: a color-field, cast onto the blinding whiteness of the background), but even more – for the 12th and 13th centuries – a color form of volume penetrating into the space of the nave!

Date: not dated – second half of 1947
[RGALI 1923-2-1015, pp. 5-6]

From the mechanical copy of reality to the conscious photographic creation and the art of photography, and from the photographic camera to the film camera

The high art of early photography.

Photographic art accompanies the development of bourgeois society, responding to its object/merchandise orientation (Balzac's statistics), unimitable individualization (unimitable copy) and commercialized broad distribution.

These tendencies in the realist trend in literature and art come to replace the era of revolutionary romanticism.

The sharply negative attitude of decadents of the era of [late] romanticism towards photography. The ideological inadmissability of photographism for them (Baudelaire on photography in 1859[25]).

Photography's connection with realistic graphic art of its time.

The photography of the era of high realism of the 1840s. The 1850s and 1860s. And the 1870s.

The stage of monochrome photography.

The culture and traditions of the monochrome principle in painting.

Chinese ink drawing.

Eastern monochrome landscape.

Graphic arts.

Photo-graphy [*sveto-pis'*] *grisaille versus* color-graphy [*tsveto-pis'*]*[26]

Chiaroscuro in Italian painting.

Photo-graphy in Rembrandt's etchings.

Engraving in "mezzo-tinto".

Daumier's monochrome lithography.

Masters of photography of the 19th century

Documentary nature of early calotype, daguerrotype, and ambrotype.[27] The utilitarian commemorative tendency *versus* photo-interpretation.

Compositional organization of the model itself.

Tonal consideration of the elements of the object itself.

Early artistic photography.

The transfer of the creative organizing principle to the means of photographic expressivity.

Emphasis on the image, photo-graphy, interpretive treatment and composition of a frame.

Specialization in genres (photo portrait, still life, landscape, «genre»,[28] photo-journalism and documentary, the special-effects photo, photo-curiosities).

Artistic effect in the result of early technical limitations.

(Analogy with other areas of the arts. The poisonous consequences of too-malleable material on style)

Properties of early lenses, the negative, the graininess of the paper, the chemical processes of photography.

Special plastic effect due to the necessity of long exposure (especially in the work of David Octavius Hill[29]). The effect of relief and the necessity for painstaking composition of the pose.

Lost secrets of painterly effects of early photography in connection with technical development.

In a separate section

Shot of the hands of Victor Hugo (Charles-Victor Hugo, 1853-55). Nadar's self-portrait – the photographer in the pupil of the separately-shot eyes of Gounod,[30] 1871 (compare Arnolfini's portrait[31]). Combined photos. All of this in special-effects film.

Double exposures in falsified spirit photography. The proliferation of this.

History of Montage

Date: 17.VII.47
[Muzei kino 40-1-12/4, pp. 9-11, 13]

Zeuxis (he came from Heracleia to Athens in 424 B.C.) – most famous painter of antiquity (painted grapes which birds tried to pick):

"At Crotone he agreed to paint a Helen *for the temple of Lacinia Hera, on condition that the five loveliest women of the city would pose in the nude for him, so that he might select from each her fairest features and combine them all in a second goddess of beauty..."*⋆

("Cicero and Pliny", p. 318, *The Life of Greece* by Will Durant[32])

See famous passage in Kuleshov on montage[33]

Date: 11.X.47

Montage: substantival, adjectival, verbal

As composed of parts – continuous, generalized – in order to reach general perfection from particular features of value.

Zeuxis (see quote from Will Durant).

Agaf'ia Tikhonovna—in a comical way (if he could have X's nose and Y's walk, etc.).[34]

Montage as the creation of a sense of the volume/relief of the whole through the combination of the pictorial/two-dimensional – the "motto" of Benvenuto Cellini (about the multiple views of sculpture) carried out.[35]

Montage as the combination of not only physical aspects of appearance from various sides and points (Delaunay and the Cubists).[36]

(Montage of characteristic features of a hero)

But montage as agglomeration of qualitative aspects – nuances of inner sound. For example, in Tolstoy.

It is he who is the master of combining the features of appearances in the description and choice of details. This is "substantive" montage: 4 details of the portrait of Katyusha Maslova.[37]

He is equally the master of "adjectival" montage: not the views of an object from different sides, but the various qualitative sides within one phenomenon.

For example, the sensation of pain felt by Ivan Il'ich:
"Suddenly he felt
the familiar,
old,
dull,
aching pain,
unremitting,
quiet,
serious...".[38]

Of course, the "spontaneously" arising understanding of "substantive" and "adjectival" montage cries out for the addition of "verbal" montage.[39]

Montage, where movement-action is seized par excellence.

"Technically" this is a "smeared" single-action shot:

"...The Swedes and Russians - chop, hack, cut...".[40]

Visually to the tone of what Gauguin writes (ecstatically) about the British (Turner?): "not a train, but the movement of the train"[41] (*vérifier d'après le journal de Gauguin** [in French: *check in Gauguin's diary*]).

One could put here, from Mauthner (*Philosophisches Wörterbuch** [in German: *Philosophical Dictionary*]), his view on *verbale*, *adjektivische*, *substantivische Welten** [in German: *verbal*, *adjectival*, *substantival worlds*].[42]

For it is these very *Welten** [in German: *worlds*] that are, as it were, reflected in the structure of theatrical performance as well.

The *verbale Welt** [in German: *verbal world*] – in the world of the actor's "I want" in Konstantin Stanislavsky's system.

The *adjektivische Welt** [in German: *adjectival world*] – in the image structure of a work (the image of *mise-en-scène** [in French: staging], the image of a shot, the

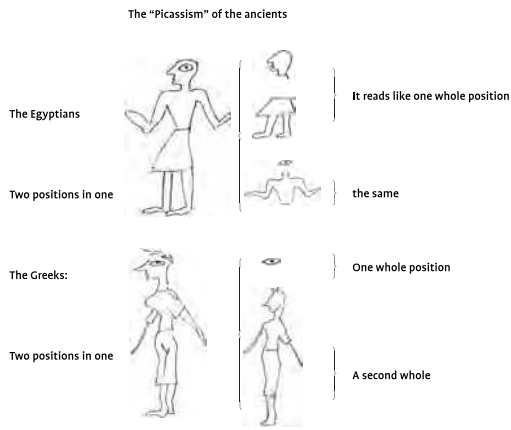
image of an episode, the image of the work as a whole) – of my system as a director.

The *substantivische Welt** [in German: *substantival world*] – of final conclusions of the conception: a theme that runs through (a step further even beyond the bounds of the "super-objective" and the "through-going action" [43]).

For example, "unity" as the theme throughout Sergei Mikhailovich Eisenstein's [work], or the themes throughout Gogol, or Pushkin.[44]

The through-going theme in detective stories *as such**, etc.[45]

Date: 12 X 1947



Ill. 4 – Eisenstein's scheme about "the «Picassism» of the ancients"

Why are we obliged to "read" this as simply "uneducated" – the notorious "inability to draw the chest and eye in profile"?

For aside from this it is a multi-perspectival (dual-perspectival) perception of a human being.

Picasso repeats this [first step] in an arbitrary and wilful way, not because of *limitation**, which is, of course, evident here.

Date 12.X.1947[46]
[Muzei kino 40-1-12/9, p. 5]

The separation of "phonogram" and "image" in the early forms of the theatre.

Their synchronization.[47]

History of audiovisual montage

Two masked actors of Java: the one on the right acts the story recited by the one on the left

Ill. 5

The *gamelan*, or native orchestra, of a Javanese Shadow Theatre. Some of the shadow puppets are shown stacked behind

Ill. 6 – Both Ill. 5 and 6 are taken from the article of Johan Fabricius in *The Listener* (London, 3 January 1946) on the theater in Java

Date: 23 XII. 47
[Muzei kino 40-1-12/9, pp.1-6]

On Audiovisual Combinations

The line of the images and the line of the phonogram

After the Easter scrolls

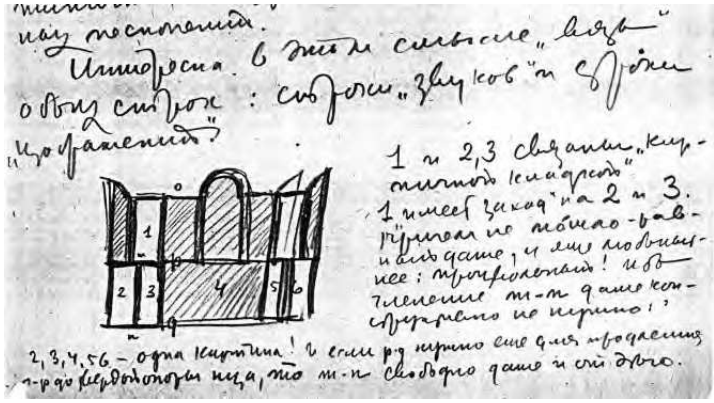
– the line of notes becomes a line of images, on which are singing
(the beings portrayed on them).

Such is the *Ghent Altarpiece* of Hubert and Jan Van Eyck: angels in the upper part of the exposed altar sing and play music for the processions in the lower part.

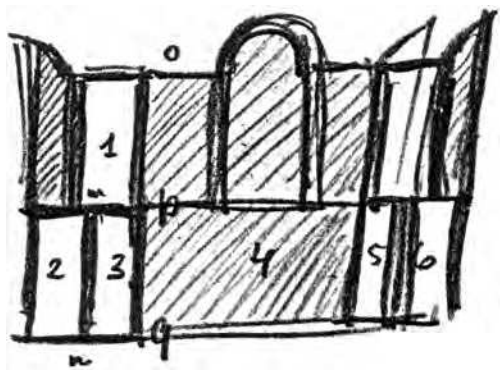
Natalia Mikhailovna Chegodaeva[48] drew attention to this, and I heard it from her opponent, harshly criticizing her for this during the discussion of her dissertation on December 23rd, 1947, at the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.

I believe she is right: for me this is the phase that would typically follow Easter hymns.

What's interesting in this sense is the "interweaving" of both lines: the line of "sounds" and the line of "images"



Ill. 7 – Drawing containg a scheme for the analysis of Hubert and Jan Van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*



Ill. 8 – Detail of the scheme

1, and 2-3 are connected "like bricks".[49]

1 "is laid" on top of 2 and 3. [see Ill. 8]

Moreover, it is not simply banally equal,

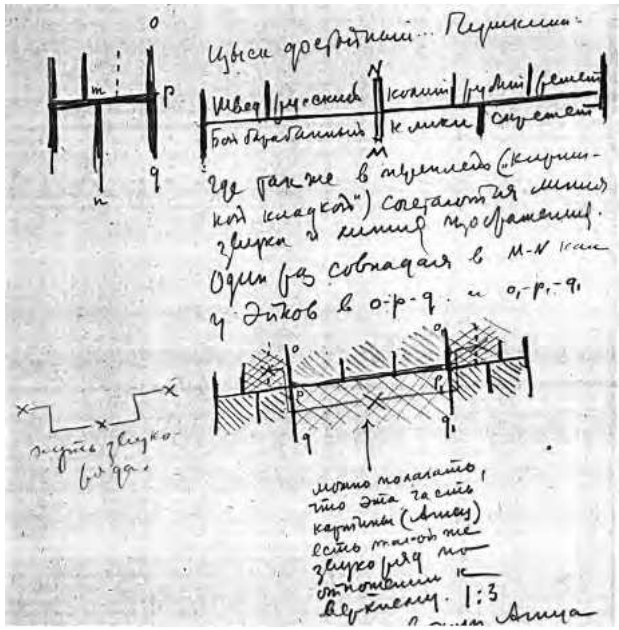
it is even more curious: it is arbitrary!

For the articulation of m-n [see Ill.13b] is even constructively unnecessary:

2, 3, 4, 5, 6 are one picture! And if p-q [see Ill.13b] is necessary for the lengthening of o-p to the buttress of the ground floor, then m-n is even independent of it.

The same wing panel is laid out elegantly "brick fashion":

3:2 (top to bottom), moreover the top is not laid out 1:1:1 and not in three parts but in two with the relation 1:2 (of left and right), while the bottom is laid out 1:1



Ill. 9 – Another drawing containg a scheme for the analysis of Hubert and Jan Van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*

Refinement, worthy of Pushkin:

N

| The Swede | the Russian || stabs | chops | cuts |

| The drum beat || cries | clashes |

M

(See Ill. 14 upper part)

Where in the same way the interweaving (in "brick fashion") combines

the line of sound and the line of image.

One time coinciding in M-N,

as the Eycks' do in *o-p-q* and *o1-p1-q1*

(See Ill. 14 central part)

The way of the line of sound

(See Ill. 14, scheme on the left)

One could suppose that this part of the picture (Lamb of God)

is the same kind of sound structure in relation to the upper 1:3

Evidently, angels around the Lamb of God sing, as does the group of saints on the left — they have open books and raised heads.

So the sound structure in the center changes [...][50]

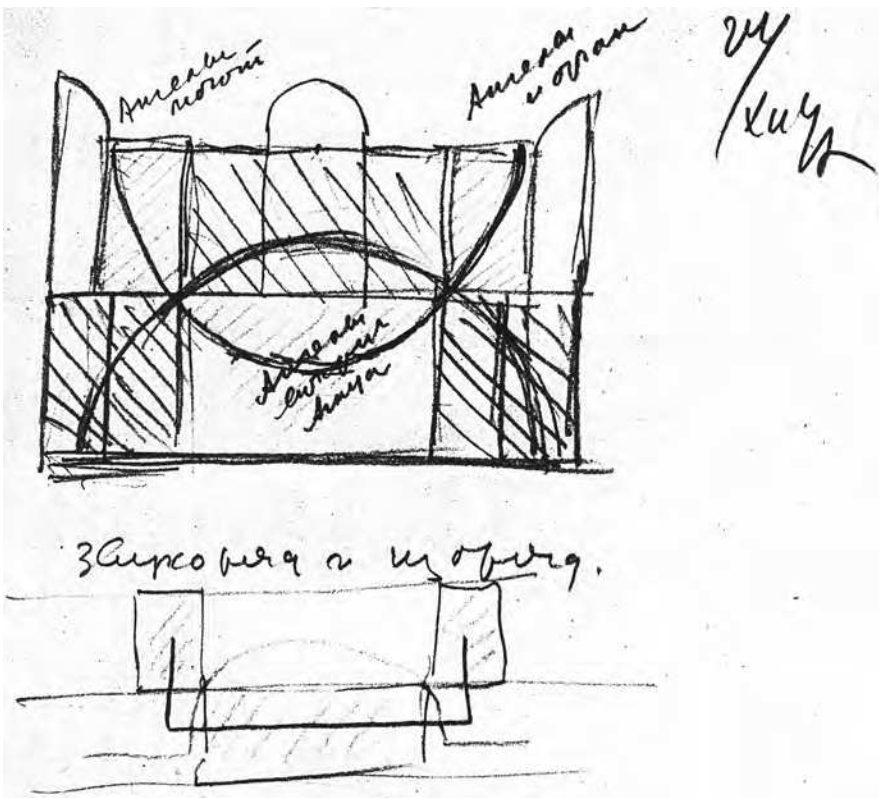
Angels are singing

Angels around the Lamb

Angels and the organ

The line of sound, and the line of images

(See Ill. 16)



Ill. 10 – Drawing containing a scheme for the analysis of the structure of the *Ghent Altarpiece*

Ill. 11 – Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (open view)

Ill. 12 – Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (closed view)

Ill. 13 – Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (angels singing)

Ill. 14 – Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (angels playing the organ and singing)

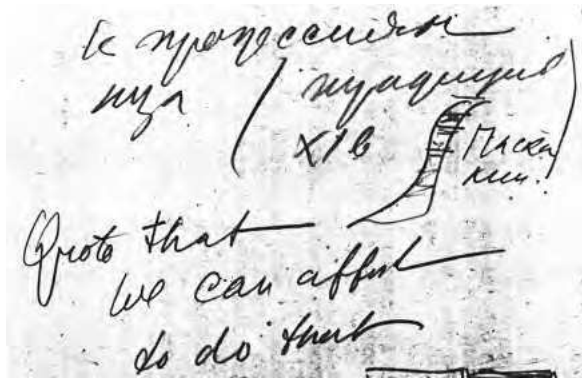
Ill. 15 – Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (the adoration of the Holy Lamb)

Date: 24.XII.47
[Muzei kino 40-1-12/11, p.20 reverse]

Music (two frames) in the upper row of the *Ghent Altarpiece*,

can be understood as the accompaniment to the processions of the lower

(the tradition of the 11th century Easter service)



Ill. 16 – Drawing showing an analogy between Easter processions as a montage sequence and the sequence of photograms on a film strip

Quote that

We can effort [sic, *try*] *to do that**

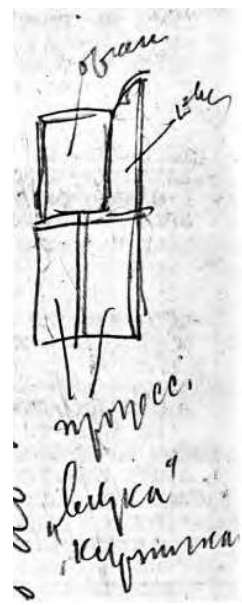
Organ.

Eve.

Procession.

Brick "interweaving"

(See Ill. 18)



Ill. 17 – Drawing containing another scheme for the analysis of the *Ghent Altarpiece*

Date: 24.XII.47
[Muzei kino 40-1-12/10, pp.1-6]

History of the Problems

Space and time in painting

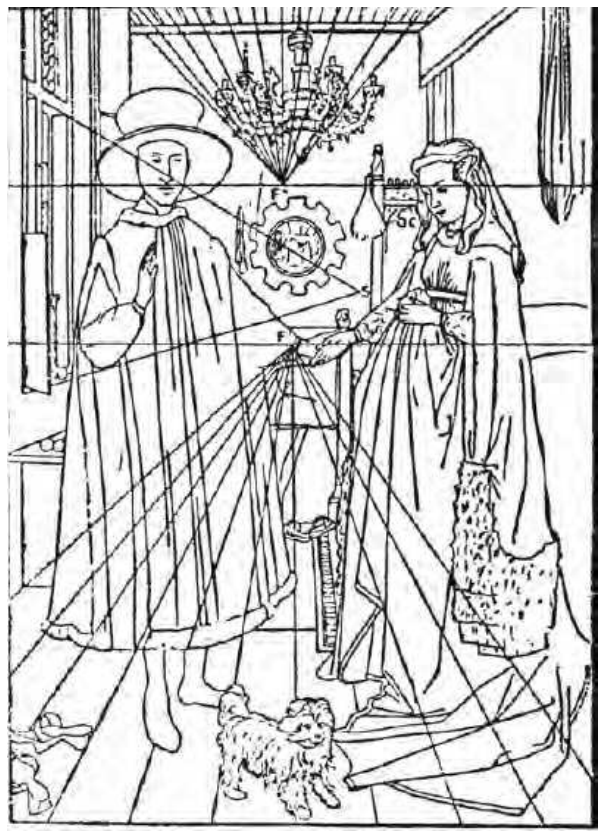
Time, which *grows out** into a montage succession!

On the problem of multipointness, not only in space but also in time

Multipointness[51]

Do not forget Van Eyck's *The Arnolfini Couple*

with its multi-point perspective.[52]



Ill. 18 – Diagram of Jan van Eyck's *Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife* showing the three vanishing points (S, F', F'') that can be located in the picture. The diagram was published by Eisenstein in *The Film Sense*, p.102.

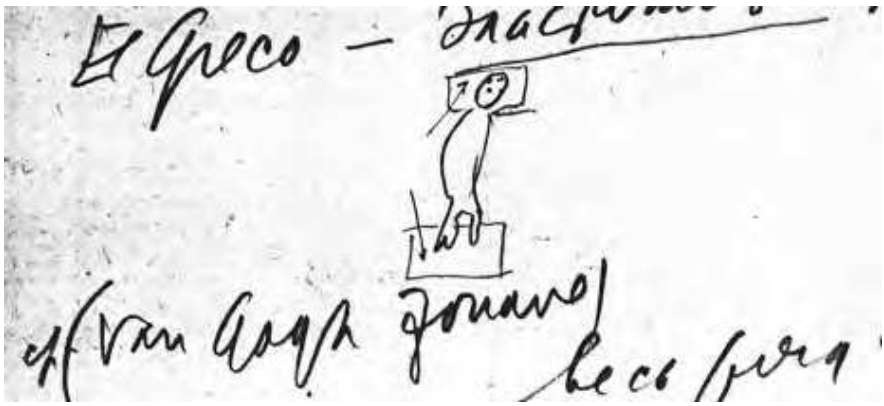
Ermolova[53] is "more realistic": the mirrors in it give the possibility not to break up the surroundings.

In Van Eyck the surroundings are broken up by various vanishing points!

(Cleverly hidden *as well as** in Leonardo's *Last Supper*[54]).

Delaunay – a complete break (not hidden).

El Greco — elasticity of the figures[55]



Ill. 19 – Drawing showing the elasticity of the figures in El Greco's paintings

Compare with Van Gogh's *Zouave*[56]

*Anyhow**, the whole series strives towards a change of viewpoints and multi-point perspective.

24.XII.1947

Space and Sound

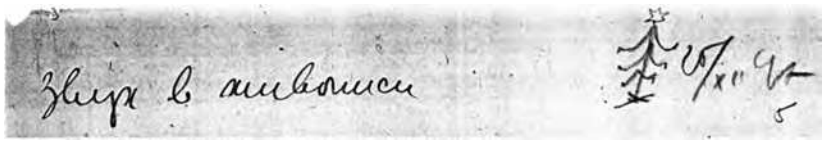
The Easter cycle, *the singing pottery of Peru*, *Siamese processions**, Van Eyck and the image of music-making [personages], but *interrelated** by their positions in the *Ghent Altarpiece* like the connection of two lines.

Čiurlionis and the *distortion** of the picture, *according to music**.

Compare the *distortion** in the tone of intonation of hieroglyphs, flying from the mouths of personages of the Maya bas-reliefs.

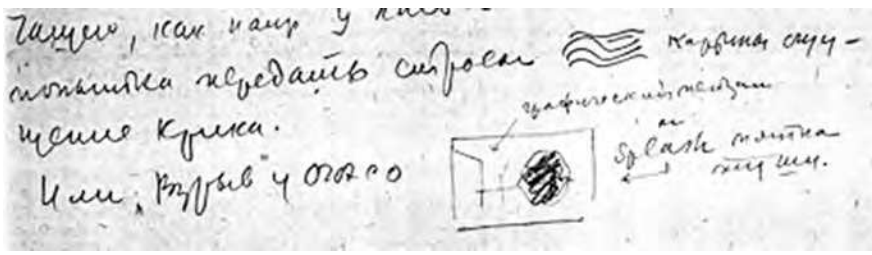
Date: 25.XII.47[57]

Sound in Painting



Ill. 20 – The title of the section "Sound in painting" flanked by the drawing of a little Christmas tree

Munch – *The Scream* is not only an image of a screaming man, as, for example, is [Frans] Hals's image of a singing man, but an effort to express in the picture's structure the feeling of a scream. (See Ill. 21, the drawing of the ondulated lines surrounding the face in Munch's *Scream*). Or Orozco's *The Explosion* graphic landscape and the *splash** with the spots of India ink.[58] (See Ill. 21, the spot of ink on a painting showing a landscape)



Ill. 21 – The drawing of the ondulated lines surrounding the face in Munch's *Scream*

The parallel rows in Van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*.

Čiurlionis and the dissolution of painting into synchretic pictures of sound imitation.[59]

All of this applies in precisely the same way in poetry (and prose).

Parallel rows without imitation, but by way of the representation of sound (description).

The Swede	the Russian	stabs	chops	cuts	
The drum beat		cries	clashes		

The rhythm (of the battle) unifies the rows as a general foundation and a pacing beat.

The pure reproduction of sound, as in Prince Andrey's delirium (*War and Peace*): "*pitty pitty pitty* etc.".[60] going along with the description of representation, weaving itself together (alternating) with it.

The example of synchronisation with *superimposition** of both one and the other (sound and object) in Verlaine:

Les violons

Longs

De l'automne

Mon cœur

D'une langueur

*Monotone** [in French: see note below][61]

Naturally, the primacy on the side of music is much more easily realized in literature than it is in the picture: for the phenomenon of sound in literature is felt objectively, while in pictorial representation suggestively.

Just as in painting representation is objective, but sound is suggestive!

But visuality in music is completely contingent and abstract (not concrete and not objective).

For this reason Verlaine's verses are much more grounded in literature:

De la musique avant toute chose,

Et pour cela préfère l'Impair

Plus vague et plus soluble dans l'air,

Sans rien en lui qui pèse ou qui pose

[...]

De la musique encore et toujours!

Que ton vers soit la chose envolée

Qu'on sent qui fuit d'une âme en allée

Vers d'autres cieux à d'autres amours.

Que ton vers soit la bonne aventure

Éparse au vent crispé du matin

Qui va fleurant la menthe et le thym…

Et tout le reste est littérature[62].

"Writing" here, of course, is of the narrative-representational kind, rather than of the musical-sound kind.

"The inclination" towards the musical/melodious (sound) principle to the detriment of the pictorial is characteristic of Verlaine himself.

Pushkin succeeded in harmonizing both "ways."

For, let's say, Boborykin's[63] writings, on the other hand, are *pure** "literature" (in a bad – only objectively-descriptive sense).

*Tremendously important**

A *forerunner** [in the line] of multi-point perspective, of [Robert] Delaunay, regarding objective phenomena of the world of architecture (the Eiffel Tower, etc.), was Honoré Daumier: both in time! and in the organic development of sequence: breaking the human figure into various successive phases of one movement.[64]

Various (in terms of time) phases of human movement in Daumier's work grow into various (in terms of space) points of seeing an object in Delaunay's work.

This connection is repeated in cinema technique (*in the broadest sense: mechanical technics and creative technics*)* – the system of shots (frames) – successive phases of movement broken into pieces – and the system of edited shots – repeating as if in a magnifying glass this very same principle in a sequence of breaking into a multiplicity of vision.

Multi-point perspective and multiple-temporality!

HISTORICAL EVALUATIONS

How to look at discrete phenomena of history

Date: XII.1947 / I.1948
[RGALI 1923-2-1021, pp. 14-56, 58-59]

Cinema in the System of the Arts

A short overview of the history of expressive means.

Art of the [age] of imperialism.

From the photo camera to the cinema apparatus

3

The problem of the moving image in the visual arts.

Wayang shadow theater.[65]

Simultaneous pictures. Stringing together various phases of an event (Memling, Botticelli's illustrations for the *Divina Commedia*[66]).

Simultaneous sets in Middle-Age and Renaissance theater.

Chain of pictures (Hogarth, Goya's *Robber Maragato*[67]).

The problem of a compositions' dynamics.

Various phases of the position of a figure (Tintoretto, Daumier[68]).

Simultaneity of various positions of a figure (multi-handedness and multi-leggedness).

(Heidelberg manuscript of the *Sachsenspiegel*, Futurism[69]) (See Ill. 22-23).

Muybridge's experiments with composite photographic depiction.[70]

Ill. 22 and 23 – Two illustrations from the Heidelberg manuscript of the *Sachsenspiegel*, showing figures with multiple heads and arms

#4.

The invention of the film camera

The highest form is cinema [*kinematograf*]. Montage and motion (mobility)

Cinema's predecessors in the history of related arts.

Re-montage [*peremontazh*] of a phenomenon.

Painting. The Merovingian ornament.[71]

View of Toledo by El Greco.[72]

A view with multipoint view.

Multi-point perspective. “The Last Supper”.[73]

From Arnolfini through Serov to Delaunay.

სახვითი ხელოვნების ძეგლების განხილვა კინოხელოვნების საშუალებით

გაიანე ალიბეგაშვილი

ხელოვნებათმცოდნეობის კანდიდატი

ფერწერული თუ ბარელიეფული ქმნილების სტატიკა (მისი დროში უცვლელობით) თუ კინოკადრის დინამიკა... ორივე შემთხვევის საფუძვლის საფუძველია სახვითი მასალა, მაგრამ, ამავე დროს, რა დიდი სხვაობაა მათ ბუნებაში, რა სხვადასხვა პირობებში ვლინდება ეს ხარისხობრივად ერთმანეთისაგან სრულიად საწინააღმდეგო სპეციფიკის სახვითი მასალები.

ეს წინააღმდეგობანი — სტატიკა და დინამიკა — შეიძლება ხელისშემშლელ პირობად გადაგვეღობოს, როცა სახვითი ხელოვნების ქმნილებას კინოს საშუალებებით წარმოვსახავთ ეკრანზე. ამასთან დაკავშირებით მეტად საყურადღებოა ის მეთოდოლოგია, რომლითაც სარგებლობდა ცნობილი კინორეჟისო-

Ill. 24 – A découpage in different shots of Leonardo Da Vinci's *Last Supper* executed in 1933-34 by Konstantin Pipinashvili, a student of Eisenstein at the film school VGIK

#5

Audio-visual composition

The unity of intonation and gesture in ordinary behaviour as a cradle[74] of audio-visual counterpoint (both as tendency and as methodology)[75]

The primary synthesis in dithyramb (movement and sound).

*Exultant** [in Latin: *they rejoice*] XII-XIIIth century.[76]

Objective-suggestive procession in Siam.[77]

Cult examples.

Holidays connected with specific music.

Life events [connected] with song (weddings) and cult (funereal) [music].

Social and national [holidays and life events connected] with colors.

Relativity [of the meanings of color]:

white wedding,

white mourning for the Chinese, black and lilac mourning [for the Europeans].

Purple [of the mantle] of a cardinal.

Gold, silver, light blue, white robes [of Orthodox priests].

Color frescoes in eastern theaters (*pars pro toto** [in Latin: *the part for the whole*]).[78]

The rhythmic organization of the procession and sequence of sounds in city ceremonies.

Entrances.

Guild in emblem, color, sound (hymn).

National colors and hymns.

Visual parallelism (van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece).

Excessive *fusion**: Munch, Čiurlionis.

(Analogy with the problem of "musicality" and objectiveness in poetry. Pushkin *as opposed to** Mallarmé).

Theater and theater of musical drama *par excellence** [in French].

Leitmotiv and its connection with the objects (the sword, the oak, the chalice) and with the themes of the objects (the Father, the Fate, the Welsungs).[79]

#6.

Color – stereo – television

Brief survey of preceding problems.

(From cine-chronicle and filmed theater [*kinospektakl'*] to cinema)

#2

[Development of photography]

Daguerrotype and the invention of photography

Daguerre, Nadar, Talbot.

Masters of the psychological portrait:

David Octavius Hill, Julia Margaret Cameron.

Masters of documentary photography:

photographs from the time of the Sebastopol campaign,

Matthew Brady and the civil war in NAUS,[80] the Siege of Paris (1871) in Nadar's photographs.

Masters of photographic still life.

Masters of photographic image of the surroundings.

Atget. Nadar. Stieglitz: the beginning of urbanism and of rigorous *plein air** [in French: *open air*] (notes on cloudscapes [?][81]).

Ill. 25 – Alfred Stieglitz, a cloudscape from the series of the *Equivalents* (1925-34)

Connection with painting traditions of the era.

Independent contribution. Degradation of photographic art at the turn of the XXth century, social [roots] of the phenomenon.

Russian school of photography.

Masters of the document. Pëtr Otsup.[82]

Masters of the portrait. Nappel'baum, Sternberg.[83]

#7

Art of the era of imperialism and the appearance of *cinématographe [kinematograph]*.

Aesthetic tendencies become initial technical possibilities.

The tendency towards divisionism and analysis as a reflection of the disintegration of art.

Closure with stage zero (Dada, Surrealism, etc.).

The rise of cinema.

Preconditions for the new era of reunification.

Absence of these possibilities in the pre-socialist period.

Genre

Georg-Wilhelm Timm (1820-1895).

"Pictures of Russian manners".

"Our types, drawn from life".

"The Physiology of Petersburg".[84]

And views.

Masters of genre.

Genre photography.

*Snapshot** and eidetic petroglyphic drawings.

*Snapshot** and the predecessor of journalistic *candid camera* (unstaged, reportage photos) – the future aesthetic of "life caught unawares" [*zhizn' vrasplokh*][85] in cinema.

The role of the development of the press and illustrated newspapers as a stimulus.

Shots of the Crystal Palace of 1854 while being inaugurated[86] (See Ill. 24)

Ill. 26 – The opening of the re-built Crystal Palace at Seydenham, London, by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, June 10 1854. From the book *Victorian Snapshot* owned by Eisenstein and preserved at the Eisenstein Center, Moscow

See-saw of 1857 (See Ill. 25). "Instant photograph".

Ill. 27 – Photograph (dated 1857) from the book *Victorian Snapshot*

Pioneer of the *snapshot* Paul Martin, born 1864.[87]

[He] begins as a master of wood engraving for newspapers. Goes on to photography in 1883.

From the multi-camera set-up of Muybridge to the hand-held camera of 1890 through the motionless camera (invented [by] Eastman in 1886).

Move to the pure photo, in journalism and photo-documentary. Matthew Brady etc.

Famous instant photographs and photo-reportages.

Documentary utilitarian prerequisites to David Octavius Hill, the Scotsman.

1. Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) and Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) as masters of art photography.

2. Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) as photographer. Landscape. Still life (*Pencil of Nature* 1844[88]).

3. Still lives of Henri Le Secq (*Fantaisies* 1855).

Masters of the psychological portrait.

4. David Octavius Hill (1802-1870). Master in lighting; in the distinctive character of angle placement (but not the camera yet); in reframing the shot [*obrez fotokadra*]; in the choice of details of the surroundings; in the general atmosphere. Genre (sailors, fishermen).

5. Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879). Master of light and shade.

6. Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, 1820-1910). Master of the individualization in portraiture.

7. Étienne Carjat (1828-1906). Master of the documentary portrait.

Analysis of the leading portrait photographers of historical personages. Photo portraits of Karl Marx in the 1860s and 70s.

Masters of "genre"

Date: 28.XII.47

One more *device**:

Mechanization of motion

Moving *silhouettes*, shadows

Play of hands

Two-dimensional *Wayang* and Chinese transparent colorful [figures].

*Lanterne magique** [in French: *magic lantern*] with moving parts (I remember it from my childhood).

Moving mechanism outside

Three-dimensional marionettes. Puppeteer's technique.

Guignol and Petrushka.

Animated threedimensional doll (by handmovement)

*Synchronized by changing voice of manipulator**.

Moving mechanism inside

Automated figures.

Moving toys (cages with birds of the 18th century). Mechanical toys. Moving wax figures (Cleopatra and asp).

Moving mechanism in projection

Directly from these cartoon figures (three-dimensional). Starevich. (Ptushko).[89]

Mechanical sound

Musical boxes.

Mechanical pianos.

Rolls with perforations.

1807 *Kymograph—moving cylinder for recording continuous movement (Thomas Young)*

1857 *Phonautograph. Voice vibrations recorded on revolving cylinder (Edouard-Léon Scott de Martinville)*

1877 *Microphone, Phonograph (Edison)*

1870 *Celluloid (John Wesley and Isaiah Hyatt)*[90]

Artistic organization of moving phenomena in time

Movement of the viewer

Architectural ensemble and the taking into consideration of the duration of the shift in the audience's impressions.

Problem of rhythm.

Acropolis (Choisy).[91]

English park.

Michelangelo's square[92] .

*Intérieur** [in French: *Interior*] St. Sophia

Chartres.[93]

Procession (Gregor)[94] (See "The Heir", Ill.2)

Movement of an object

Dithyramb of chorus and entrances *pageant**

Collective dance, divided into...

Lessons of music and organization of sound into scales

Moving photography

Marionettes (movement from outside)	puppeteer
Automated things (movement from inside)	mechanism
Shadow theater (movement, the reflection of the object;	
first [it was] the silhouette-shadow)	puppetteer

Movable photography

*Forerunners**

Before them: in painting, etc.

Animat[ion] and the history of graphics

*Comic strip**

Animation in the series of devices responding to the problem of creating the moving picture

The problem of the dynamic representation of the moving phenomena – representation through static means

petroglyphic drawing

- line drawing – born of the petroglyphic silhouette;

- connection with Chinese calligraphy;

- Renaissance book illustration, wood and metal engraving;

- German and French line engraving;

- empire line drawing (Schinkel, [Fëdor Tolstoy's] *Dushenka*)[95]

- Olaf Gulbransson[96]

Problem of capturing the dynamic phenomena

Problem of dynamic representation of a moving phenomenon

Zoetropes, etc.

Animal epos.[97]

Totemism and animism.

Cult of the domestic animal.

Satirical [play].

Batrachomyomachia.[98]

Aesop – La Fontaine – Krylov.[99]

Connection with childhood ideas.

Andersen – Lewis Carroll.

Early cinematographic views.

Real journeys at the end of the 18th cent.

Chinese *scroll pictures**

Lubok[100] **– Image d'Épinal**

Mythological genre

dividing myth into three parts, according to the three main elements of which myth is composed:

the religious/cult element

the fairy-tale/fantastic

the historical/prerequisite.

From this:

series of religious luboks (Serafim Sarovskii),

series of fairytale luboks (Bova),

series of historical luboks (the siege of Sebastopol) .[101]

Epic and and heroic genre[102]

glorification of generals, commanders, tsars (Aunt Pasha weeps over "the lives" of generals).[103]

Connection of this with "Saints' lives" and Hagiographies.

Platov. Kuz'ma Kriuchkov. Etc.[104]

Instructive / morally didactic genre

growing out of homilies and sermons.

Genre dealing with recent news

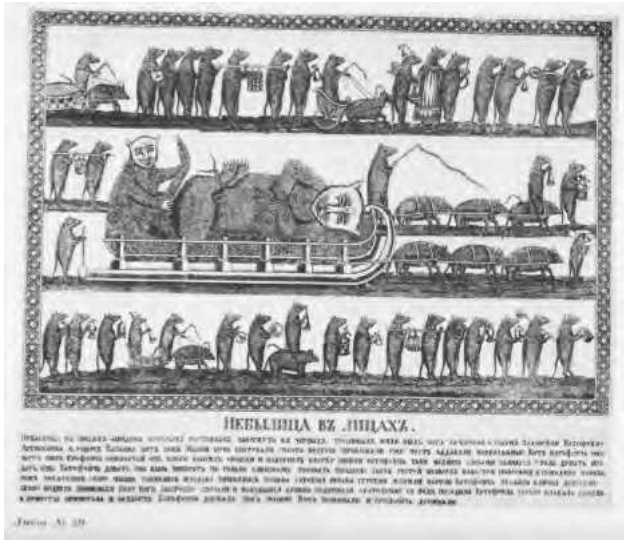
*actualité[s]** [in French: *news*] with emphasis on news about crime and news in general (as in later papers such as *Birzhovka* and *Vecherka*).[105]

Freaks (Posada).[106]

Satyrical and pamphlet-like genre

Mexican *vasilada*.[107]

"How the mice [buried] the cat," etc.[108]



Ill. 28 – One of the most popular *lubok* of the 18th century, showing a cat being buried by a procession of mice, and considered to be a caricature of Peter the Great. From a book owned by Eisenstein at preserved at the Eisenstein Center, Moscow.

Montage (?)[109]

1) Automatic stage

2) Conscious stage:

a. stage of acknowledgement, disintegration, and reassembling

b. stage of reinterpretation of the phenomena, purposeful "montage"

Static stage

Dynamic stage

Roots of reproduction – as reproduction of one's own copy

Reflections and reproduction.

The very first – dynamic wing: commemorative action; it is also audio-visual;

the reflection happens «into itself» – in *impersonization**[110] (the actor «plays» – becomes Dionysus). Reproduction only for the duration of the action.

Further:

the first stage is not reflection, rather it preserves the object itself (mummification), but for eternity;

the second stage is the factual physical mold (the commemorative death mask is the proper beginning. Egypt, Rome).

The problem of projection

(on-the-wall-ness)

The problem of projection of a fixed image

Opaque stationary image: painting on the wall, fresco, spatial illusion of perspective (Pompei, *trompe l'oeil** on the wall)

Changing draping.

"Re-dressing" locations.

*Chambre ardente** [in French: *Mourning room*].[111]

Decoration of temples with branches according [to the principle of] *pars pro toto**[112] – transforming them into a forest (mechanization of Daguerre's dioramas).

Exchangeable fresco

the hanging of figurative rugs – *p[ars] p[ro] toto**.

Gobelins.

Removal of the "contradiction" between *intérieur* and *extérieur** [in French] in Le Corbusier's works.

Glass wall and landscape inside the home.[113]

(Trees growing [through a house], overlaying of pools of water, etc.)

The same in the East.

«Hanging Gardens» of Semiramis.

Renaissance *loggia* and system of terraces: the entrance of architecture into landscape and of landscape into architecture.

Versailles. Tsarskoe Selo. Pavlovsk.[114]

Disintegration into *bosquets*.

Stained glass windows (999)[115]

As a transparent image.

As the means to throw a colored shadow.

Magic lantern.

The Dynamic of projection.

The moving silhouette.

Shadow theater.

Right on the wall.

Through a screen.

Theater of moving shadows.

Javanese *Wayang*.

Coloured shadows in China.

Turkish *Karagöz*.[116]

The dynamic of reflected light.

Consideration of projection of stained glass windows according to the hour.

The reverse combination.

Palais de l'Industrie of 1889 and the revolving lighthouse.

Fireworks as dynamic color-graphy.[117]

[List of inventions]

(*d'après**: [Lewis] Mumford, [*Technics and Civilization*, 1936, 4th printing])[118]

1558 *Camera with lens and stop for diaphragm*

Daniello [sic] *Barbaro*[119]

1590 *Compound microscope (Jansen*[120]*)*

1714 *Typewriter*

1719 *Three-color printing from copper plate*

1796 *Lithography (!)*

Dynamic Image and sound

1807 *Kymograph – moving cylinder for recording continuous movement (Young)*

1839 *Electrotype (Jacobi) (?)*

1839 *Callotype (Talbot)*

1839 *Daguerrotype (Niépce and Daguerre)*

1840 *Micro-photography (Donné)*

1841 *Paper positives in photography (Talbot)*

1855 *Television (Caselle)*

1856 *Color photography (Zenker*[121]*)*

1858 *Phonautograph. Voice vibrations, recorded on revolving cylinder (Scott*[122]*)*

1864 *Motion picture (Ducos*[123]*)*

1870 *Celluloid (J.W. and I.S. Hyatt*[124]*)*

1877 *Microphone (Edison)*

1877 *Phonograph (Edison)*

1882 *Motion picture camera (Marey)*

1886 *Hand camera (Eastman)*

1889 *Modern motion picture camera (Edison)*

1893 *Moving picture (Edison)*

1894 *Jenkins's "Phantoscope" – first moving picture of modern type*

1895 *Motion picture projection (Edison)*

1907 *Television-photograph (Korn*[125]*)*

1920 *Radio broadcasting*

1927 *Radio television**

[History of photography]

Combined photo and imprint

Sky + clouds

First: Gustave Le Gray (1856)[126]

C[amille] Silvy,[127] pupil of Paul Delaroche (1860)

Painter Rejlander (1813-1875) –

O. G. Rejlander, *The Two Ways of Life* from 30 negatives (the first combined from 3, 1851). The first "nude" is ascribed to him. But there are daguerrotypes in 1841 on the same theme. At the same time he was the one who made the photo for Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions* of 1872.

Ill. 29 – O. G. Rejlander, *The Two Ways of Life*, 1857

1862: Photographs of G.-B.-A. Duchenne de Boulogne for the book *Mécanisme de la Physionomie Humaine, ou Analyse électro-physiologique de l'expression des passions.*[128]

Phonotyp

Photo-graphy of sound. Experiments of 1841.

Towards degradation[129]

Children as "cupids" (1881)

Photographs with titles:

*Dolce far niente** [in Italian: *Sweet doing nothing*] – "Innocence" – "Contemplation" – "Rêverie", etc.

Retouche. [Franz] Hanfstängl of Munich at the Paris exhibition of 1855.

[Antoine Samuel] Adam-Salomon (1818-1881) is the most famous.[130]

Scenery for photography (backgrounds)

Catalogues of American firm L. W. Seavey 1870

(cliffs made of papier-mâché, country fences and so on)

1888: more than 800 drawings – trees, bridges, chimneys, pilasters, streams, rivers, the ocean.

Interiors: boudoir, library

Illustrated newspapers

Arise from 1840-1850

Illustrated London News 1841 – 1842

159 photographs by Roger Fenton of the Crimean campaign

[Felice] Beato – photos of a revolt in India, 1855

[Matthew] Brady (1822-1896) – 7000 photographs of the Civil War

Aerial photography

[Samuel A.] King and [James Wallace] Black – aerial views of Boston (1861)[131]

London – [Henry] Negretti (1863)[132]

The first photo in the fog ([cf.] Chinese and Japanese [paintings] with mist). Whistler. *Impressionists**).

*Durham Cathedral on a misty morning** – "*Misty Morning on the Wear*"* by William McLeish of Darlington. Sensation of 1882.[133]

Among the first photos with lighting – shots by Nadar in the Parisian catacombs (1860).

Ill. 30 – Self-portrait by Nadar in the Parisian Catacombs, 1860

1870 – America, the announcement of studios with electrical lighting ("A Revolution in Photography"), shots by electric light.

Kodak camera invented [in] 1888 (in 1896 100,000 are sold).

Eugène Atget (1857-1927), former actor[134]

Paul Martin (1864-[1942]).

Stereophotography is known since 1841.

David Brewster (1781-1868)[135]

"Stereoscopic epidemic":

London Industrial Exhibition 1851

and International [Exhibition] in Paris, 1855

The fashion lasts until 1860.

"*Neue Sachlichkeit*"* [in German: *New Objectivity*]

Photoportraits of Balzac, Hugo, Andersen, etc.

First photo exhibition

In Paris, 1844

In London, 1852

Photomontage

Montage by the means of the combination of pictorial reproduction of photographs

(Assembly of Scottish ministers by David Octavius Hill).

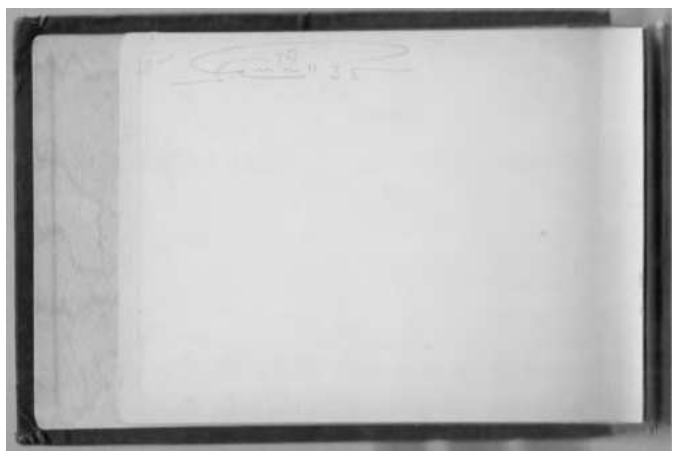
Montage by the means of combined printing.

"*O.G. Rejlander and H.P.Robinson exploited the montage picture, and the former used thirty negatives to produce his famous «Two Ways of Life» in 1857*" *(Victorian snapshots, p. XIV)*.

Montage by the means of combined shots.

Albums of narratively arranged photographs in the first decade of the 1900s.

Of the type "Le Rêve" (the working woman's dream) – 20 sequentially arranged phases of the narrative.[136]



Ill. 31 – The cover of the booklet *Le Rêve* and the first page with Eisenstein's signature and the date 12 February 1935. Eisenstein Center, Moscow

Ill. 32 – Next pages: The 20 images contained in the booklet *Le Rêve* [*The Dream*], owned by Eisenstein and preserved at the Eisenstein Center, Moscow

Catalogue of the Nilsson Collection 1897.[137]

*Klebebilder** [in German, collages][138] of the same period (*Panorama*). *Ladies' duel*.[139]

Photomontage

George Grosz and [John] Heartfield. First experiments and the term 1915.

Abstract photomontage.

Politically aimed photomontage.

Heyday of propagandistic photomontage: the newspaper AIZ [*Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*] in Germany.[140]

Ill. 33 – John Heartfield, photomontage for the cover of the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (AIZ), 1933

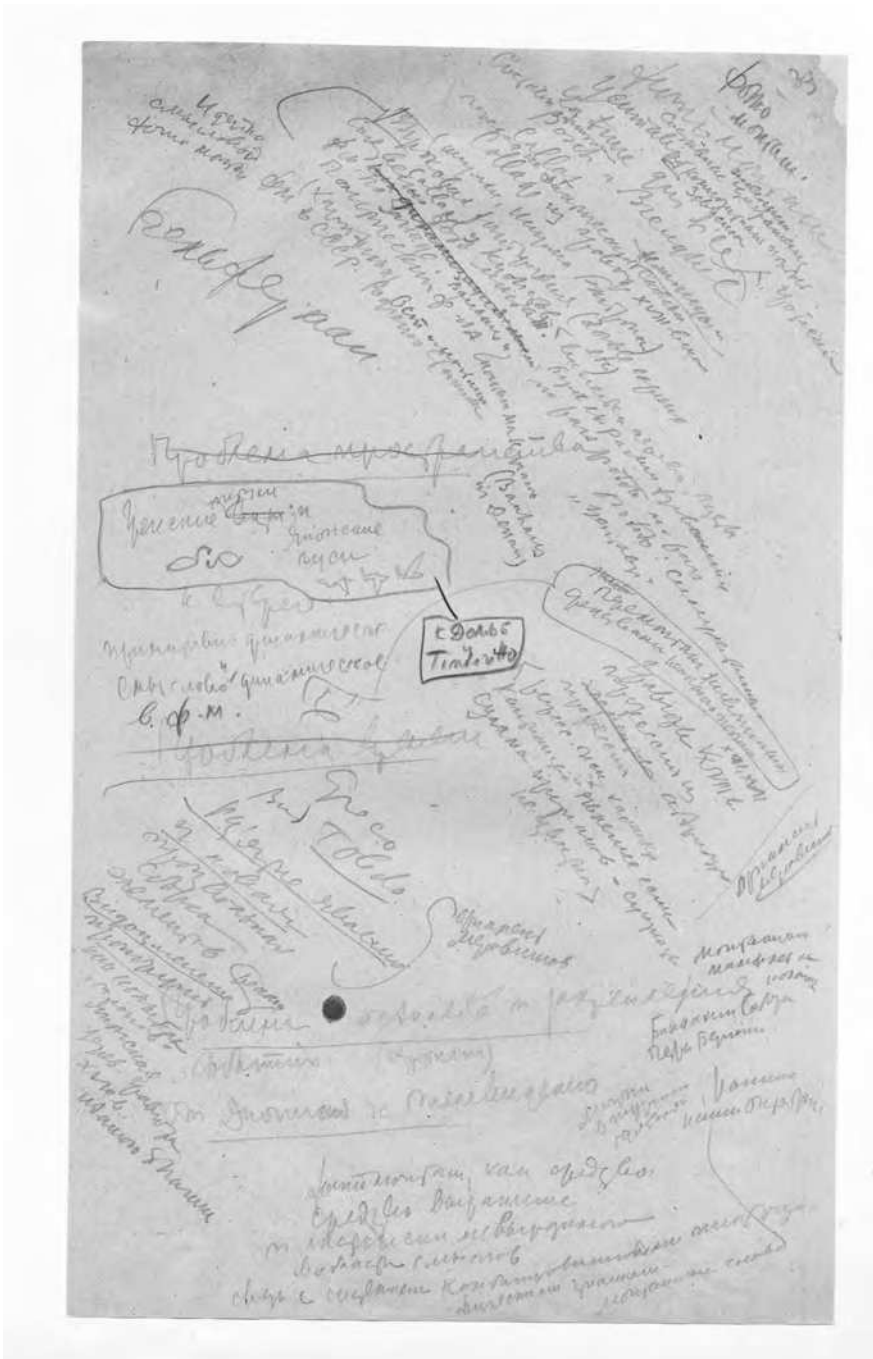
Direct connection – in the form of metaphorical phenomenon – with the principles of Soviet cinema

Photograms

Moholy[-Nagy]

Man Ray[141]

Color engravings of the 1400s.



Ill. 34 – The page from Eisenstein's notes for a *General History of Cinema* containing the text transcribed in the following pages

Photomontage

Photomontage

Composite pictorial images.

Centaur. Composite portrait by Zeuxis.

Grotesques.

*La truie qui file** [in French: *The spinning sow*][142] (See Ill. 29).

Ill. 35 – A drawing showing the motif of the "spinning sow"

Composite figures.

Bosch and Bruegel.

Callot.

Transition to real scissors and pasting.

Collage from engravings of the XVIII century.

(Screens, Byron's screen).[143]

The Cubists' collage (pasting wood, newspaper, letters, etc. deciphered according to *pars pro toto*: simultaneous "centaur")

Photomontage itself.

Photomontage in the West. *Bauhaus* – montage of materials (Bauhaus in Dessau).

Political photomontage (Heartfield).

Special-effect photography (*double exposure** etc.).

Conceptual photomontage. Photomontage in the USSR. Rodchenko, Stepanova OST[144] and montage.

Towards stereo

Primitive-dynamic and conceptual-dynamic in photomontage.

Re-montage [*peremontazh*] of a real landscape in painting.

Engravings of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries of professions [composed] from the attributes of professions.[145]

(Regressive psychological character. "Kantianism": a phenomenon is the sum of its attributes – essence is unknown).

[El] Greco – *View of Toledo*

Ill. 36 – El Greco, *View and Plan of Toledo*, c.1610

Separating phenomena into pieces and the new willful assemblage of elements.

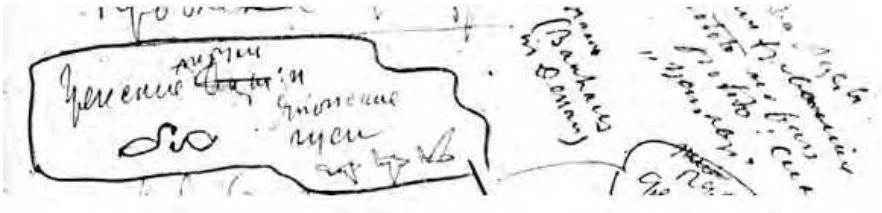
Ornament of the Merovingians.

Variation of proportions as the origin of "shots"

Japanese XVIII cent. wood engraving. Utamaro, Sharaku.[146]

Greek cockerels and Japanese geese[147]

to Daumier and Tintoretto[148]



Ill. 37 – Detail of Ill. 29 showing drawings of the "Greek cockerels" and the "Japanese geese"

Ill. 38 – *The Hundred Geese*, Chinese handscroll (detail) attributed to Ma Fen, probably late 13th or early 14th century

Ill. 39 – Flying pelican captured by Étienne-Jules Marey through chronophotography around 1882

Problem of *actualités** [in French: *news*] and the recording of events (chronicle).

From Dionysus to television

The montage pamphlet on columns – Baldachin of St. Peter's Basilica by Bernini.[149]

Photomontage as means [sredstvo].

Means of visually expressing what is inexpressible in the realm of meanings. Connection with systems of combined pictographic signs.

Montage in the newspapers of 1905.[150]

Our early "montaged words" in *October*.[151]

Painting and photography

Constantin Guys[152]

Cinematographism [*kinematografism*]. *The everchanging flow of scenery** (Flow.)

Dynamism.

Coloristic features.

Daumier

Name of lithographic series – "*Actualités*"*.

The eye directed at life.

Satyrical distortion.

Momentariness of instant photography in behavior.

*Chiaroscuro** [in Italian].

Goya

Los desastres de la guerra and *La tauromaquia* (naturalistic side of his series of etchings).

Menzel[153]

Menzel's painting as a surrogate for photography ([he could paint] indiscriminately factories and high society receptions).

Principal difference between Menzel's pictures and vignettes in books.[154]

"Instantaneousness" of movement and the point of view not typical of easel painting. Connection with Hokusai.

Close-up and visual metaphors.

Tradition of Chodowiecki (1726-1801).[155]

Callot

Misères de la guerre

Edgar Degas

Effect of instantaneousness in behavior. But also the shot.

Momentariness of instantaneous photography in cropping the shot (for the first time).

For the first time the shots. *Les Baigneuses*[156].

Fiery sermon of going out on the street and into bourgeois interiors.

To paint as you see (buildings from below).

Lautrec

Continuation of Edgar Degas in that direction as well.

Manet's attempt. "Exploding bomb".

Tradition in this from lithography of *actualités*.

Intensification of the tendency and approach to photo-eye.

Degas and the sermon on entering into life, into the thematic of the city (*d'après** [in French: *according to*] Slocombe and letters[157]).

Degas' "cuts" as reconstruction of the "*snapshot*"* of the eye.

Degas on the angle of buildings, which for some reason are never drawn from below. (Towards the angle and natural point of view).

Degas and photography.

Lautrec and photography.

Degas and photography

1894 – *époque de la grande passion de la photographie** [in French: *the age of the great passion for photography*].

Degas – took photographs!

*Lettre de Paul Poujaud à Marcel Guerin** [in French], 1931

Lettres de Degas, 104: Mme Howland, from letters to whom Fromentin did old masters.[158]

Towards special effects

Double exposures and superimpositions.

Light shows of Loïe Fuller[159] and "transformations" in the small theatres "L'Enfer" and "Le Paradis" in Paris, *Le Palais de Mirages* (1907) with 45 effects of changing light (in the Musée Grevin)

Ill. 40 – Eugène Atget, photograph of the façade of the theater L'Enfer, 1898

"Theatre [was born] on the public square"[160]

*Curiosités** [in French: *curiosities*]: Washington's wet nurse,[161] the sea devil.

Negro village at the exhibition of 1900.

The "import of savages" as the cradle of the *travelogue**!

The reconstruction of their everyday life and environment (I remember how it was in Riga!).

The connection between the animal epos [and] the animated film

(Krazy Kat, Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck – *notez** [in French: *note*]: K.K., M.M., D.D.)

With... the display of wild animals and with zoos?

And with the trained animals. Barnum.

Once again, the "lower forms".

Barnum as circus and as *curiosity**. Cf. *Kunstkammern* of the 17th and 18th century.

And Barnum as the origin of the popular scientific film. (At first *fakes**. Then [real])

NB. The typical passion of progressive filmmakers for all these forms (Chaplin in Santa Monica. Us. The Left Theatre and the street theater, *Commedia dell'arte*, etc.)

*Anyhow** – interest in this, of course, goes back to archaic cultures: the agricultural connection with wild animals (hunting and domesticating) and with the totemic-cultic [animal].

"Animals" in cinema.

Lion pictures. Tarzan. (Comedies with lions and leopards.)

Rin-Tin-Tin and Lassie – dogs.

Flicka — a horse.

"Animism" – anthropomorphism in them.

The tradition of Jack London, Sutton-Thompson, "Strider".[162] And under all this the tradition of parables and fables. A reformist tendency.

The New Centaur of the American film-epic (according to *Sound and Sight*[163]). The cowboy and his horse: the "totem of the steed."

Buffalo Bill in actions against Indians — B.B. as show.

*Rodeo Shows — Cowboy films**

"Theatre was born on the public square"[164]

1. The boulevard melodrama and Griffith.

(Holdovers and degeneration in the Grand Guignol).

Ill. 41 – Poster presenting a tournée of the Théâtre du Grand Guignol in Paris

The Grand Guignol itself is a holdover from the "theatre as scaffolding" (Evreinov's term for the connection between the theatre and execution).[165] The first surrogate of real executions were the scenes of martyrdom of saints in mystery plays. The naturalism of these scenes. The naturalism of the Grand Guignol.

Grand Guignol and "*tough style*"*, the newest kind of pictures from America and England, *as opposed** to the melodramatic romanticism and the sentimentality of the pictures of the Griffith era.

2. Funambules and Deburau.[166]

Farce and fairy-tale play.

From Deburau { Méliès (directly) / Charlie Chaplin (in principle).

Elevation of the lower genres (*low-brow**).

Jules Janin and Deburau (*Le Théâtre à Quatre Sous*).

This is repeated in [cinema]: Gilbert Seldes and the early Chaplin (*The Seven Lively Arts*, 1924. The book's meaning and the protest of "*popular arts*"* against "*gentile*" *art*. "The Great God Bogus" – a manifesto[167]).

Méliès had only [*quatre sous*] in his old age, but on the whole his *post-mortem* "ascension" came through the agents of the Cinemathèque Francaise. [Georges] Sadoul, the author of a monograph on Méliès.[168]

3. Boulevard attractions.

Nickelodeon, Ventriloquists, Panoptikums.[169]

By the way, also the photographers [in the streets] ("Cannoneers"[170]).

"Theatre was born on the public square" (Pushkin)

0. The meaning for the development of the theater of folk performances and games on the fair grounds.

Commedia dell'arte.

The renewal of the theatre, coming out of the lowest popular entertainments. The democratic fair ground theatre *versus* official theatre. Their battle.

3. Nickelodeon, Ventriloquy, Panoptikum – [all come] from the same background: the fair ground *forerunners** of cinema in battle with "higher forms" of spectacle.

The non-recognition of cinema [is similar] to the non-recognition of the theaters of Napoli, Faenza, Bidet [?], Deburau.[171]

Boulevard du Crime[172] and bioscope.

Traditional connection – identity of the initial repertoires: melodrama, farce, diorama.

"The Dynamic Panoptikum" – connection with Dionysia and Mystery plays

Oberammergau[173] as an excessive penultimate step of commemorative theatre.

Ill. 42 – Jesus Christ and John at the Oberammergau Passion Play in 1900

The growing of real beards and the professional fulfillment of non-actors' work (inhabitants – carpenters, tillers, etc.). Not only the continuation of the traditions of the guild plays of antiquity (professionally restricted to the performing of certain mystery figures and patron saints: why, for example, do *miners and electricians** [pray] to Saint Barbara – [because] lightning killed her *persecutors**; and to Saint Luke – painters, clerks in Mexico etc.), but the roots of this occurrence, still surviving in a (relatively) untouched form (like axolotl ambystoma – a phenomenon that lived into our own time, having preserved in one creature's biography the transformation from the stage of branchia to the stage of lungs, i.e. to [the era] of its emergence from water).

1050 *First real lenses (Alhazen)*

1270 *Treatise on lenses (Vitellio)*

Compound lenses (Roger Bacon)

1285 – 1299 *Spectacles*

1041 – 49 *Movable type (Bi Sheng)*[174]

1147 *Use of wood cuts for Capital letters (Benedictine monastery at Engelberg)*

1300 *Wooden type (Turkestan)*

1390 *Metal types (Korea)*

1409 *First book in movable type (Korea)*

(1418 *Authentic wood engraving?*)

1423 *First European Woodcut*

1446 *Copperplate engraving*

1440-1460: *Modern printing (Gutenberg and Schöffer)*

1483 *Copper etching*

1508 *Multicolored woodcut**[175]

Chroniclers-lithographers of the "Napoleonic *epopée*" and the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 – [Nicolas-Toussaint] Charlet (1792[-1845]) and [Auguste] Raffet (1804 [-1860]).[176]

Social document — Mayhew *London Labour and London Poor* (1861)* and *London [: A Pilgrimage]* by Gustave Doré, 1872.[177]

Ill. 43 – *The London Scavenger*, engraving from Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and London Poor*, 1861

American shots of strikes — 1902, 1912, (1915)

Klondike, Gold Rush 1897

The Stock Market 1863

Chronicle

The predecessors of illustrated newspapers. Handouts and pamphlets. (Now in Mexico – *lamentos** [in Spanish: *lamentations*][178]).

Chronicles by means of displays of wax figures – "moulds".

The connection with death masks and the art of Roman sculptural portraits. Naturalism in chronicles.

The connection with Christmas *crèches* in cathedrals. *Berceau** [in French: *Cradle*]. Like a display of *actualités**. M. Tussaud delivers wax copies of the heads of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette a few days after their execution.

The exhibition of genuine *masques mortuaires** [in French: *death masks*], copies of hands. Marie-Antoinette's breasts – in glass.

Musée Tussaud, London.

Musée Grevin, Paris.

The Hamburg Wachsfigurenkabinett.

Figures of public personae.

Of criminals (up to Gorgulov[179] and Mussolini).

Staging of historical events in scenery (Guy Fawkes).

The execution of Mary Stuart.

Suites: the Catacombs, the French Revolution, Napoléon in Malmaison.[180] The triumphal exit of the Pope: *The Assassination of the Duke of Guise*[181] comes directly from this tradition.

Dioramas of Sainte Thérèse of Lisieux's life.

Panoramas. (*Golgotha* and *Nero's Circus* by Jan Styka; *Siege of Sebastopol*[182]).

Dynamic, but at the same time transient reconstructions of events through mass performances: Dionysus, mysteries of the French Revolution, the mass Leningrad spectacles of the beginning of the Revolution![183]

The way towards the cine-chronicle [*kinokhronika*].

Eden Museum on Twenty-Third Street in New-York. There were wax works and all sorts of horrors. President Garfield being shot, and the Chicago anarchists making bombs. (*d'après** "[Upton] Sinclair [Presents William] Fox", p. 32).

M-me Tussaud's

Lubok

Religious

Criminal

Heroic

Servile (tsars)

Panoptikum

The same line

Early Cinema

The same line

Barnum

It was democratic *Kunstkammern* and cabinets of rarities, set up in the market and in the square.

Popular (for the people) museums in the style of museums opened by the state

(The Louvre was opened after the French Revolution, the National Gallery in London – in 1824).

Museums of wax figures and "cabinets"

The Museum of wax figures of Curtius in Paris before and after the Revolution.[184]

Madame Tussaud, his niece, makes copies of the severed heads of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, the assassinated Marat and the executed Charlotte Corday, the guillotined Robespierre, the Princesse de Lamballe etc. Before, she made portraits of the living. They send their own authentic dress. The First Consul (Napoleon) poses for her. From Sanson's son they acquire a guillotine blade and Napoleon's carriage for the museum. Madame Tussaud is in Paris since 1802. "The Chamber of Horrors" with portraits of criminals (Fieschi and others). The bell from Newgate Prison is acquired in 1903.

Documentary claims

The Musée Grévin of wax figures (1827-1892) in Paris.

Historical "suites." Catacombs. The French Revolution of 1789. Marat's authentic bath and surrounding objects from that era (knives of "The Friend of the People", a knife and so on). An evening gathering in Malmaison (Napoleon I and guests).

Criminals and public figures.

The Panoptikum in Hamburg was set up in 1879 by Friedrich Hermann Faerber (1849 – 1908). Among other objects, a death mask (an original) of Goethe and the father of phrenology Gall. Copies of other masks. A room of criminals.

An educational anatomical museum as part of the Panoptikum.

Panoptikum

The popular science film

Kunstkammern and cabinets of curiosities of legitimate princes and aristocrats in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Peter the Great's *Kunstkamera*.

The cradle of future museums.

Democratic component – the marketplace *Schaubude** [in German: *theater booth*]. Charlatans.

Europe.

The early Barnum, and Barnum's museum.

In *lubok* (the freaks of Posada).

Anatomical museums exist to this day on fairgrounds in Paris.

The anatomical section of the Hamburg Panoptikum.

The Panoptikum connects:

1) *travelogue** [in French], delivering and removing "savages." *En grand** [in French: *greatly*]: the delivery of entire *tribes** to exhibitions in 1854 (England), 1889 (Paris), 1900 (Paris). I remember how it was in Riga. The colonial exhibition of 1935. *Reservations in the USA**.

2) *Actualités** – wax portraits *of prominent people** and criminals *par excellence**, and entire scenes (Musée Grévin). A newspaper in wax sculpture. The tradition of *lubok*.

3) The line of the scaffolding is continued – "*Chamber of Horrors*"*

4) The panorama of history with a patriotic-propagandistic touch: historical re-enactments, Madame Tussaud's "*Magna Charta*" and "Henry the Vth".

5) Popular science information. Instructional-educational.

6) Sometimes even religious (Grévin – the catacombs).

Travelogue*

Eidetic narration [*skaz*] <u>while</u> the event occurs ("a camel is walking").

A tale of the Voguls[185] (not a dramatic one, but "flat" – a documentary one).

The emotional effect of such tales.

Hunter's tales and hunter's tale in quotation marks. "*Tall tale*"* as a turn to artistic form. A willful change of form. Exaggeration.

<u>Travelogues</u>

"Journeys".[186]

The travels of Daniil Mnikh.[187]

Pilgrims.

Reports-poems and first chronicles.

Books about travels, their immense number.

Tales from the sea (from all ages).

<u>Bestiaries</u>

and the transition to bringing in freaks of nature. *Faking them (Barnum)**.

XVIII century. The beginning of Romanticism. Rousseau and *Drang** [in German, a reference to the literary movement *Sturm und Drang*][188] to journeys. Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller*. Pushkin's *Arzrum*.[189]

Travelogue – *Ersatz** [in German: *substitute*] for "the desire to change places".[190] "Places being brought to you."

Oriental taverns and *Nachtlokale** [in German: *night bars*].

The Spanish and Moorish cottages of Hollywood.

Prince Bonaparte's Pompei home (and Roman togas) of ([travelogue] into history as well).[191]

Fairground shows [brought] by train.

Panoramas.

*Gewitter am Rhein** [in German: *Storm on the Rhine*] – Kempinsky[192]

The direct import of local samples (by *pars pro toto* – that is the participation in those countries).

Elephants and lions at the time of Ivan the Terrible.

... Jenny Lind and *Barnum's monsters** (essentially one and the same!).[193]

Negro villages at the 1900 Exhibition (and earlier).

Ill. 44 – Negro village at the Paris 1900 World Exhibition

*Chalet Suisse**.[194]

The Chinese *scroll picture**. *Travelogue** of rivers – the transition from document to impression.

Daguerre and Niépce as masters of artistic photography.

Hill (1802-1870)

Cameron (1815-1879).

Étienne Carjat (1828-1906).[195]

Nadar (Gaspar-Félix Tournachon) (1820-1910).

Talbot – in general the landscape and still life (*par excellence**). *Pencil of Nature* 1844.

Henry Le Secq, *Fantaisies* (*Nature morte*) 1855.

Charles-Victor Hugo (1826-1871).

Atget and genre.

The expanded genre and Paul Martin in *snapshot** and into chronicle

(The pre-chronicle and *Wachsfigurenkabinett** [in German: *wax figures cabinet*]).

Brady's and Gardner's chronicle and the American Civil War.

Sebastopol.

The siege of Paris and Nadar.

Photo-chronicle of the 1914 war.

The cine-chronicle.

Special effects photography.

The degradation of "artistic" photography.

The ruinous influence of the Preraphaelites on Cameron.

The renaissance of photography.

The enthusiasm of Degas. Lewis Carroll. Lautrec. The Impressionists and photography.

Left (abstract) photography.

Photograms (Man Ray, Moholy[-Nagy]).[196]

Photomontage.

The transition to moveable photography.

The degradation of photography.

Two tendencies:

1) The naturalistic photo (Zola).

2) The neglecting of the organic means of photographic expression: of composition and of photo-graphy.[197]

*Embellissement** [in French: *embellishment*] by means of composition in front of the camera – props and theatricalization.

Retouching of the negative and positive. Similarity to "salon" portraits and [salon] painting.

The social roots of this phenomenon: the blush of the departing class and the petite bourgeoisie.

Literary-narrative "anecdotal" tendency in photography. The connection with tendencies in painting (the 1860s *d'après* [*Aus der*] *Frühzeit* [*der Photographie*][198]). Early Griffith.

Meissonier *et** [in French: *and*] staged photo-illustration as the ultimate vulgarization of the art of photography (1900s).

The renaissance of photography in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century. Urbanism and industrialism. The cult of the thing in close contact with imperialism.

The birth of sharp photo angles [*fotorakurs*]. The history of the angle shot. The potential cinematic effect in the angles of painting and photography. *Doppelbild** [in German: *double image*] with a huge break between the usual perception, hence the dynamics. In addition to this, the viewer consciously takes the position from which the sharp angle [*rakurs*] is possible.

"Left" photography.

Abstract (objectless[199]) photography. The photograms of Man Ray and Moholy Nagy.

The intense formal nature of photography like the depersonalization in imperialism, de-nationalization.

The erotic and semi-erotic photo and the traditions of *image galante** [in French]. Bourgeois photography in the service of pornography.

Left Photography.

The concurrence of image and fact during the period of overcoming the devastation [of the country].

Hence the false conclusion of the negation of the image [*obraz*] in the name of fact.[200]

The mistaken aestheticization of the fact. Documentalism.

The theory of "material being experienced aesthetically".[201]

Factographic literature.[202]

A positive contribution: the mastery of the possibilities of photographic techniques and of the photographic apparatus.

The discovery of the expressive possibilities not only of untouched nature, but also of objects and products of technology and industry.

Too much fetishization of this is a reflection of s[ocialism].[203]

"Thingism"[204] takes the place of expressionism.

The social meaning behind this.

31.XII [47] – 1.I/48

Degas and cinema

The enthusiasm for an element of *crudité** [in French: *crudity*] in bathing women – a direct transition towards "the aesthetics" of typage in all its "unattractiveness", in all its quality "*d'etre mal léché*"* [in French][205] (next to him, Goncourt, Zola, Huysmans).

"Aestheticization" of this is lowered to a sickening degree in Renoir's (the son) *Toni* and *La Bête humaine*![206]

"L'amour de l'art" (1931) – there are photographs made by Degas!

31 XII 47 / 1 I 48

"Les blanchisseuses" xx [p.] 30

"Les repasseuses" xxx [p.] 36[207]

The two stages of movement, divided between two figures, within one painting: cinematographic effect.

Ill. 45 and 46 – Edgar Dégas, *Les blanchisseuses*, 1876-78 and *Les repasseuses*, 1884

Mme Jeantaud and her reflection in the mirror[208] [play] the same role p. 43

Ill. 47 – Edgar Dégas, *Mme Jeantaud in the Mirror*, 1875

Ill. 48 – Edgar Dégas, *Dancers in Green and Yellow*, 1903

"Danseuses vertes" – 3 stages p. 52

The page numbers are given [in the edition]: Georges Rivière, "*Mr Degas, Bourgeois de Paris*"[209]

Foregrounds

In full height – Callot, Chodowiecki[210]

Half-figures do not dominate.

Detail dominates.

3.I.48

Vasari on Leonardo

*Quoting Petrarch**

E l'amor del saper che m'ha sì acceso

Che l'opra è ritardata dal desio * [in Italian]

My love of knowledge so inflamed me

That my work was retarded by my very desire[211]*

(*Yo tambien!*)* [in Spanish: *Me too!*]

3.I.48

On the tradition of drawings done in one stroke.

Cf. Picasso, Claude Mellan (the spiral and Christ), lacemakers in France in the XVII century, the portrait of a horseman (XVIII c.) in Mexico etc., etc.

Ill. 49 – Claude Mellan, *The Sudarium* or *Veil of Saint Veronica*, engraving, 1649

Introductory volume to *The General History of Cinema*

Apparently, the topic is lining up:

The history of film's expressive means will go in the opening volume of The General History of Cinema.

While in the opening volume of The History of Soviet Cinema – "the origin of species".[212]

Which is to say in the first:

The history of the close-up

The history of the problem of time

The history of sound in painting

The history of audiovisual combination in painting

The history of the problem of space

The history of the problem of motion

The history of the problem of color *up to the cinema**

The history of montage

in painting

in literature

in architecture etc., etc.

While in the second:

The route to the chronicle (Panoptikums, the history of the newspaper and illustrated leaflet etc.)

The route to developed photos

The routes of the fixation of images

Commemorative action as *nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] of all arts

representative of themselves

*Vorstufe** [in German: *Preliminary stage*]

to representation

in sound

in synthesis

And the cine-chronicle (reconstruction = an event in *pars pro toto*),

and playacting

Dionysus – mysteries – Diderot – K.S.[213] – *Gas-masks*[214]

Date: 3.I.48
[RGALI 1923-2-1039, pp. 1-5]

Facts about

The Origins of the Newspaper

cf. A. de Chambure, *À travers la Presse*, Paris 1914

A very good collection of material.

Eugène Atget

The Boulogne Woods and Versailles:

A master of psychological "atmosphere".

Mastery of composition

Painter/photographers (Hill, Rejlander, Degas, Lautrec)

Hill – a master of lighting, of the characteristics of set-up and the angle of figures (not yet the angle of the device)

*Accentuer** [in French: *accentuate*] – the historical stages of general social and te [chnical] development

3.I.48

"Dissolves"[215]

Transformations, Metamorphoses

Paris, Montmarte

L'Enfer (Hell)

Cabaret unique au Monde

Tous les soirs de 8h ½ à 2h du matin

Attractions Diaboliques

Supplice des Damnés

Rondes de Sorcières

*La Chaudière, Les Métamorphoses des Damnès, etc. etc.** [in French][216]

Le Ciel. Illusions, Visions

Le Cabaret du Ciel (Heaven)

53, Boulevard de Clichy.

Création unique au Monde

Art and Fun.

Tous les Soirs de 8h ½ à 1h ½ du matin

Prêche Humoristique.

Les Dickinson's Sisters, les Femmes Caméléons

Rêve de Moine (scènes paradisiaques)

Le Mimoscope (création unique), Le Printemps, la Confession.

Visions aériennes, Acrobatie Céleste

Transformation en Ange

*d'un Spectateur de bonne volonté** [in French][217]

on the programme of 1929!

And generally, it seems, from the exhibition of 1900

Ill. 50 and 51 – Postcards of Le Cabaret de l'Enfer and of Le Cabaret du Ciel, Paris, Boulevard de Clichy

Date: 4.I.48
[RGALI 1923-2-1021, pp. 62-64]

Actualités reconstruites au studio **[in French : *Recent news reconstructed in studio*]**

(for example, *Potëmkin* of 1905, [cf.] G. Sadoul; or the exact same in *Méliès*).[218]

It corresponds to the re-telling of a tale of a participant or a traveller, set in pictures.

Cf. *Méliès*, pp. 199-200: the story with "Couronnement d'Edouard VII".[219]

And later not "the delivery of the tale to the studio", but rather the intervention of the device of *prise de vues** [in French: *capturing of views*] into the events.

*Plein air** [in French: *open air*] of *Potëmkin* does this for the reconstruction of history.

*Strike as well**.

Date: 4.I.48
[Archive reference: 1923-2-1021, pp. 63-64]

Moralité[220] **–** ***Faits divers**** **[in French: *News in brief*]**

Cult spectacles – both Dionysia and Mystery plays – these are "historical" films.

Their present time is burned into them.

Aristophanes grows out of Aeschylus.

The same process is clearer in the way *moralités** [in French: *moralities*] come out of the mystery plays.

In the mystery plays there are already devils and an everyday life (genre) wherever possible.

As in spiritual painting – everyday life, for example, in the pictures of Mary's birth (a bed, crockery, medicine, etc.).

Do not forget that spiritual abstraction was not yet possible at that time. When does the "suppression of everyday life" begin? Mosaics have gold and blue as background, but not everyday life: don't they?

Contemporary clothing, except for Christ [who is represented] in symbolic tunics.

Moralité – it's a "diary of events" – usually a kind of sensational crime like Jack the Ripper's type robed in moral-instructional "clothing,", i.e., literally a theatrical *corrido (lamento)** [In Spanish: *lamentations*]:[221] a report of a sensational crime with all the moralizing flourishes.

It's interesting, that illustrated newspapers arise with the extinction of *moralités** [in French], or the other way around, by the moment when illustrated "sensations" develop, *moralités* becomes obsolete and grows into plays of a complex nature. *Fait divers** [in French: *News in brief*] and its role in drama doesn't stop.

"A living corpse", the "dramas" of Dostoevsky (in his novels), a whole phase of French theatre (borrow that French book on this from Abram Efros).[222]

Date: 4.I.48
[Archive reference: RGALI 1923-2-1039, pp. 6-16]

Pars pro toto

In the era of *pars pro toto** in the 19th century arises also the "miracle" of *deducing an animal from a jaw-bone. The idea of it had to come exactly at this time**

Multi-point perspective

Leonardo (*Cena*)* [in Italian: *The Last Supper*].[223]

Arnolfini.

Benvenuto Cellini on sculpture and its poly-projection in paintings, of which each is one projection.[224]

The Beginning of Lithography in Russia

D'après A.F. Korostin, *The Beginning of Lithography in Russia,1816-1818*. Moscow, 1943

The first album of lithographs:

"Engravings in stone, executed in St. Petersburg in 1816."

The principle participant – Orlovskii.

Of him, the poet Viazemskii writes:

"You are passing bygone, bold Rus'

To posterity,

You captured her alive

With the people's pencil".[225]

The fundamental part of the task is stated here:

"Capture her (Rus') alive" and "pass to the posterity" (p. 60).

To reflect – to save – to pass on

The first Russian lithographed book.

Aziatskii muzikalny jurnal [*Asian Musical Journal*], October 1816, is published in Astrakhan' by a music teacher – Ivan Dobrovol'skii (p. 73)

A.G. Venetsianov (1780-1847). Portraits of "historical people" (1818-1819) (p. 93)

Holidays and outings

N. Serra-Capriola, *Hills above the Neva*, from an original by K. Hampeln, 1817

Russian National Holiday, Outings at Ekatherinhof (also by Hampeln) (p. 99, XIX)

Date: 5. I. 48

Montage titles

Types of various sizes.

Titles getting bigger and bigger

Titles approaching (as *step from them**)[226]

A direct connection with "screaming lettering" in newspapers.

Ill. 52 – Frames of *The General Line (The Old and The New)*, 1926-29, showing the growing number of peasants joining the kolkhoz after the successful demonstration of the functioning of the milk separator. To follow the frames as they appear in the sequence, follow the columns from left to right, from top to bottom.

Strangely enough, this style of type-setting (for papers) begins only in the spring of... 1898!

With the start of the Spanish-American War (over the "independence" of Cuba). Arthur Brisbane, Hearst's assistant, introduces them. The war was "created" by Hearst and his rabid campaign.

Cf. John K. Winkler, *William Randolph Hearst*, NRF, transl. by M. Lebas:

p. 165 : « ... la guerre fut déclarée. Vint alors une nouvelle eruption d'excès typographiques. Brisbane introduisit les titres en majuscules dans l'*Evening Journal*. Quelques-uns avaient quatre pouces de haut. L'*Evening World* suivit l'exemple. Parfoit toute la première page de deux journaux n'etait plus qu'une salade de titres... »

p. 169 : « ...Le jour où fut annoncée la victoire de Dewey à Manille, le 2 mai 1898 le *Journal* publia un fleuve de suppléments... le tirage atteignit le nouveau record de 1.600.000 exemplaires. ...L'influence de la violence typographique apportée par usage que le *Journal* fit des caractères géants pendant la guerre est visible dans presque chaque journal américain à présent... »[227]

Cf. also *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen* by Oswald Garrison Villard, N.Y., Knopf, 1923, 1926.

Illustrations:

Opposite p. 20: *The* Tribune's *First Page before Hearst Invaded the New York Field**

(a modest grey page – a completely grey field).

Opposite p. 36: *A Spanish War First Page of Hearst's* Evening Journal *April 28 1898.*

BOMBARDED! 2*a*
OUR FLEET ATTACKS *a* } [the titles occupy]
Matanzas *2/3 of the whole page*

CITY MAY BE IN RUINS 1½ *a*

(a frenzied wail of blaring headlines)

*The (New York) Tribune as It Is Today, Showing the Hearst Influence upon its headlines and make-up.**

(Typical newspaper of today with screaming headlines, but not too much)

NB. Try to make certain, when in cinema.

NB. NB. In posters blaring titles appear even earlier: for example, *A War Department Poster**:

$ 100 000 REWARD!

THE MURDERER

***of our late beloved President* ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

is still at large...*

At the same time, in the very same *New York Tribune*: *Highly Important!* and *The President Shot** absolutely nothing in comparison with Hearst's *Bombarded!** .

See Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln. His Life in Photographs*. Duel Sloan, NY, 1941.[228]

The problem of time in painting

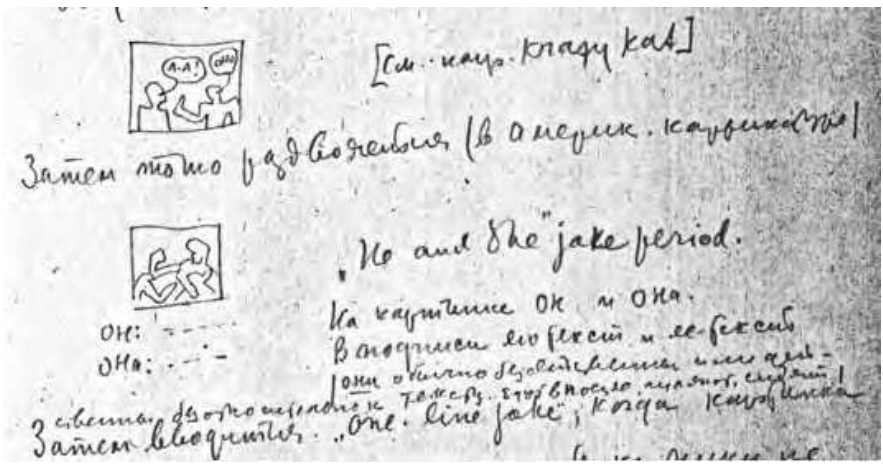
The problem of space[229]

Date: 5.I.48

Audiovisual Combinations

A stage of text, written into a picture.

Maya. Middle Ages. *Comic Strip*.*



Ill. 53 – Page containing the drawings about *Krazy Kat* and the "*he ans she joke period*"

Ill. 54 – A detail of Ill. 53

Cf. e.g. *Krazy Kat*

Later this *toto** [in Latin: *whole*] is divided into two (in American caricature)

Ill. 55 – A detail of Ill. 53

*He and She" joke period**.

He:....	In the picture HE and SHE.
She:....	His text and her text in captions.
	(they're usually inactive or active

in no relation to the text: riding on a train, walking, sitting).

Then comes the "*one-line joke*"*, when the picture and the caption are inseparable: without the picture, the text makes no sense. The picture without the text is the same. The meaning and the content are allotted between image and text (as a phonogram): from their *interrelation** the meaning is formed.

For example:

girls are sitting on a tree branch

safe from a furious bull } the image

the bull races past the tree

one girl: "If this were a dream,

it'd be really dangerous" } the text

(reference to Freud)

Here the authorship both of the text and of the drawing usually belongs to one person.

Such as Gavarni in the past. Our Fedotov.[230]

Daumier less so (Philipon thought up texts and subjects for him).

In the NAUS[231] the *New Yorker* claims to have "discovered" this style.

But the priority is disputed in favor of *Judge* by its former contributor (1920-1923) and editor (1923) Norman Anthony (famous for publishing *Ballyhoo* in 1931).

Cf. *How to Grow Old Disgracefully, or Anthony's Adversities. A Hilarious Autobiography by Norman Anthony*. 1946, Eagle Books Inc.

(By the way also: *Illustrated by the Author**).

P. 67:

"*...There's only one objection I have to* The New Yorker. *In their introductions to* New Yorker Albums *(reprints of their best cartoons), they go to great lengths to take credit for creating "modern type of humor". Which is professionally known as the "one-line joke". The old-fashioned humor was the "Pat and Mike" Style of caption which used two lines. It was also known as the "He and She" joke period.*

They are not only in error; they're nuts.

Judge *introduced the one-line joke long before* The New Yorker *was in existence. In fact, I can remember a time just before Christmas in 1923 (*The New Yorker *started in '25) when Teddy Roosevelt Jr., called me up and asked me if he could buy the original of a drawing he'd admired in a recent* Judge. *He wanted to give it to a friend as a present so I sent it over to him as a gift from us.*

It was a picture by Dr. Seuss *(Ted Geisel) and showed a drunk looking with disdain at a nightmarish pink elephant, and saying: "I'll take an aspirin and then where will you be?..."*

It's very noteworthy that this construction of a synthesis of opposing levels (word and image) is a reconstruction (by way of spirals) of the synchretic stage.

Small children (2, 3, 4 years old) draw the same way: they make spots and strokes and they comment interpretatively on a part of them. (cf. the examples in Alschuler and Hattwick, *Painting and Personality*, Chicago Univ. Press, 1947).

*And herein lies the attraction**.

Date: 6.I.48
[RGALI 1923-2-1021, pp. 70-80]

Photomontage – the past

I.e., a picture is seen as a *unit**.

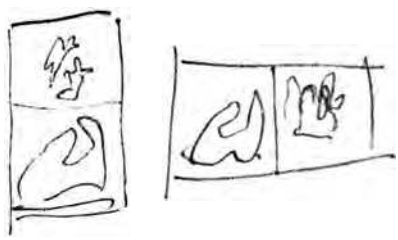
A unified whole is formed from such pictures by means of being combined.

Ill. 56 – The page of Eisenstein's notes for a *General History of Cinema* containing the text here below

In El Greco there are two variants of *Christ praying in the orchard of Gethseman*[232]

A B and B A

(drw.) and (drw.)



Ill. 57 – The two schemes concerning the variants of El Greco's *Christ praying in the orchard of Gethseman*

Ill. 58 – El Greco, *The Agony in the Garden*, 1590

Ill. 59 – El Greco, *The Agony in the Garden*, 1590-1600

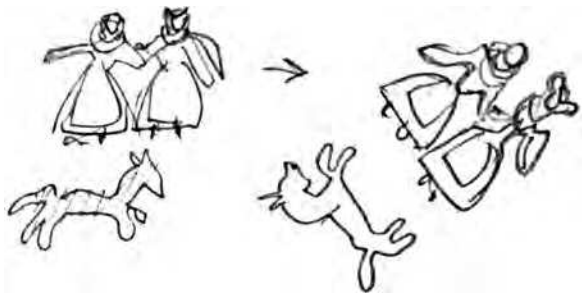
During Elizabeth's reign – an illustration in the text of the ballad *The Norfolke Gentleman*.[233] It takes the same kind of signs and figures and, changing their position from vertical to... horizontal or on their side, presents them as... the fallen or killed.

Cf. *Shakespeare's England*, vol. II: Ballads and Broadsides, p. 530[234]

The placement of figures in the scene of destruction (in the background a fire and gallows)

J. Phoenix does this trick ironically

Cf. my article on Griffith.[235]



Ill. 60 – The scheme concerning the illustration in the text of the ballad *The Norfolke Gentleman*

Date: 11. I. 48

Counter-relief[236]

as the initial stage of sculpture.

And its classification: relief – texture – colour.

On the counter-relief stage (pre-stage) of sculpture.

Rodin *knetet** [in German: *sculpts*] having felt Isadora (*Memoirs*).[237] The eroticism of that and the general prevalence of this manipulation's erotic nature disprove nothing: it is that undifferentiated pre-stage of creation which can in the same measure lead to the creation of a sculptural form, or... to the creation of your own likeness in the form of a child (through *coitus**)!

Here also is the cradle of tangible texture. Probably – texture is pre-paint: paint is texture *raffinée* [in French: refined] for the eye, like a drawing – the "running around" an object (Hokusai) with the hand.

*NB. Very important!**

Colour, of course, grows out of touch (for even vision grows out of touch!). Just take the division into hot and cold tones – this is the very transferral of concrete sensations of temperature onto the color of both shadow and illumination, based on their reflexive co-presence.

We even (from this point of view) read colour from that aspect of touch which is sensitive to warmth!

And the depth of tones? This is a spatial touch, i.e., already *ausgewachsen** [in German: *grown*] out of textural touch – a microscopic gesture of touching with nerve-endings on the fingertips – towards a gesture of touching spatially (with the fingers themselves, which are for the overall body the same "endings", as the

endings of the tactile nerves are for the hand): but here already we have an *Übergang** [in German: *transition*] also towards a real *Raumkunst** [in German: *art of space*] in the visual arts (in the sense of sculpture), i.e., precisely the sought-for stadial process.[238]

What's more: a drawing on a flat plane – it is a *dreidimensionaler** [in German: *three-dimensional*] gesture, leaning on the plane.

In handwriting it is an unsuccessful "puncture" of the flat plane, expressing one's own answering pressure (action = reaction) by a spreading of the head of the pen.

With an exertion of pressure of the pen and the answering (equal to it) pressure of the plane on the pen – the line of ink traces of the pen expands.

Ill. 61 – two drawings from Eisenstein's notes showing the effect of drawing or writing on a flat plane exerting some pressure on the head of the pen: the mark becomes wider

It's interesting that the thickening of lines is read as... relief (cf. the engravings of Count Tolstoy for *Sweetheart* – strokes with thickening[239]) – true, it seems that in the first place here there is an illusion of "shadow," but not only that!

Date: 21.I.48

The art of animation, i.e., the sequential disposition of drawn phases – of drawings of separate moments – into the continuity of motion, has its *forerunner** in ballet (by the way, in the highest form of animation: audiovisual!).

At least in Diaghilev in the time of Fokine.

The reading of poses from vases.

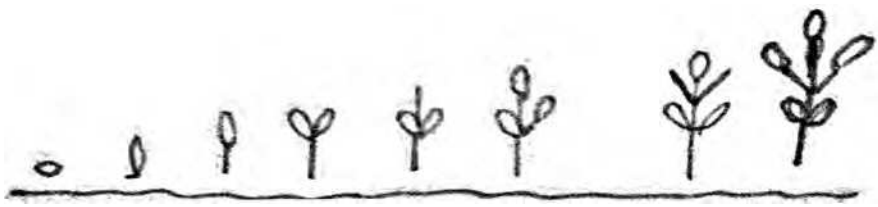
The arrangement of these poses in phases of motion through their union by means of a moving human dancer.

Cf. Lifar' (*Diaghilev*)[240] on his understanding of Nijinsky's rehearsals of *L'après-midi d'un faune*.

*Great**

Date: 21. I. 48

The phenomenon of experiencing the impression of motion from the sequential disposition of different phases has been known for a very long time. The conjuring trick of a bush growing from a seed is based on this phenomenon. Bushes of various sizes are presented to the viewer in succession – even with the use of a shutter (covering each "phase" with a "magician's" cape). In the viewer's perception they come together as the image of one growing bush!



Ill. 62 – Drawing showing various phases of the growth of a bush

(Verify with Houdini, *The Unmasking of Robert Houdini*)[241]

Great!

Date: 30.I.48

Multi-point montage (projection)

Its history, beginning with the ornament

A quotation from Benvenuto Cellini:

"I say that the art of sculpture is eight times as great as any other art based on drawing, because a statue has eight views and they must be equally good…

*…A painting is nothing more than one of the eight principal views required of a statue…"**

January 28, 1547

Letter to Benedetto Varchi[242]

Delaunay and Picasso

"eight views" of a statue combined into one in space (deformed)

pointilliste technique extended upon subjects

*Montage: eight views patched to each other and combining themselves in time.**

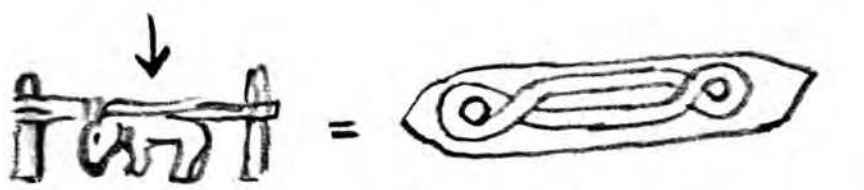
And the most curious thing is that the origin of the drawing is exactly such historically:

enclosing – contour – silhouette – projection on a plane.

But it's even more apparent in an ornament.

Cf. the analysis: *The Bear in the Art of the Peoples of Asia*, S.V. Ivanov, in the collection from the Academy of Sciences, USSR, *In Memory of V.G. Bogoraz*, 1937, pp. 1-46.

View from above.



Ill. 63 – Drawing showing a view from the side and a view from above referring to an image derived from the book *The Bear in the Art of the Peoples of Asia*

Date: 30.I.48

On the history of "Positive – Negative"

"... The ornament, as photography, has a 'positive' and a 'negative'. Until it becomes clear to the researcher exactly which elements are positive (i.e., actually the patterns, the figurative images) and form, so to speak, the goal of the artist, and which are negative (i.e., 'residual', initially deprived of any meaning), until then no analysis of the ornament from the point of view of its thematics (its topic) is possible.

Concerning the Amur[243] carvings on wood, it is known that the pattern (the positive) is not the hollowed part of the wood, but, on the contrary, its raised surface ..."

(pp. [30]-31, *In Memory of V.G. Bogoraz*, 1937. Article by S.V. Ivanov *The Bear in the Art of the Peoples of Asia*)

All variations are interesting:

The transition from the reading of the positive to the reading of the negative as a positive (cf. Van Scheltema, *Altnordische Kunst*[244]).

A double simultaneous reading in Chinese bronze as the contour of a flat figure and as the contour of an opening inside it or on its edge (*Ritual Bronzes of China*[245]).

The reading by a schizophrenic of a "blank" (*Rorschach*) and the letter of Rilke to Rodin about the same.[246]

(*Dahin herumwühlen** [in German: *search further in this*]!)

Ill. G, H, and I – Photograms from *Ivan the Terrible*, part 1: Prince Kurbsky reflecting on his loyalty to Ivan

3

REVELATION IN STORM AND THUNDER[1]

Notes for a History of Audiovisual Counterpoint

Date: end of June, beginning of July 1947
[RGALI 1923-2-1017 pp.9-32]

— I —

[29? June 1947]

Audiovisual combination as the highest stage of development of the sounding object.

Here in the form of visual representation, to whose content and form an internal sonic correspondence was found.

In the early stages – sounds accompanying the object.

The corresponding sound is also like a copy from a certain natural phenomenon, just as the object itself is a reproduction of the outward appearance of such a phenomenon.

The "ritualized" aim of each of the copies, i.e., not the narrowly material aim of reproduction, but the magical one.

What is "magical" in the work of art as well is not the naturalism of the reproduction, but the way it impacts the viewer.

Through the inner image the work of art is magical and distinct from the natural phenomenon as such.

Sometimes the depicted object is made to acquire a sound inseparable from it (in the prototype of the object).

A Peruvian vessel with the sound of the "howling" of the birthing room. The vessel – originally a stomach: both as the belly as a reservoir of nutrition, and as the belly as the dwelling place of a fetus.

Or the famous metal cow in which a person was burned alive, and his cries, emanating from her mouth, took on the timbre... of mooing.[2]

Sometimes a corresponding outward appearance for the sound was sought for and found, and from it was formed a sound-emitting apparatus.

The shaping of the original hollow wooden drum – in the likeness of a sound-emitting beast.

Here the history of musical instruments and original musical images is relevant (the first as a means of embodying the second. The images themselves are copies from the surrounding natural world).

*Tradition** of the very earliest origins *prevails** in its purest form – in its fundamental traits – through the entire history of music, right up to the most recent times.

Here are facts about the cradle[3] of Chinese music (*d'après* Phyllis Ackerman, *Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China*, Dryden Press, New York 1945, p.74):

"*...Two deep pots found in the Sha Kuo T'un cave approximating in proportion a Shang bronze ritual food container... were probably used in the ritual androphagy...*

...These vessels simulate drums. The fluted rim-band represents the edge of the stretched drum-top, the criss-crossed strings held the hide taut. In the other design the hide top had been bound with cord or thong below the edge and from this hung six rattles to enrich the percussive choir.

Just such globular pottery rattles occur at Indus sites and the drums explain hitherto mysterious objects shown on Indus seals standing before the cultic ox: they are drums, and some appear to have rattles hung on them in the same way.

Moreover rattles have been found in the Kansu painted pottery in the form of a tortoise and of a bird, almost certainly a pheasant, both earth symbols in the early dynastic period.

The very first ritual as described by Chinese legendary prehistory required a drum, and another text tells of two drums an earthen whistle and a "starter" and "stopper".

Clay whistles are found at Chinese neolithic sites.

The "starter" in the early dynastic period is a clapperless bronze bell (to be struck with a baton) with a handle (potsong), and a number of these have been found made of red pottery approximately contemporary with the remains at Sha Kuo T'un.

Drum beating represents thunder.

In later mythology, Lei Kung, the Duke of Thunder, held a cluster of drums, while another spirit of thunder stood on five drums.

In the Dionysos cult the "bullroarer" or "konos" was used to make this sound, a pointed ovoid of wood or bone, whirled at the end of a long cord which had been invented by the ancestors 10.000 years before, in the Kybele cult drums were important.

Tigers or similar great felines, were an animal attribute because their roars were equivalent to the thunder, also bears with their thunderous growls, and elephants (a common figure on Indus valley seals) with their trumpeting. An Indus valley amulet shows a man playing a drum standing before a tiger as if making explicit the animal's significance. Thunder expresses the Yin earth-energy, and the rattle would have made the sound of the other Yin agency, the wind as would the whistle..."

Thus:

"*The very first ritual*"* in sounds consists of two sonic elements representing in sounds the element of the "roaring" of thunder (*drums**) and the element of "whistling" of wind (*whistle**).

These are expressed by the drum and the whistle (as does the *rattle**).

Here we have the antecedent for the long-established groups of instruments: percussion and wind – from the point of view of orchestration.

But here we also have the long-established division of musical structure into accompaniment (percussion *par excellence** [in French]) and melody (wind instruments *par excellence**) – from the point of view of musical structure.[4]

*À noter** [in French: *To be noted*] that both the structure of the orchestra and the structure of music itself, come from the very same antecedent of reflecting reality in its most impressive sonic manifestations – in natural phenomena.

And the most distinct immediate sounds of nature itself are really the howling and whistling of the wind and the roaring of thunder.

"The babbling brook", "the rustling leaves" and so on are less "fundamental" in their power to provoke imitation.[5]

But not to forget that "the babbling brook" is the most beloved music... of the Uzbek.[6]

And it is beloved as the aestheticization of the vital, essential, "strength" of water, which ensures growth.

Therefore, the "aesthetic pleasure of the babbling" of the irrigation canal is a conditioned reflex to the securing of life for the canal possessor.

The Uzbeks' need for incessant babbling makes them always build miniature waterfalls. So they can always hear that the water is "running" – especially when waking in the night.

(*This by itself** is a charming example of the way in which practical and vital necessities for existence become aesthetical decorations).

Cf. the need of Chinese garden designers as well for always having waterfalls.

In the less arid areas of China the immediate utility is not so keenly needed for this tradition to have been born there.

It's likely that here, it's already "according to tradition" – as Phyllis Ackerman for example thinks – that the cradle of Chinese culture emerges from the Anatolian-Azerbaijanian centers, where, of course, the water *souci* * [in French: *preoccupation*] of the Uzbek must have no less troubled those who later elevated this concern into the incredible hydrological structures of ancient Central Asia.

The sounds of wild animals can be grouped in these categories.

Phyllis Ackerman places these in the category of "thunderous" animals: the tiger, the bear, the elephant.

Surely one could with equal success place a similar series of birds' songs into a "whistling" category.

These voices, probably, allowed for differentiation and various *Abstufung** [in German: *gradation*] within the continuous, elemental whistling of the wind.

But not to forget, that the image of "The Robber-Nightingale"[7] preserves the memory of the imitation of birds' whistles in the earliest instrument, most likely, as not yet separate from its bearer – lips put together to whistle!

The technology of whistling instruments, i.e., those instruments that are being separated from man – these are in the earliest stages the whistling of arrows, which Batu Khan's Mongols intensified by attaching clay whistles to them.[8]

*Schwirrholz** [in German: *bullroarer*] – when it's not how far it carries, but how broadly.

The exact same thing [happens] with a wind instrument later: from a long "pole" (in the Uzbek *karnay*,[9] for example) to the moment when they learn to twist a pipe into a spiral – into a circular horn.

The "bellows" of organs, changing from the earliest construction to today's in that the instrument itself is *stationary*, while air moves through it (the opposite of the arrow and the *Schwirrholz*).

And the bellows itself, as a separation of the passage of air to the instrument from the mouth.

And the instrument itself, as an extension of the process by which a man makes an articulated sound: a column of air being sent by the bellows of the diaphragm, *as conflicting** with resistance – of the larynx, teeth, lips, tongue, passing by way of the nose (from which nasal sounds, glottal sounds, labials etc.)

The "string group" is, evidently, of younger provenance. For it demands more refined ideas and technical subtlety in the use of real objects.

That it is not at the cradle, is apparent if only from the examples of *regress**.

It is obvious that the regressive tendency of the goal will inevitably, for its fuller expression, turn toward the most basic varieties.

The "savage" at origin cult of human destruction – militarism – naturally tends towards the most basic [instruments] which arouse the lowest levels of consciousness, which in turn are of the same age as these forms of music, and we see that the pearl of creation of military music is even now the military wind orchestra with drumbeat.

In the era of Friedrich II (and after him Paul[10]) – shrillness... of the flute (*fiffres** [in French]) and the patter of drums (i.e., the combination of both *drum* and *rattle**!). For by its very rhythm, martial music is precisely the most basically primitive: drum-marching, two-part rhythm!

It is just the same in jazz – in this especially sensual, i.e., *regressive** orchestra: drums in the first place and saxophone and trombone alongside!

A bowed-string group needs, for its invention, an entire range of refined ideas and the bringing together of a great deal of observations concerning the mutual influence of separate elements of nature.

Not to mention the necessity to be in a stage of production... of strings from the sinews and intestines of dead animals (as Bierce writes[11]) or enough fine ropes; what is needed here is the knowledge of the attributes of the vibration of the "sound board" and the capabilities of a quantity of closed-in air to produce that vibration.

(Here, using the analogy of how the vibration from the vibrating parts of the tongue and throat is transformed into the rattling parts of wind instruments, as was the case there, does not work).

We need to define:

1) What a bowed-string group reproduces from the realm of nature.

2) How the inventor's thought stumbles on it.

It must be at the stage of the production of tools, when, after a striking hammer there already exists the stage of a cutting knife: the culmination of this – a single-edged knife blade – already occurs simultaneously, after the stone-age hammer, with the bronze age.

Striking on a drum as a stage is younger than the cutting movement of the bow, analogous to the movement of a knife – after the early double-edged stone knife, which became the single-edged metal blade (forged or cast).

I.e., at the level of thought from a different stage.

Where else would the prototype of the very sound of bowed instruments come from – if not from the "screeching" of prey being cut again and again by a blunt knife?

Or from the screech of a "sawblade"? There are two things that lead to this conclusion: the screech of a buzz saw a few dacha lots away from me and... of course, childhood recollections of a once-seen long-ago cartoon drawing in the children's magazine *St. Nicolas*, which I used to get in childhood.

In it a blind cellist is given a saw... instead of his bow.

He "saws" on and on, and as he saws up his cello, he doesn't notice the difference.

And is it not – *as so often** – funny, not only in the superficial resemblances between a bow for the strings and a saw for wood, but it also has... the genetic connection of one coming from the other?

The saw is, incidentally, a very ancient instrument – in a German book about prehistorical culture, it is dated [...][12] and existed at first as a system of sharp-edged flat stones, planted and fastened in the fashion of the wooden jaws of a shark and a pike, in which they sit like... teeth (could this not be its animal prototype?)

(Verify in accordance with references and notes).

The stage of the "saw" – which must be a very elevated stage – already after the discovery of the "cutting" abilities of the knife and the elevation of this capability to a much more advanced level.

The saw itself is a means for making boards etc.

I saw one of the most rudimentary types of the "bowed" kind of instruments from the depths of the earth in Haiti.

(It seems, in the book by Wirkus, *The White King of La Gonave*[13]).

It's interesting in its physically unseparated connection with nature itself: with a "pit" of earth, with the air filling it up, with the tension taken from the trunk of a young tree – and by the interplay of a bow within this "system."

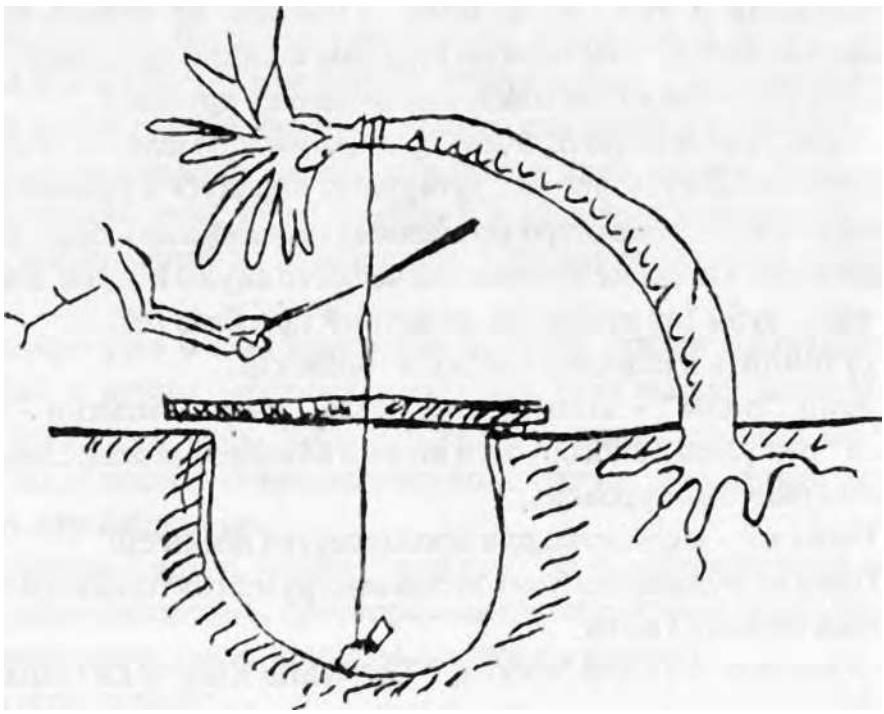
Moreover, – there is even a sinew or a rope and (it seems) a board here – the wooden covering of the pit (i.e., the occurrence in this milieu of tools of the saw type? – *Dieses fraglich*??? [in German: *This is questionable???*])

A pantheistic-ritualistic connection with an earth-mother ancestress is more than apparent here.

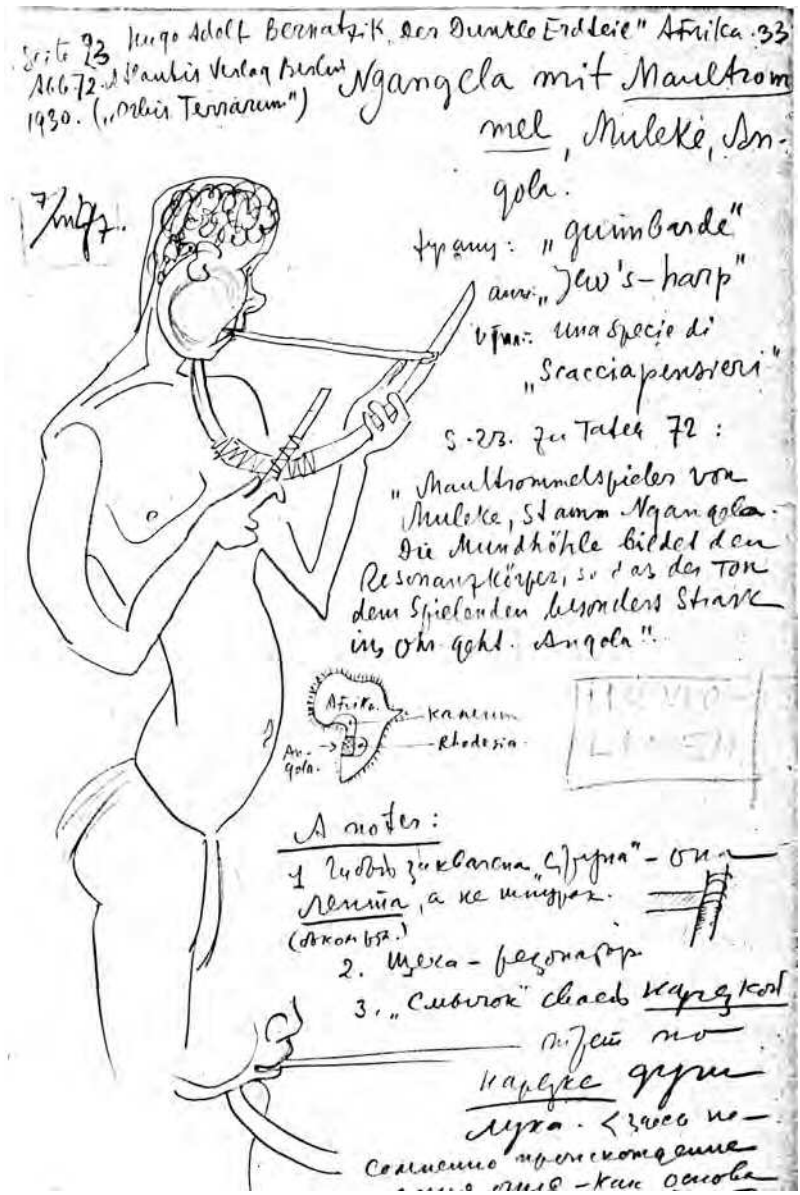
To make it hum and sing – is in itself amazing.

As a complex of a combination of the vital tension of the wood, nothingness (the emptiness of the pit), the vibrating "speech" of the board, the interplay of man and this natural-earth structure etc. etc. This is simply amazing.

Here is the "instrument" that seems to still exist at Haiti (see below). *Unbelievable, but true!*



Ill. 1 – A drawing showing the Haitian instrument described above



Ill. 2 – Drawing dated 7.VII.47 on the history of musical instruments, in this case a "jew's harp" (also known as "jaw harp" or "mouth harp") played by a man belonging to the Ngangela African tribe.

Ill. 3 – Two Ngangela boys playing a variety of Jew's Harp in Muleke (?), Angola (Photograph by Alfred Schachzabel, 1930)

— 2 —

Date: 2.VII.47

Audiovisual counterpoint

The most complex problem, because it is the most fundamentally significant for the principles of audiovisual aesthetics in cinema, has been (and, alas, still is) establishing some principles for the dismantling of the natural synchronism (the way it is in the "order of things") and establishing one's own synchronism between the world of sounds and the world of visual appearances, expressing the thoughts of the author.

In this sense, sound cinema was a descendent of that very same principle in ordinary montage: where the will of the author, in pursuit of the expression of his own creative volition, "dismantles" the order of events and recreates it according to his own – authorial – established laws.

And in this sense, sound cinema was the premise for the understanding of color. Color becomes understood and familiar in cinema aesthetics only from the moment when the separation of the object's natural coloring from the object itself, as well as the author's own new artificial, emotional and conceptual, unification of the colors with the objects are both acknowledged.[14]

One can read the principle of "synchronism" (even on the everyday level) only after having understood, having seen, after having encountered occurrences of a-synchronism.

(Engels considers that the idea of equality is not primary, but [is understood] as the result of the perception of the presence of inequality[15]).

To be more precise: the stage of primary equality is, of course, factually evident, but for this reason is not taken into account, for it is not contrasted with inequality.

The "equality" of all sensory organs – is equally primarily poly-sensorial. We do not see light without the absence of light-darkness.

And what is more: the presence of a phenomenon in both its synchronous and a-synchronous form [is needed].

It is interesting that in the conscious practice of cinematography, a-synchronism of sound (music) and image is present earlier than synchronism.

The banquet of the Motion Pictures Engineering Society, New York, October 1930.

I've heard a story (from whom exactly?) about how the first rudimentary cinematographic "synchronism" of music and image took place: in the form of a piano and a film in the silent era.

It turns out a whole chunk of film history was needed in order for someone to consciously do such an obvious and, it would seem, self-evident thing as have a piano playing to a film!

However, that's exactly the case!

Earlier the piano played between pictures and before them.

NB. I myself remember films without music and without titles, when a special usher stood next to the screen, calling out explanations; I still remember, from the age of eight, the phrase: "*Die Damen werden aus dem Kaffee gehoben*"* [in German: *The ladies are being sent out of the café*] ..."

The film was a comedy about an uprising of women against their husbands. "Suffragettes" were a popular topic at the time.

Men were turned into housekeepers.

They do the cooking. They rock children in their cradles etc.

Women smoke in cafés and clubs. They go into politics etc.

The men start a counter-uprising.

They burst into the café.

And… "*Die Damen werden aus dem Kaffee gehoben*".

I probably remembered this because at that moment, my governess admitted that the film was not "for someone my age," and I myself was "*aus dem Kino gehoben*"* [in German: *sent out of the cinema*] ("The Royal Bio"),[16] and, in spite of my furious cries, was taken home.

And I remember the Banquet of Engineers because there, with Bill Hayes (!) presiding, I, guest of honor, *did break the news** that I was leaving Paramount.[17]

One way or another, [someone] turned up who decided to bring together simultaneously what beforehand [had always been] presented and perceived one at a time.

He started playing piano not between pictures, but… during pictures.

I hesitate to specify when they started to bring in noise accompaniment, i.e., in distinction from "imaginative" synchronism (a selection of "music fitting" to the mood and storyline) – to give a mimetic (objective) synchronism (the noise of a train, breaking glass, breaking dishes, clattering hooves, gun shots, etc.).

I think that it probably happened earlier, before the piano. It would be natural to assume that the mimetic sound is "older" than the imaginative.

But it's even more likely that in various places on the cinematographic globe, there arose moments of musical and noise accompaniment, each in its own way, and in combinations that were different and probably mixed together.

(America was after all discovered by its own "Chinese Columbus" from the side of Asia – not across the Atlantic, but across the Pacific Ocean?!).

It's even probable that music swallowed up primitive mimeticism in the name of higher forms – forms of emotional illustrativeness.

At the very least, noise accompaniment disappears before its rebirth in the principles of mechanical synchronism, which shines so brightly, especially in the area of dialogue – early, and alas, not only early, but in general, in bad sound films! (Sound film – not with audiovisual counterpoint).

One way or another it is interesting to note that at the stage of pre-conscious practice and even pre-musical practice, the representation of a-synchronism and synchronism and their crossover from one to the other wait upon the earliest prototype of the earliest musical instrument.

That instrument, as set forth, is the drum.

The prototype of the instrument is thunder.

But thunder in connection with absolutely the strongest effect of light in nature – blinding lightning, flashing through the darkness of the night or of a storm!

These days even a child knows that the burst of thunder and the flash of lightning do not occur simultaneously (synchronously) as an audio and visual embodiment of one and the same natural phenomenon ("the collision of clouds," as nice as that sounds, reveals nothing of the complex picture of the true nature of this occurrence).

But everyone also knows that in reality – in our apprehension – they almost never occur simultaneously.

I.e., to be precise – they do come together once – in what is for us the culminating moment of the storm, producing in us a fear unequaled by any other natural phenomena.

Up to this synchronized strike and after it there are phases of a-synchronized strikes and flashes – growing gradually closer and closer together to the point of culmination, after which it grows gradually distant from one another.

The basis of this "phenomenon" is just as well known.

The coincidence takes place only when the storm is "above us". The non-coincidence – when it "moves in" or "moves away", i.e., when it is located at a certain distance from us.

Then by virtue of the difference between the speed of light and that of sound – the perception of lightning outpaces the perception of the factually simultaneous blow of thunder.

That's truly where the "revelation in storm and thunder" is in relation to audio-visual counterpoint!

(Look at old man Morozov just for fun!).[18]

— 3 —

Date: 2. VII. 47

Music

What about thunder. It's no longer at all that funny and not so "far away", this (primitive) mimeticism. What is done concerning thunder and wind, from then on is always done in music, always reproducing, even if not always imitating.

From the banal "copying" from nature to the reconstruction of the principle of the structure of phenomena.[19]

Thunder and lightning as the first synchronization and the feeling of independence in time, even though they are organically inseparable. The definition of the "distance" of a storm is according to the degree of non-coincidence of the clap of thunder and the flash of lightning.

In the earliest conception, not knowing about their factual simultaneity, [there is no] "taking distance into account" breaking this simultaneity. The "approach" of a storm is the approach of synchronism.

In the highest models, the embellishment through structure (Wagner, Rimsky-Korsakov, Prokofiev). And further, searches for a musical equivalent not only to the sonic prototype, but also to its plastic one (Prok[ofiev] *par excellence** [in French]), or to the emotional, objectless one (Tchaikovsky).

In regressive dances [such as] the jazz stage of the orchestra – it's always the same mimetic (and, incidentally, primitive) thing, even simply of savages or of astounding phenomena.

Rhythmic prototypes of the tap dance: the lash of the whip.

*Black bottom** – the black man's sticky legs.

*Fox trot** – an Indian *on the war path**.

*Lindy hop** – the flight of Lindbergh.

*Turkey trot** – the turkey's walk.

The role of the "primitive", the black man, in this. "Degenerate", i.e. returning to the lowest stages of consciousness, the white is fascinated by it, as in art (*primitivism in the Middle Ages Art*)*

Here in music, distinct and palpable like nowhere else, both the copy of the subjective apparatus and the copy of the objective environment cohere in a unified structure.

(NB. This resonates *on a higher level** with the perception of [dialectics] of the self and of nature: the mystics sense things experientially before they are objectively present in social reality).

The soundmaking apparatus of the voice:

of the lowest (deep-chested-diaphragm ones) and of the highest (whistling ones)

and

thunder-wind

(the English term is "*wind instruments*⋆").

It seems to me that this "*thunder-wind*" ⋆ is the basis for a double development: melody and accompaniment through the stage of musical structure could be considered to be at the foundation of the principle of audiovisual counterpoint as well.

In it, after all, the entire field of music sets itself up completely in the position of one of the component branches – leaving the second branch to the field of pictorial representation.

In my searches and explorations I have personally gone through the heightened apparently instinctively musical opposition within the plastic representation, breaking it into the same "two planes" as melody and accompaniment in music.

1. A normal correlation of the foreground and background.

2. Hyperbolicization of the foreground in the manner of El Greco – Degas – Lautrec (*The General Line par excellence*⋆ [in French], camera lens 28^{20}). Here there already is a bifurcation of the foreground and the background by means of the abnormal presentation of their correlation.

3. A double exposure as arbitrary combination – the convergence of two independently prevailing and existing planes.

Characteristically, during the period of exploration of my first designs in the area of audiovisual combinations – while preparing for *Bezhin Meadow* – I looked for the reflection of the correlation of two areas – sound and image – through the implementation of the same thing into each one of these same areas: for the music, this wasn't necessary – music is basically bi-planar – but in the composition of the image, I painfully sought a "musical" analogue.

So, for example, the principle, taken to *outrance*⋆ [in French: *to the extreme*]:

the "background" image, upon which the foreground would be laid, had to be of a larger scale (as "reverse perspective") than the foreground. The "Father" had to be in "rear-projection", shot in greater close-up than "Stepok," even though he was [placed] further from the viewer.[21]

Ill. 4 – An example of "reverse perspective" from the film *Bezhin Meadow*, 1935-37

It's the same with the cart with the background of singing peasant women in close-up.[22]

Aside from the independently interesting heightened expressive *tension** (in the sequence "Father and Son", for example), this is interesting as the implementation of this principle of musical structure in the visual arts, and through this the exploration of musical structure and the principle of audiovisual counterpoint.

The depth of the immediate effect of musical structure (and of music) is based on the fact that the mutual play of the roar of thunder and the whistling of the wind (and all further derivatives of the interaction of this pair – the first emotional shocks of primitive peoples), lies at the foundation of music – as we have seen, *throughout* history.

This is, incidentally, much closer within the layers of our own sensuous consciousness than we might think.

Do not forget that a large percentage of sufficiently "cultured" people – are really "panicked" in a savage way, unable to bear... thunder: for example, the late Granovskii![23] ("hiding their heads"). The "panicked" fear of beasts and birds before a storm. (Our late Zholtik[24] and his panicked crawling under the bed during storms).

(NB. Both here and there there is a flight *Intra-uterin[e]**!)[25]

Both thunder and the howling of wind, as (almost) inevitable and necessary (almost always) attributes in those circumstances where the audience must be submerged in "melodramatic" horror. The atmosphere of the stormy night is a classic here: in the background – the howling of the wind, and for emphasis – the roars of thunder. As a result – an audience bound by fear!

Cf. In the collection: Cartwell and Cerf, *Famous Plays of Crime and Detection* – this indispensable attribute in the "atmosphere" of such classic, melodramatically "scary things" as *The Bat* (Mary Roberts Rinehart and Avery Hopwood, 1908-1920), *The Cat and the Canary* (1921, Bayard Veiller), *Seven Keys to the Baldpate* (George M. Cohan, 1913). And "metonymically" closely related rains (*Payment Deferred*, Jeffrey Dell, 1934), dark nights (*Sherlock Holmes*, W. Gillette, 1899), the culminations (in *Under Cover*, Roi C. Megrue, 1914, and in *The Thirteenth Chair*, Bayard Veiller, 1916), the spiritual *séance* in darkness etc. etc.

(In all cases when "horror" cannot be transferred to a purely psychological environment, one without "extraneous" effects).

Do not forget such things as *Wuthering Heights*, where the classic "horror" of the beginning is connected to a storm[26] etc. etc.

Name the drum and the whistle as the very first means of reflecting the sonic phenomena of nature.

As the origins of reflection of objects in reality, before learning how to reflect, objectivizing whistling.

An object of reality – objective reality.[27]

Ill. J, K, and L – Photograms from *Ivan the Terrible*, part 2: the miracle play showing Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the "fiery furnace" (from the Book of Daniel, chapter 3)

4

IN PRAISE OF THE CINE-CHRONICLE[1]

Date: 7. XI. 1947

[RGALI 1923-2-1030]

This is a work on the chronicle as the *forerunner** of the artistic film.

As a field of cinema, occupying the same place as the ornament does in the history of the visual arts.

Herein a detailed analysis of the psychological foundations of the ornament.

This is how film has historically evolved.

The beginnings: "Potëmkin"

This tendency will not die off.

In which we serve by Noel Coward[2] and English eclecticism.

Jean Renoir and naturalism (*La Bète humaine*, *Tony*) as compensation for the super-aestheticism of *Nana*.[3]

Roma, città aperta[4] as an attempt at synthesis.

The Vow – The Young Guard[5] as a formal synthesis.

Herein an excursion into the future: *Television* and the joining with... Dionysia. (*D'après** [in French: *Following*] that set forth in "On Stereoscopic Cinema" No. 1[6])

The chronicle is a stage of the artistic film. The initial one.

Just as petroglyph and ornament are a stage of a future visual art.

The chronicle is the stage of petroglyph and ornament in the history of the artistic film.

The two same phases in the chronicle: 1) petroglyph and 2) ornament.

The first is the eidetic stage: automatic fixation.

Such is the "old" chronicle: the pre-revolutionary "Pathé-journal" kind, shot from one point of view.

The intuitively eidetic kind.

The chronicle is fundamentally eidetic in the slogan "Life Caught Unawares" and the experiments of Gan (Aleksei),[7] e.g., *Morning in the Courtyard*. (What happened on a certain morning in the courtyard: A peasant woman with buckets passed by. A chicken walked around. Children played etc.). Entirely along the lines of subjects such as "Workers Leaving the Lumiére Factory", "The Arrival of a Train" etc.

And the eidetic petroglyph is (in spiral fashion!) just such a stage – that is, a pre-artistic one – of graphic art.

This is the stage of the outline of a contour.

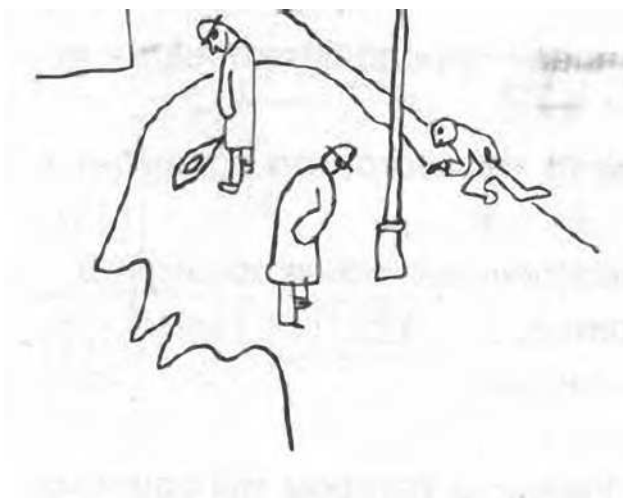
It can be divided according to different means of outlining.

I. The contour of an image "traced over" by the artist – not just by his hand or eye, but by the artist himself.

a) Gigantic petroglyphic figures.

b) A vestige in the tale about Hokusai, who drew with a broom in a square, and the only way to see the drawing was from the roof of the pagoda.

c) In Saul Steinberg's[8] work – a large profile on the sidewalk and puzzled people walking over it.



Ill. 1 – Detail of a drawing by Saul Steinberg with, as Eisenstein writes, "a large profile on the sidewalk and puzzled people walking over it"

Incidentally, the prototype for this kind of drawing is a fact: children, crawling along the tarmac, outline enormous profiles, "crawling over" their contour. (Children "repeat" the stage of "tracing-over").

II. The tracing-over body is reduced to an outlining hand.

The petroglyphs of the Norwegians (cf. "Propyläen") are, in the majority of cases, equal in size to the original beast!

I.e. essentially the outline of a silhouette (in terms of contour).

A vestige of this in the making of silhouettes (e.g., in the 18th century – cf. Lavater's schemata of this "mechanics"): the early outline of a wild beast is here "industrialized" – "manufactured" (the Japanese, too, know silhouettes).

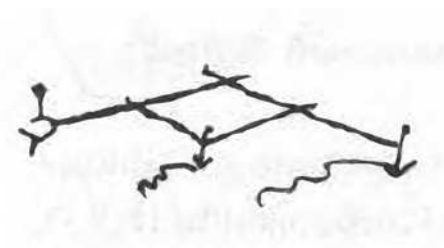
*Schattenspiel** [in German: *Shadow play*] *Wayang* in Java; in Turkey *Karagöz* etc.

*Kinderspiele** [in German: *Children games*] – shadow rabbits made with hands etc.

Lotte Reiniger[9] and the cult of the silhouette in general. Right up to the present. (e.g., in Kislovodsk).

*Schreckenkünstler** [in German: artist specialized in the cutting of silhouettes] cuts a smaller scale silhouette out of black paper directly *d'après nature** [in French: *according to nature*].

Mechanisms for scaling down actually traced silhouettes repeat *shift* from II to III. The "outline" of an object's contour, no longer by the artist himself, no longer outlined by hand in life size, but by the eye: in any scale. Hokusai again: he could draw a landscape on a grain of rice!



Ill. 2 – Caption by Eisenstein: "There is an even more ancient mechanism of *shrinking** from a natural size to a reduced one: the Peruvian shrunken heads of their enemies. Bones and brains are removed from them. They sprinkle them with hot sand and let them shrink in the sun until they are the size of an apple, then wear them on a trophy belt"

The second stage is the stage of the ornament.

This is already the stage of the "profound" chronicle, rather than the automatic one.

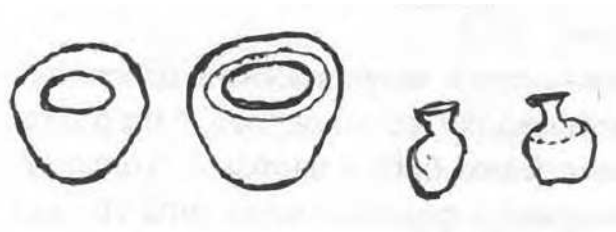
This is the stage of "Kino-Truth" [*Kinopravda*] and "Kino-Eye" [*Kinoglaz*].[10]

Firstly, we need to work out the question of the "ornament" as *decoration**.

Its *nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] is once again the "outline".

The simplest kind: the line encompasses the form. The line traces over the connection. And the articulation of forms. This is a transfer from oneself onto the object "Self-portrait."

And the "line" here is a trace of a necklace or a belt around oneself (neck, waist).



Ill. 3 – Drawing showing ornamental necklaces with lines conceived as an extension of one's own neck

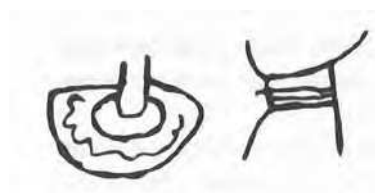
And the necklace itself is connected with the tattoo.

A tattoo is, first of all, apparently, an automatic outline of the form of one's own body with a "drawing" of this outline on this same body.

I.e., the outline of a form is both reflection and fact, still indivisible.

The contoured outline is not removed, is not separated from the subject by being transferred onto something else – a smooth rock-face, a wall, sand, canvas, paper! And the tattoo is a trace (already traced over) of an outline – a tracing by feel of the forms of one's own body, from a physical perception of it as a system of articulations.

(Later this is in dress – this is a tattoo "laid" on a body: for the "articulations" of dress imitate the patterns of a tattooed assimilation of the body: a collar with outlines around the neck, a belt etc.).



Ill. 4 – Drawing showing again ornamental necklaces with lines conceived as extensions of the neck

Recollections of this phase (of the indivisibility of the outline from the object of the outline) have been preserved, e.g., in the japery... of Tabarin[11] (Tabarin XVI-XVII c.).

"Who is the best artist? –The ass. Because it discharges paint and makes a picture at the same time.

Who is the best printer? –The ass. Because it discharges paint and makes a print at the same time".

Otherwise where could these "images" [have come from]?

The chronicle – the early kind – is absolutely the same: an outline of an event is also at the very same time a product of art (of the chronicle).

In the second stage of the chronicle we have everything in complete conformity with the ornament.

1) At its base the very same palpation of the event (as was self-palpation in ornament). Palpation in the process of outlining the event in the attempt to articulate for cognition (as in ornament the mastery of the body through "examination" by hands – by outlining the form). *À noter** [in French: *to be noted*]: Children and people of little culture or contact with books look at paintings – by outlining objects with their fingers. To an even greater extent – the blind. And by process of elimination the outline strives towards definitive articulations and connections.

(The articulation and establishment of connections and transitions from one to the next are the basis of cognition in general).

But these are – precisely – the very elements of the formation of ornament.

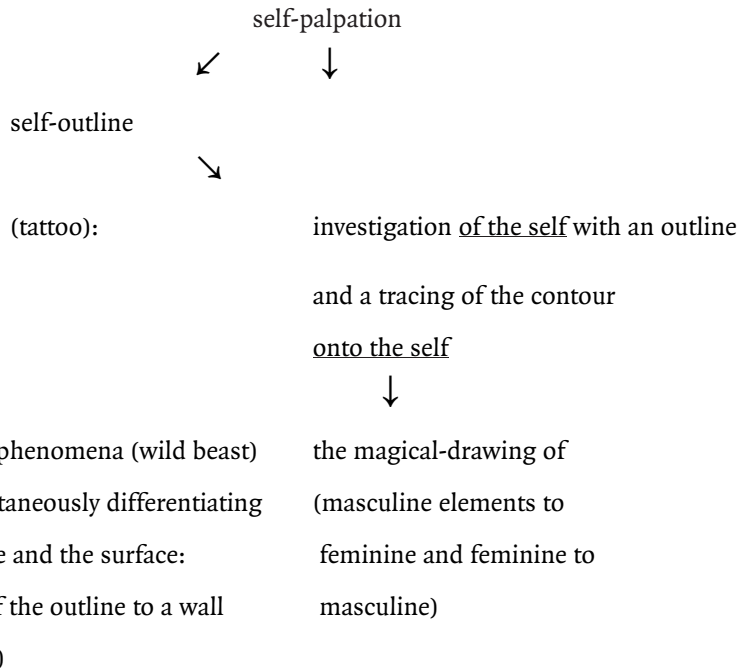
"Pictorialism", i.e., remaking the phenomenon into a representation of the phenomenon is still at the pre-figurative stage.

"An undistorted piece of reality".

The connection with the petroglyphic.

The 1st function of the ornament is that the outline of the self is transformed into an outline of a phenomenon. ([Similarly] – the petroglyph).

NB. Probably the diagram should be this:



This can be seen in more detail in the following stages:

The necklace of the Tehuanas is a clear "extension" of oneself with a real, material treasure (this "remains" all the way down to millionaires' wives in diamonds).

Or scalps on a belt (in terms of *pars pro toto** a scalp = a head. *À noter** [in French]: also the Peruvian *reduced heads**). But the bearer of the trophies embodies in himself as many men – as much human strength – as he has heads. The victorious Mexican adorned himself in the skin of his enemy – the same motif.

Even earlier – *heads**, having for the savage just the same meaning as jewels later.

In all of these things the motif is preservation, accumulation.

But after all, even the chronicle is *avant tout** [in French: *first and foremost*] preservation and accumulation of that which might have vanished: a means for holding on. For even now an "adornment" of diamonds is above all... a capital investment.

Drawing on the body and tattooing is just the same, but only in a magical aspect.

Power "is drawn on" by way of painting.

The second *sex** is "drawn on" for irresistibility.

And according to *pars pro toto** they suppose that by this operation the aim has been achieved.

And that is precisely where the *futility** of magic lies: the painting gets transferred into a real hanging object, and then authentic "power" occurs – material *avant tout** [in French].

A bear's claw around the neck – this is the magical stage – is imaginary power. A piece of gold hung in the same fashion is already real power in the hands of its owner. Between them is the shift from a magical, undifferentiated collective thinking to the stage of private ownership.

Tattooing in the second stage is *embellissement** [in French: *adornment*] in the sense of the desired traits drawn onto oneself – the adornment is in this. It's not that the system of drawn lines makes one "more attractive", but that that these lines according to *pars pro toto** give the person new attributes (a little line next to a woman's eye raises her to a divine *bisexual* being):

phallos

Is this not also the basis of the device of eyeliner? In general?

phallos

Ill. 5 – A drawing that shows how the lines around a woman's eye can be interpreted as having a phallic dimension

At first it is to the person himself – to his very nature, his virtues. Later, to his property, and from this moment it is no longer magical but... practical and factual.

Apparently, this is also the cradle of "beauty."

What is beautiful is whatever is most perfectly adapted to daily life in given circumstances. (The tiger, the beautiful savage).

Further for a given function

(hunting horse – race horse – Percheron)

Further, as the expression of an idea

(a Gothic cathedral or a streamlined automobile, but also everything that came before, only read in an elevated category due to the rise of intellectualism of the "reader").

Thus, everything that makes the category of "beauty" possible goes itself into that category.

A healthy, ruddy living being is beautiful.

Rouge is a palliative for paleness.

The tanned body. The palliative: "*easy to tan*"* and similar colorations of the body. "Men's" perfume – with shades of the smell of horses, the car, etc. (I read such an advertisement!).

But for us this already has to do with function, and is unworthy. In the early stages fiction = fact, and no distinction is made.

The valuable item's authenticity still contributes to its beauty and this is already associated with the idea of the aesthetically beautiful (develop fully).

*Anyhow**. At this stage of the documentary – in full conformity with the stage of the ornament the first intellectualization comes into play as well – comes differentiation.

*Pars pro toto** arises.

But still as pre-synecdoche, that is, as any one of all the possible details, but not yet synecdoche, that is, not the typical one – as the only one substituting for the whole.

The principal difference

of the close-up detail in chronicle

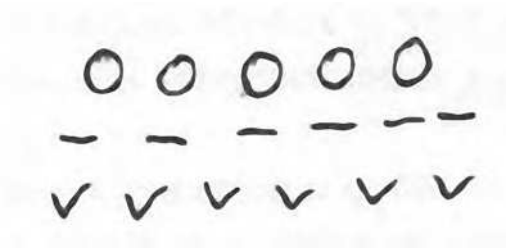
– of Griffith's close-up (in the same line with potential possibility of further transition)

– our close-up (the doctor's *pince-nez** [in French] in "Potëmkin").

Finally, at the same stage the uneasiness over the montage rhythm arises as well.

This is [similar to rhythmical] repetitiveness in ornament, which is the *nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] of rhythmical repetition in future art.

Not to forget, the ornament is repeated not only in the simplest aspect:



Ill. 6

But in any:

Ill. 7

Also [the "weaving" ornament in ceramics]: (basket-vessel)

The proto-image of weaving in ornament (as one of the lines of its formation):

The line of the experience of unification of the separate *pars pro toto** [in Latin]). (*Abgesehen** [in German: *independently of*] the simple "inertia" into the next stage – as a system of wooden constructions in the architectural forms of the Parthenon.

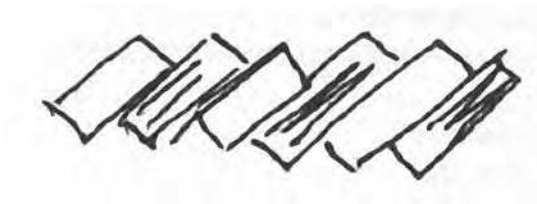
This also has its *Gegenstück** [in German: *correspondence*] in documentary: interweaving – connection through montage.

The stage of proto-montage: a view is spliced to a view, so that they will be together in one film. *Übergang** [in German: *transition*] – the necessity of showing alternatingly the pursued and the pursuer. Here we even have full correspondence with the weaving of two threads!!!

(interchange of close-ups

plans of speakers

cf. I have something about this somewhere)



Ill. 8

If you like – proto-montage is nothing but [a likeness] of the reproduction of the very phenomenon of filming.

There the phases of the act of movement.

Here the phases of the event, similarly spliced one to another with similar "gaps", as for movement between frames.

Ill. 9

> Transfer of the *pattern** of weaving into the pattern of ornament is repeated here in that the principle of unification of phases of movement (for the effect of movement on the screen) also grows into the principle of connecting sequences together.

So that the chronicle of the intermediary type *Kinoglaz* has precisely the same place as ornament has between cave drawing and conventional graphic art.

*À noter** [in French]: even in its excesses [*Kinoglaz*] "descends" into genuine ornamentalism, like playing "jackstraws" – the degeneration and decadence of an aesthetic toy.

The aestheticized game with levels of reality and arbitrariness of juxtapositions without searching for actual perceptual juxtaposition of elements of reality through the re-creation of its image, which has already fallen to the third phase – "Potëmkin": where all these elements become the means of creation of the image.

We have seen [ornament]:

1. According to the method of the "outlining" of events (in accordance with the outline via ornament of the articulations of the body, on an object, on architecture, where an ornamental frieze "runs around" the cornice of a building, etc.).
2. As a means of preservation and accumulation.
3. According to the appearance of *pars pro toto** in the form of proto-synecdoche of the informational close-up on the way to a close-up that replaces the object (synecdoche).
4. According to the *nux** of rhythm ([likeness] – repetition and rhythm in ornament).
5. According to its pre-imagicity [*do-obraznost'*], for which it prepares as proto-imagicity [*pra-obraznost'*] all the data.

   To trace throughout art the phenomenon of re-ornamentation as regression, that is, return of developed forms of art back into ornamentalism ("carpet-patterning" – like that same tendency, but not on film, rather inside a square or circle. Matisse, for example, is such a one).

   1. In the case of psychopaths (see, for ex., Prinzhorn, *Bildnerei der Geisteskranken** [in German: *The Art of the Mentally Ill*]; No. "*Art et Styles*"* [in French: "*Art and styles*"]; Kretschmer, *Medizinische Psychologie** [in German: *Medical Psychology*][12]) – a clear tendency toward ornamental geometricization.

      (In the case of over-exhaustion, and automatic *kritzeln** [in German: *doodling*], too. I know from my own experience. I know from Maks Shtraukh.)
   2. In certain phases of deterioration of bourgeois art.

      "Jugend-Stil" [from] "*Jugend*" [in German: *youth*]. *Preraphaelites*. Munch. ("Der Schrei"* [in German: "The Scream"]) etc. On this in *Primitivism and Modern Painting*[13].

Typical

Yo

Maks's
blurring
by filling-in
("Your Maks")[14]

Ill. 10 and 11

1. This is already along other lines.

*Par exemple** [in French: *for instance*], "ornamental" repetitiveness: Hermann's "Three-Seven-Ace" in the stage of madness.[15]

On the point of view of Worringer (*Abstraktion und Einfühlung*[16]) on ornament as "support against the chaos of the Universe".

One might justly quip:

Having noted that ornament is often woven along a railing, Worringer saw in this same case the very role of ornament in history of art as ....a railing for the frightened human soul facing the Universe.

7.XI.47
[RGALI 1923-2-1031]

ÜBERGANG ZUM TELEVISION* [in German: *Transition to Television*][17]

From Virta's "Great Days"[18] to "television" is one step – in performance only scenes "in a peephole" survive – they are a sort of palliative of what "TV" is capable of.

Everything else there is "hogwash" and "tomfoolery."

Thus they sidle into television through "documentalization" – the dramatized document of the modern age (palliative).

("Potëmkin" – dramatized document (what a Racine![19]) of the past).

"The Vow" and "Young Guard".

From chronicle to "TV".

The approach to "TV" also through stereoscopic cinema: reality crowds its way in as the next stage of the crowding-in of the screen in general.

(*À noter** [in French: *To be noted*] – my approach to this in my article on stereoscopic cinema).[20]

*If this is to go** into the history of film, then say that the beginning landmark of the new era (in the arts as well) – the Soviet art of cinema – began with the same thing as the first threshold of culture of humanity in general – the chronicle.

The chronicle in its role in the creation of Soviet film.

NB. "Stylization to make it appear as chronicle" – post-war motto of today's aesthetic mannerism: *Roma, città aperta* and Noel Coward's as well.

They recapitulate the development of the theater in general, as earlier in all commemorative productions – notably in early stages of consciousness – the reproduction of an action – especially on the place where it had occurred – was a real participation in the action.

"*Were You there when they nailed Him to the tree*" black people sing in *Spirituals*, precisely describing what divine worship strives for.

What about communion? – as real comm-union with the event?

And *television** is the extreme embodiment of a similar *urge**, realized for the present moment still only in spatial real participation.

Participation in time through reflection and reproduction – all pre-television culture was deflected into this vein. The spatial is the television-al [*television'noe*]. It is a landmark in chronicle as the highest form of fixating what happened in the past. *Time and space interrelations again**...

INTO TELEVISION

On "Electra," "*Green Pastures*" and "*News of the Nation*".

(*d'après** [in French: *according to*] what is written about imagicity [*obraznost'*] in Gogol).

*Als Förderung und Aktualisierung des Verflossenen** [in German: *As promotion and actualization of what has passed*]

To dress in contemporary fashion – to make contemporary.

But the other way around as well: to make the past contemporary – to become familiar with the past – is to become a contemporary and participant of past events.

Ill. M, N, and O – Photograms from Ivan *the Terrible*, part 1: Ivan, Nepeya, and their shadows in Ivan's stateroom

5

THE PLACE OF CINEMA

IN THE GENERAL SYSTEM OF THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS[1]

Date: 3.I.1948
[RGALI 1923-2-1020]

Connection and Synthesis, etc. (as per the beginning of my GIK[2] program)

*Why the film is top**.

Mass dissemination.

The spectator *shapes the film**, "voting with his feet" (*not to be quoted!*)*.

In the West "in the name of the spectator" – pandering to the worst.

In our case – with direct participation – both spiritual and material (by the state and by means of education).

Cinema as the most perfect instrument not only of making impact on, but also of reproduction and reconstruction of man in all the variety of his *backgrounds**, environment etc.

But there's more to cinema's method – the most complete reflection of man.

Cinema as a copy of man's psychological apparatus.

*Continuity of flow of images** (K. Stanislavsky uses none other than "film" when he needs to clarify!).

*Close-ups as points of insistence of interest (cf. dreams)**

*Fading in and out** and the fading of consciousness (sleep or almost consciousness). Dissolves. The multidimensionality of simultaneous flows of thought.

"Recollections."

*Flash backs. Soft**.

And more complex: metaphorical structure, evident in devices and hidden in the depths of composition. A lesser degree of possibility in other arts: a "column" of the limits of their possibilities (Hegel). Nowhere in all the arts [...].[3]

Cinema as the most comprehensive technical automatoscope of the phenomenon of the reflection of reality that lies at the root of the formation and establishment of human consciousness.

The history of cinema from the point of view of the mechanization by technical means of the process of reflection itself and of the fixating of the results of such a reflection.

The stage of static reflection.

From the eidetic phenomenon to the photographic camera.

The automatic immediacy of the reflection of phenomena of reality in the so-called eidetic phenomenon.

The fixating of the reflection of the image of phenomena in memory.

The problem of reproduction by technical means of processes: the getting the copy of phenomena of reality in a mechanical way, and fixating it by technical means.

Getting the copy:

*Nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] for everybody. *Everything keeping its imprint**. Costumes, house. *National shrines**: Peter's cottage, Roosevelt's home, repositories of relics (the same + *pars pro toto**. *Souvenirs**. Signatures etc. (Mrs. Havisham. Queen Victoria). "The kissing of footprints".

Preservation by means of efficient reproduction ("embodiment"):

commemorative ritual. Reflection in the sense of episodes of a ritual play. Reflection through the embodiment in the *chorus* of dithyramb. Simulation (image) = event (at this stage of undifferentiated thinking). *Chorus* = Dionysus.

Reproduction only for the duration of the performance.

Preservation of the object itself instead of its reflection (mummification).

The stage of factual, physical (relief) casting. Morturary masks (Egypt, Rome. Continuation of the tradition even now). Resonance with (stereoscopic) cinema in relief.

Cradle[4] stage of the negative/positive principle. Foundation of the ability to produce multiple copies.

Problem of getting a flat depiction.

Reflection in water.

Substitution of mirror surface of water with the surface of a polished mirror.

Self-reflection in a mirror.

Silhouette and contour drawing of another.

Hand-traced contour of a real object or silhouette of a shadow as the first attempt to mechanize the reflection of a real profile. The larger portion is of the unmechanized part of this process, as in all manufacturing (handicraft) stages of technology. (Petroglyphic depictions. Profile portraits of the 15th [century], such as those of Domenico Veneziano. Silhouettes. Portrait at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century).

Phototechnical primitivism of mechanical capture of a silhouette outline. (Silhouettes on ripening fruit by means of adhesive material that preserves the untouched surface beneath. The reproduction of this in photograms of Man Ray and Moholy-Nagy on the surface of light-sensitive paper). (Relate this to the technique of fixating.)

The development of technical accessories.

Dürer's and Holbein's gridded frame with a viewfinder for the translation of the spatial angle of a figure into a spatial distortion of the outlines of the figure on a flat surface.

Lavater's (1741-1801) instruments for the transfer and reduction of a silhouette.

Physionotrace[5] – Chrétien and Quenedy's instrument like a pantograph for the direct transfer of a profile. The first exhibition of 1793.

Rebirth of the eidetic tendency and proto-photographism in the painting style called "*trompe l'oeil*". (Chinese legends about Wang Wei, who, before death, went away into another world through a cave he had drawn).[6] Stories about Zeuxis, 16th century, self-portrait in a convex mirror. The ceilings of Tiepolo; 17th and 18th century (the sort of paintings called *verre cassé* – broken glass). From the description of President de Brosses. American artist of the second half of the 19th century. Rembrandt's painting *The Night Watch* decorated as *trompe l'oeil* by means of a museum exhibition in the Hague? Dioramas. Moving dioramas as precursors of the cinema of views.

Appearance of the lens and the concomitant ability to directly project phenomena onto a flat surface.

The year 1050. Lenses in antiquity. The first lenses of Alhazen. 1270. Witelo's and Roger Bacon's treatises on lenses. (1285-1299 invention of eyeglasses).

"*Camera obscura*"*. Data showing that the *Camera obscura** was known to Aristotle. 16th century. With the dimensions of a room (Leonardo da Vinci). Booth. In Daniele Barbaro's 1558 description, Giambattista della Porta 1540-1615 and in "*Oculus hoc est: Fundamentum opticum*" of Christoph Scheiner (1619). Abbé Nalvet's (18th century) box. From here the origin of the names photo- and movie- "cameras".

Searches for photosensitive surfaces capable of automatically catching a projected image.

Phototechnical primitives – the "Newton's Apple" of photo-apparatuses.

Vitruvius and Fabricius (1565) on the abilities of silver oxide to reproduce an image caught through a lens in grey and black tones.

Getting nonfixable photo-images.

Schulze (1727) in Germany; Priestley (1733-1804) in England; Charles in France. Results of 1770-1780.

Wedgwood (1802). James Watt and Humphrey Davy. Failures with fixating images.

The search for chemical means for more permanent fixating of the projected image. The stage of the "single" image.

Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) and [Louis-Jacques]-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851). Heliography (1824). Talbot's calotype (1834-1839). Daguerrotype of Niépce and Daguerre (1839). Ambrotype, etc.

The problem of fixating a reflected phenomenon and the capacity to produce many copies of a print.

History of the negative/positive principle.

Branding and stenciling. *Siegelring** [in German: seal ring]. Babylonian seals. Mayan seals for decorating the body. Ancient heel-mark on material and preservation of tradition in artisanal textile of East and West. *Nux** [in Latin: *nucleus*] in the technique of mask casting. (1) Mechanized. (Application of the image). Print on paper from an engraved image. (2) Mechanized. (Transferring of the image).

Abklatschbilder [in German: copy] of pilgrims from petroglyphic engraved image of Confucius in ancient China.

Connection of visual reproduction with the history of techniques of book printing.

1041-49 – the first moveable type (Bi Sheng, China); 1147 – wooden upper-case letters (Benedictine monastery in Engelberg); 1300 – wooden type (Turkestan); 1325 – Japanese clergyman (*Priester** [in German: priest]) Riskin gives pilgrims holy pictures off tin plates (their technique is tentatively known – Julius Kurth). Closely connected also, in Kurth's opinion, is the "*Zügeldruck*"* [in German: prints of drawings engraved on tiles]; 1390 – metallic type (Korea); 1409 – the first book printed with moveable type (Korea); 1423 – the first European wooden engraving; 1440-1460 – the beginning of modern bookprinting (Gutenberg and Schöffer); 1446 – engraving on copper; 1483 – the beginning of etching; 1508 – European multicolored engraving; 1709 – three-color printing from copper plates; 1796 – the beginning of lithography.

The stage of "single" prints (see above) of early types of precursors of modern photography.

1841. Paper positive is invented by Fox Talbot (1800-1877) and the beginning of the era of modern negative/positive photographic techniques and photography itself.

Direct print.

The handprint in caves.

The imprint from a carved plank in the Russian printed gingercake.

The "renaissance" of direct printing. The signature and its *nec plus ultra*.

Sid Grauman's "Chinese theater" in Hollywood and handprints and footprints of famous people.

Boards for tattooing.

"Stencils".

Ill. P, Q, and R – Photograms from *Ivan the terrible*, part 2: the young Ivan standing in front of his throne in the reception room flanked by the two Boyars Shiusky and Byelsky

6

PIONEERS AND INNOVATORS[1]

Date: 1.I.48

[RGALI 1923-2-1022, pp.13-19]

YO[2]

Not only [the connection of my film] with the chronicle (the phases of the chronicle of *Strike*, and even more so of *Battleship Potëmkin* – a calendar of sequence), but also the connection with... scientific film and technical film (and from there with the predecessors of both the chronicle and those types of film)[3].

Strike (the whole cycle *Towards Dictatorship*), after all, was done in the "how to make" a revolution mode, like a scientific-technical film.

It was preceded by the theory of the montage of attractions, done as a "how to make" a work of art for the transformation of consciousness.

Roots in engineering: [lessons on] "How to make bridges"

And [roots] in mathematics: "in search of a unit [of measure]"[4].

When *Strike* was being made, the theme went deeper:

from a descriptive exposition of symptoms of the phenomenon (a type of English scientific investigation) it passed into the human and emotional foundation of the revolution –

it is from here that *Potëmkin* [arises], characterized by its spontaneity, uprising, revolt, rather than a party-planned construction of revolution, which should have been in *October* and likewise in *Old and New* – the post-October revolutionization of what exists (the agricultural policy and the rebuilding [of the countryside])[5].

From this, however, there was a change of direction.

October didn't turn out to be a party-historical film.

This was picked up by Ermler.

Old and New didn't turn out to be a Party contemporary (post-October [Revolution]) picture.

This was picked up by *Counterplan*[6].

Strike in intention: how revolutions occur in general, but it turned out to be grounded in specifics.

Potëmkin in intention: how the specific revolt in 1905 occurred, but it turned out to be a generalization of revolutionary pathos.

The structural analysis of a work (montage of attractions) is preceded in my work by the structural analysis of expressive movement (*Auswuchs** [in German: development] from the empiricism of Meyerhold to my own theory of expressive movement).

The roots of chronicle-ness and documentarism as forms of concreteness are in my staking on... the circus. The real physical work of the circus, both as process and product (the content of the act = its work) without the actor's figurative meaning and depiction of something, is, of course, "documentalism" in the sphere of acting!!!

The interim stage – a compromise – symbolic theater: spectacle without pretensions to "being true to life", but a stake on presentation: "we are not the living people of the play, but actors, playing them".

The other extreme – also a compromise – is MKhAT[7]: before you is the veritable truth of experiences – factual experience, corresponding to the situations of the drama[8] (*next step** [in English] after the naturalistic reconstruction of appearance of a phenomenon in the first stage of MKhAT).

Circus – in its pure form. You see before you an act on a trapeze, which in fact is... an act on a trapeze.

*Durchbruch** [in German: breakthrough] to this in my work on my very first independent step: the boxing in *The Mexican* – from the "metrorhythmical" dance overleaping into a real fight (in which the most real is usually – not only the predeterminedness of the finale, but very often the "scripts" as well: the number of the round when the finale has to occur, and even the sketch of the twists of the "story line"!).

Again the sources "on the town square" – at the market: in rope dancers and weightlifters – as factographic spectacles of real agility and strength. (Even with some percentage of *fakery**, as in "slightly" staged – it is unavoidable! – chronicle. The weights are *un peu truqué** [in French: *a little fake*], etc).

An *innovator* is one who explodes the evenly measured flow of evolution into a revolutionary leap of a new quality within the general process of development.

The process of casting a deadly object remains, but within it is the innovative explosion, from the bowstring that propels the arrow to the powder that shoots out the shell.

From the solid bullet let fly – to the exploding shell (shrapnel, etc.).

The *pioneer* is another matter.

The first to figure out how to make a plate for engraving was a pioneer.

The one who recognized the possibility of making moveable type from this was an innovator.

The inventor of the press was a pioneer (although in relation to the transition from feet – that were and still are to this day used somewhere in France to squeeze juice from grapes – to a machine: he was doubtless an innovator). While the man who "saw" the press in a qualitatively new function – as a means of automatic printing, and who, by doing this, exploded the tradition of the "roller" or the smoothing hand as the only means of getting a print – was an innovator.

Thus I exploded from within the convention (tradition) of the chronicle and document (and the popular-science "educational" film) in *Strike* – having taken that convention, I reconceived it from within with a new qualitative expression.

In the same way, I exploded from within the convention of the editing principles of Griffith (via Kuleshov) with an editing trope and image [*obraz*].

In the same way, in the following phase Pudovkin exploded the "revolutionary" abstraction of *Death Ray* (*Ray* is a contemporary of *Strike*) through his hatred towards it and his repudiation of it (under the influence of *Strike*) in the real revolutionary concrete past of *Mother*[9].

In the same way, putting Gorky in the place of Pushkin and Tolstoy in the tradition of dramatization of literary works, he made a leap from "progressive" to revolutionary-Bolshevik and he himself made a jump from Protazanov – from revolution as material for film – to film in the service of revolution, to the director as revolutionary agent using the tools of cinema.

In the same way, "contradicting" (overcoming) the primacy of the masses (*Strike-Potëmkin*) within the revolutionary theme, Pudovkin proceeds to reveal the images of the individualities of revolutionaries and [people] moving towards revolution in *Mother*.

Sharply accentuate the idea of the progressive input of each and how the baton is passed to the next members of the general movement.

Trace here the general genealogy of the progressive development.

Note the dying off of the artist along the process of these progressive inputs. "Limits". And, of course, the concurrent determining factors. *Par exemple*⋆ [in French: *for example*], [to bring in] Griffith's method into my "documentalism"; [to bring in] that + my *Strike* into Pudovkin's "Khanzhonkovism"[10]; Whitman's "I see" into Vertov: the potential narrating voice (with text "from the author") in silent film.

In the same way, for instance, Pudovkin's filmmaking is limited by the literary sources.

(Failures in the case of the non-literary script).

And growth beyond *Sprech*⋆ [in German: spoken] cinema – granted of a highly developed tradition! – was impossible for Pudovkin.

Kuleshov "ended" with the arrival of *Strike*.

As did Vertov.

My limit is intellectual film.

Progressive in a linear and art-historical way: growing emphasis on the "character of the protagonist" (Lapkina and Ivan the Terrible are dubiously progressive: more likely a relapse).

Progressive: material – the audio-visual, the musical-color film [construction].

The newest, *Battle of Stalingrad*[11], closes the circle stylistically with a return to original sources ("in a new quality"): replacement of the image with figures according to the principle of the Panoptikum (that is, a total return to original sources!!!), rather than with interpretation.

Characteristic in this respect is how characters are quotationally pasted from one picture to another, *abgesehen*⋆ [in German: *not taking into account*] the manner, style, etc. Even entire episodes! Gelovani or Shtraukh[12] start wandering around various pictures, like identical... "landscapes" – in the best case photographed differently, but far from differently interpreted.

And in technical matters, [the jump] from film to television.

From the 30th year [of Soviet cinema] – new starting point.

"Rebirth"[13]

Bursts of light, like *Lenin's Kino-Pravda*.

Alexander Nevsky and audio-visual film.

Alexander Nevsky and historical film.

And then: development

From Revolution to the Party theme.

To the "hero" and from the "generalized hero" to the Party hero and to portrait.

Film-portrait.

And here all the rest of the problem of portrait.

And as a digression – the self-portrait: direct.

Autobiography and self-participation:

Chaplin from *Dog life* to *Verdoux* and Stroheim.

Self-portrait of the *Storm over Toledo* type – Yo.

Lyrical self-portrait – Dovzhenko.

Part Two

Essays

1. What Renders Daumier's Art So Cinematic for Eisenstein?[1]

Ada Ackerman

In his *Notes for a General History of Cinema*, Eisenstein seeks to demonstrate that cinema is the artistic medium most capable of satisfying essential, immemorial human impulses or "urges" [*Triebe*]. The anthropological agenda which lies at the basis of this historical project leads him to define cinema as a phenomenon that extends beyond the mere technological apparatus. His definition claims for cinema a variety of cultural ancestors that extend backward through history, reaching beyond the nineteenth-century devices typically considered as "precinematic" to remote periods such as Antiquity.

It is in this context that Eisenstein quotes several times the name of Honoré Daumier, the French painter and lithographer. For Eisenstein, Daumier's art responds to two anthropologically rooted "urges": first, the will to manipulate light (Daumier's monochrome lithography is first evoked in an undated section of the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* entitled "Dynamic Mummification," in a paragraph entitled "From the Mechanical Copy of Reality to the Conscious Photographic Creation and the Art of Photography, and from the Photographic Camera to the Film Camera"[2]) and then the desire to capture and represent the effects of space and time. This essay is concerned primarily with the latter.

In the section of the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* dated December 25, 1947, and dedicated to the theme "Sound in Painting," Eisenstein refers to Honoré Daumier's work as a forerunner to both Robert Delaunay's Cubism and the cinematographic technique of montage:

> A forerunner, [in the line] of multiple perspectiveness, of Robert Delaunay, regarding objective phenomena of the world, of architecture (the Eiffel Tower, etc.), was Honoré Daumier: both in time! and in the organic development of sequence: breaking the human figure into various *successive phases* of one movement.

Various (in terms of time) phases of human movement in Daumier's work grow into various (in terms of space) points of seeing an object in Delaunay's work.
This connection is repeated in cinema technique (*in the broadest sense: mechanical technics and creative technics**).[3]

In the section of the *Notes* dated December 1947/January 1948 and dedicated to "The problem of the moving image in the visual arts," Eisenstein alludes to the same feature of Daumier's work:

Wayang shadow theater.
Simultaneous pictures. Stringing together various phases of an event (Memling, Botticelli, illustrations for the *Divina Commedia*).
Simultaneous sets in Middle-Age and Renaissance theater.
Chain of pictures (Hogarth, Goya's *Robber Maragato*).
The problem of a compositions' dynamics.
Various phases of the position of a figure (Tintoretto, Daumier).
Simultaneity of various positions of a figure (multi-handedness and multi-leggedness).
(Heidelberg manuscript of the *Sachsenspiegel*, Futurism).[4]

Finally, in the section "The Phenomenon of Cinema. (*History of the Phenomenon*)" of the text symptomatically titled "Naslednik" [The Heir], Eisenstein again evokes Daumier in the context of these references: Tintoretto, Goya, and Hogarth.[5]

In all these passages, Eisenstein refers to his own peculiar interpretation of Daumier's figures. According to him, Daumier's compositions violate anatomical laws by assembling images of different parts of the same body, derived from different moments of the same continuous action. The positions of these figures are therefore anomalies, precluded by basic physiological limitations. By synthesizing several phases of the same gesture in a single image, Daumier suggests powerfully an unbroken movement that the viewer recreates in his or her own imagination. In this respect, his compositions function as ancestors of cinematographical montage. Eisenstein expresses this point of view about Daumier in several texts, including "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form," "The Most Essential Phenomenon of Cinema," and "The Short Fiction Scenario."[6] In this excerpt, taken from the third text, Eisenstein provides to his State Institute of Cinematography (GIK) students an analysis of Daumier's cinematographic method:

Now let's recall Daumier's drawings: They belong to the most dynamic and lively examples of world art. Daumier's "trick" is very simple. In drawing the figure of a man, he depicts the position of the feet so perfectly that the entire figure's movement is clearly imagined. You mentally construct the figure

> expected from these feet (this is done subconsciously), but... Daumier shows you the central portion of the body, from the knees to the shoulders in a different phase of movement, and the position of the head is given in yet a third phase. As a result, you have the impression that the figure moved, jerked from phase to phase – as in cinema. [...]
> This same principle of interrupting the inertia of perception is used by Tintoretto, but with more restraint than Daumier, with a less severe deformation of the body. His flying figures are literally depicted as a spiral.[7]

It is possible that Eisenstein's interpretation here was inspired by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's conception of the pregnant moment, which he indicates as paradigmatically epitomized in the *Laocoön*, the sculpture from antiquity Eisenstein himself presents as a perfect instance of *montage*. Indeed, it is possible to translate Eisenstein's description of Daumier's figures using the notion of the pregnant moment, "the one most suggestive of what has gone before and what is to follow."[8]

It appears that Eisenstein borrowed this interpretative model from Auguste Rodin, whom he quotes in his writings on montage.[9] In his conversations with Paul Gsell on art, Rodin elucidated the means by which a sculptor can produce an impression of movement in language that is echoed rather strikingly Eisenstein's prose on Daumier:

> In that is all the secret of movement as interpreted by art. The sculptor compels, so to speak, the spectator to follow the development of an act in an individual. In the example that we have chosen, the eyes are forced to travel upward from the lower limbs to the raised arm, and, as in so doing they find the different parts of the figure represented at successive instants, they have the illusion of beholding the movement performed.[10]

To achieve a firmer understanding of Daumier's place in Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*, I propose an investigation of the following points. First, I would like to demonstrate that Eisenstein's perception of a "cinematic Daumier," rather than originating in the 1940s, is grounded in his writings of the 1920s, specifically in relation to the question of the expressive movement. Then, drawing on the references to Daumier in the *Notes for a General History of Cinema*, I will seek to highlight the specificity of this text in relation to other texts written by Eisenstein on the same subject.

From Expressive Movement to "Cinematism"[11]

A Lifelong Passion for Daumier

To find Daumier's name in the *Notes* is hardly surprising. It is a name one frequently encounters when reading Eisenstein's prose, as frequently as the name of Joyce. As he explains across a variety of texts, Eisenstein discovered Daumier's caricatures at a young age and felt an immediate affinity for them that he would sustain and nourish throughout his career:

> I discovered Daumier myself quite accidentally. Browsing through my father's books when I was quite young, I came across an album dealing with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the Paris Commune. [...] My admiration for Daumier was boundless. I was so captivated by him that the very, very first book I ever bought of my own choice was a modest monograph on Daumier. [...] I was ten at the time.[12]

Over the course of his life, Eisenstein purchased countless books on Daumier's work and, according to his mentor Vsevolod Meyerkhold, developed a collection of over a thousand lithographs by the artist. In a discussion of the staging of *Krechinsky's Wedding*, Meyerhold told his students:

> Next time, I will bring you some Daumier, we will be able to choose which of these engravings suits us. We may ask Eisenstein to show us the engravings he owns. As far as I am concerned, I have about two hundred of them, but he, he must have at least one thousand of them.[13]

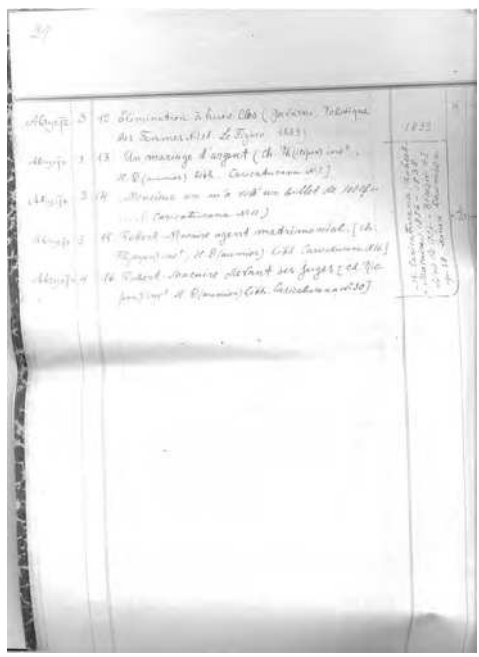
Eisenstein's immense admiration for Daumier was one of the qualities that most struck the art historian Alfred Barr during his visit to Eisenstein's apartment in the 1920s. In Barr's *Russian Diary*, in the entry from February 15, 1928, he writes of Eisenstein: "*And Daumier is his great hobby*."[14]

Eisenstein's Interest in Daumier's Gestures

One might be inclined to speculate that Eisenstein appreciated Daumier for his comical aspects; that is, for the artist's capacity to capture one's physiognomy and to highlight its humorous qualities. But, even if Eisenstein admired and took delight in Daumier the caricaturist, it was not this side of the artist that impressed him most. His main interest in Daumier's art was related to its plastic treatment of movement. Eisenstein himself acknowledges this directly in the following statement:

> I once had to write somewhere, but perhaps not – about the fact that everything I once thought absolutely necessary to examine in separate areas of art – I always first encountered as an object of direct passionate enthusiasm. I became intoxicated with Daumier much earlier than I was able to realize the significance he later had for the development of the principles of expressive human movement.[15]

Actually, Eisenstein's interest in Daumier's representation of movement is evident rather early in his career, already in the 1920s. This interest may have been fostered by the lithographs Eisenstein had already in his possession at that time. I found in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) a bill dated the year 1918, which provides an account of Eisenstein's acquisitions that year in terms of books and engravings[16] (Ill.1). The items listed include some pieces by Daumier, all of which are remarkable for their display of expressive and theatrical gestures (Ill. 2). It is not surprising, then, that in January 1923 Eisenstein wrote a thirteen-page study dedicated to this question, entitled "Biomechanics in the Representational Aspects of Honoré Daumier's Lithographs." I learned of this study, which has never been published, from a footnote in the book *Meyerhold, Eisenstein and Biomechanics*.[17] I managed to obtain from Mel Gordon an English translation of the study, produced by the late Alma Law.



Ill. 1 – S.M. Eisenstein, Handwritten list of the books purchased in 1918. China ink on paper, 341 x 203 mm. Source: RGALI, 1923-1-881, p. 7.

Ill. 2 – Honoré Daumier, *Robert Macaire devant ses juges* [Robert Macaire in front of the judges], 1837, lithograph. Source: Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, F19DAU008790. Photo credit: Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole.

This study constitutes a preparatory material for the essay "Expressive Movement," written by Eisenstein with Sergei Tretyakov in the final months of 1923.[18] Indeed, here we already find mention of Rudolf Bode's principles derived from his *Ausdrucksgymnastik*, which are central to the conception of *expressive movement*. Rudolf Bode, who created a specific physical training program in Munich at the beginning of the twentieth century known as "Expressive Gymnastics," highlighted the distinction, borrowed from German vitalist philosophy, between the movements produced by the Soul [*Seele*] and the movements produced by the Spirit [*Geist*]. For Bode, the movements derived from the Spirit – that is, intellect and will – always refrain and constrain those originating from the Soul – that is, nature and body. This perpetual conflict between Soul and Spirit is expressed in that the movement of the aggregate body contradicts the localized movements of its extremities, which are driven only by the Will.

Though this tension was problematic for Bode, Eisenstein, who sought to apply Bode's theories in the theatrical sphere, believed it had the potential be used to great effect. For him, this conflict had the capacity to be visually "attractive" to the spectator; it could even "excite" him or her. Using this as a theoretical starting point, Eisenstein wrote that the actor must elaborate broken gestures so as to emphasize this tension between Soul and Spirit. Eisenstein looked to the gestures of Daumier's figures in particular as models for this new kind of acting, as he would recall many years later:

Ill. 3 – Honoré Daumier, *Oedipe et le Sphynx* [Oedipus meeting the Sphinx], 1842, lithograph, 201 x 233 mm. Source: Noack Collection, www.daumier-register.org.

> About this time, several years earlier, I dreamt of composing the consecutive phases of the gestures of the immortal French actor Frédérick Lemaître from the hundred and one poses on the hundred and one pages of the adventures of Robert Macaire. He played Macaire on the stage in the famous play *L'Auberge des Adrets*, and the inimitable nature of his performance was imprinted on the hundred and one lithographs of Honoré Daumier – the series *Caricaturana (Les Robert Macaire)* (1836).[19]

The first four pages of the study describe a number of Daumier's lithographs in terms of the conflict between Soul and Will. For example, of *Oedipus Meeting the Sphinx* (Ill. 3), Eisenstein notes that the dynamics of the figure's left arm are independent of the body's general orientation, as they are meant to express Oedipus's psychic state. In his consideration of the lithograph *I Don't Rent to People with Children!* (Ill. 4), Eisenstein highlights the disjunction between the head and body of the owner figure, whose face is crystallized in a grimace sourced in the excessive power the Will exerts on this part of the body. Eisenstein relates this

disjunction as producing a "motor impression": because the viewer perceives a discrepancy between the general movement of the aggregate body and that of the head specifically, he or she *mentally fulfills* the dynamics relating the two. Here we have the germination of Eisenstein's future conception of Daumier's "*cinématisme*." In the 1920s, he has already identified the conflict between the different parts of a body as a source for "motor impressions," just as he would go on in the 1940s to describe the impossible postures of Daumier's figures as a type of montage production of movement. In both cases, abnormalities in plastic composition foster a break in perception that, through the viewer's engagement with a given piece, is converted into a feeling of movement.

Ill. 4 – Honoré Daumier, *Je ne lous pas aux gens qui ont des enfants* [I don't rent to people with children], 1847, lithograph, 217 x 260 mm. Source: Noack Collection, www.daumier-register.org.

It is because Eisenstein has such a deeply rooted interest in the gestures of Daumier's figures that he invests the paintings and lithographs with such great signification when he elaborates his own model of "*cinématisme*." The value Eisenstein attributes to Daumier in this respect can help us to understand the intellectual project underlying the *Notes for a General History of Cinema*.

Daumier's "Cinematism" in the *Notes for a General History of Cinema*

If we return to the excerpts of the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* quoted above, it becomes apparent that Eisenstein perceives significant similarities among Daumier's lithographs, *wayang* shadow theater, Goya's and Hogarth's series, Futurist works (multilegedness and multihandedness), and so on. I would like to focus on the comparison he draws between Daumier, the Futurists, and Delaunay. To do so, I will compare Eisenstein's *Notes* with the chapter from *Towards a Theory of Montage* entitled "Laocoön" (in the Russian edition, the chapter is entitled "*Osnovnoy fenomen kino*" [The most essential phenomenon in cinema]).[20] These two texts share a common objective: that of establishing a genealogy of ancestors of the cinematic medium that span the different artistic and cultural fields that existed prior to the apparition of cinema itself. The logic and organization of the texts, however, is quite different. Written ten years before the *Notes*, the chapter "Laocoön" establishes a hierarchy between several artistic accomplishments, employing the concept of montage as a guiding principle. Eisenstein is particularly critical of the Futurist works of art, which he claims share only shallow similarities with cinematographic montage:

> It may be asked whether the "basic cinematic phenomenon" has its ancestors in the stages which precede it, i.e. whether other art forms contain the unusual situation where two objects, motionless in appearance, when caught by the artist in two successive phases of movement and juxtaposed, produce a qualitatively new phenomenon, namely that they merge into an apparent perception of the process of movements?
> Undoubtedly, yes. Naturally the first examples that come to mind are Futurist drawings of "eight-legged" people with the legs drawn in eight different phases of movement, but it is worth remarking that in such instances no perception of movement arises from them: this purely experimental, logical game is intended simply to "reveal the method," thereby destroying the "flimsy deception" which might create an illusion if it were executed more subtly (for examples of this, see below [Daumier and Tintoretto]). Apart from that, the method, like the majority of "isms," is no more than a regression to certain stages of the past, when art went through similar stages in its progressive striving to master reality and not run away from it. Thus in certain very early miniatures (11th-12th centuries) we can find exactly the same phenomenon. The artist is not yet able to catch the dynamic of movement in the dynamic of his drawing. So what does he do? He divides the movement into two phases, sometimes into three, and endows one figure with the succession of attitudes through which the movement passes. [21]

For Eisenstein, Futurism is little more than a kind of glorified primitivism. The movement conveyed in its art has nothing in common with the dynamism of works by such figures as Daumier and Tintoretto. Eisenstein praised these artists for their refusal to destroy the unity of representation in their works. As he explains in the same text:

> The masterly skill of both artists lies in the fact that despite the difference between the stages of movement in the various limbs, they contrive to retain an overall impression of the *wholeness* of the total figure.[22] [...]
> The method itself – of depicting sequential phases for conveying a sense of movement – is firmly entrenched in those paintings which particularly surprise us by showing apparent movement while simultaneously retaining the integrity of the object, person or phenomenon depicted.[23]

At this point in Eisenstein's career, in 1937, the preservation of representational integrity was fundamental to his art, and to all effective forms of montage. He similarly disqualified Delaunay's work for violating this principle in "Laocoön":

> What "way out" was there for an Impressionist who wanted, nevertheless, to give a total image of a phenomenon and not simply a representation of a single impression of it? Obviously there could only be one way: to record a series of impressions of the subject. And the forerunners of Impressionism – the Japanese – adopted just such a practice: to mention the most popular examples we need only recall Hokusai's *One Hundred Views of Fuji* and the *Thirty-six Views of Fuji* by [...] the same artist. The overall impression derived from these gives a complete mental image of Mount Fuji.
> If the Impressionists made a mistake in their relentless insistence on uniqueness, then the Cubists who criticised them were equally mistaken in their stress on the quality of summation existing within a single canvas. Delaunay's famous *Eiffel Tower* is really "One hundred views of the Eiffel Tower" crammed into a single picture of it! As we shall see, when engaged in revealing this problem no one single trend in painting was capable of solving it. (I stress "when engaged in revealing this problem," because hundreds of instances of an integrated synthesis of generalising typicality, mobility of figures or graphic depiction are to be found in classic works of art prior to the 19th century which were quite unconcerned with revealing these particular problems, while isolating and detaching other separate problems from the integrated expressive, and above all ideational, content of the totality of the picture.) A way out and a solution for both of them would have been to create a dynamic fusion of a series, moving past the spectator, of those hundred views of the Eiffel Tower or Fujiyama.[24]

As with the Futurists, Eisenstein found the Cubist accomplishments of the early twentieth century to be less powerful than many works of the nineteenth century, such as those by Daumier. For Eisenstein, Cubist works similarly destroyed the integrity of representation preserved in Daumier's work. In his critiques of both Futurism and Cubism, Eisenstein uses Shklovskian expressions such as "to expose the problem" and "to unveil the device." These expressions hold the key to the understanding of Eisenstein's critical stance toward these styles. In cinema, the impression of movement – the medium's most essential phenomenon, according to Eisenstein – is produced by a succession of stills shown at a speed of twenty-four images per second. This compels the viewer to perceive these successive images not as individual frames, but rather as an unbroken flow. If the speed of projection were decreased, the viewer would see this succession for what it is – that is to say, a mere succession. This would destroy the optical illusion and, by the same token, the impression of continuous movement.

Similarly, pictorial montage could be operative for Eisenstein only if it was not perceived as such. Futurists and Cubists exhibit too obviously their assembling devices in their compositions and, in doing so, they fail to convey a visceral sensation of movement – their compositions instead constitute a type of intellectual game. Daumier's power, for Eisenstein, lay in that the viewer registered his montage at an unconscious level. In 1937, then, in his exploration of cinema's ancestors, Eisenstein formed an artistic hierarchy grounded in formal and cognitive appreciations, with focus on a work's capacity to arouse efficient motor impressions.

Ten years later, by the time he wrote the *Notes*, Eisenstein's agenda had changed. Delaunay's work, for instance, is not presented in the text as incongruous with Daumier's, but rather as its logical continuation. An epistemological shift, then, occurred: Eisenstein grew concerned with constructing an ancestry for cinematographic montage based not simply in a work's capacity to create continuity from discontinuity, but in its capacity to respond to fundamental anthropological urges. In this respect, Eisenstein's array of references became much larger than they were previously. He was no longer concerned primarily with whether Daumier's works were more valuable than the ones by Delaunay or the Futurists, as all responded to the same drive: the desire to play with time and space.

2. "The Heritage We Renounce": Eisenstein in Historio-graphy[1]

François Albera

Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*, as they reach us today[2] – incomplete, disparate, condensed, cryptic, but written within a specific timeframe, chronologically speaking (1946-1948), and assigning themselves a specific object – show an Eisensteinian approach that is both familiar and new concerning the history of cinema. Indeed, while historical developments abound in Eisenstein's writings on films – along with the cultural and social phenomena he deals with – no project for a history of cinema as a medium proper may be found in them. Up to the point of the writing of the *Notes*, Eisenstein only projected cinema (and only Soviet cinema) forward, rather than considering it in its past or genesis, and its "history" took place within a political framework.[3] Only other arts had a past, and served as the past of cinema, since cinema inherited them and transformed them on its own ground (synthesis).[4] So, had this cinema – which Eisenstein, feeling a bit cramped by,[5] wanted to "outgrow" by the late 1920s – become, to paraphrase Hegel, a thing of the past for the Eisenstein of 1946, turned into an object of history within the Academy of Sciences?[6]

The Filmmaker and His Shadow

Like any text considered at a distance, the *Notes* offer to us today a "reserve" of suggestions and insights that were perhaps not apparent at the time of their writing: something "forgotten" (*impensé*) (to use the term of Maurice Merleau-Ponty applies to Husserl in "The Philosopher and His Shadow") that, through a book, comes to us as never before thought.[7]

I.

How should this project for a "general history of cinema" be approached? The adjective clearly serves to differentiate it from a "particular" history, that of Soviet

cinema, but its scope is also wider. Indeed, these *Notes* involve a genuine historio-graphic project,[8] which is set in a "place," an institution, has a purpose, assigns itself an object, and raises issues of methodology and writing, so as to establish this history on the basis of socio-aesthetic-anthropological beliefs about art in general and, more specifically, about cinema. This historical as well as theoretical model not only outlines the place of cinema, but also the definition of it that may be given. At stake in this "historiographic operation" is a renewal of the understanding of "cinema" as an object (of knowledge) to construct, not as an (empirical) object to describe. This explains why this history is not that of films and authors, classified according to geographical areas and stylistic schools – as most film histories are, starting as they do from a "fatal" distinction between cinema as an invention and technical device, and films as works of art.[9] Rather, it is clearly a history of cinema in the more general sense of the term (an expanded sense), of which Eisenstein's aesthetic thought had provided a "structural" version of sorts with the notion and instrument of "cinematographism" [kinematografizm] or "cinématisme."[10] The program remained embryonic and Eisenstein's death brought it to an end, yet its echo may be heard to this day, in a delayed manner, within historical research on cinema as it has developed over the past thirty years.

Let us not dwell on the institutional dimension, about which we still know too little at this time: Eisenstein, who had taught at the State Institute of Cinematography (GIK) since 1928 and had put a lot of effort into this task in the 1930s and the 1940s, was also appointed head of the Cinema Section of the Institute of Art History of the USSR Academy of Science in June 1947, after being awarded the title of Doctor in Art Science in 1939 based on his personal works. The Institute, founded in 1944, was directed by the painter, art historian, and museum curator Igor Grabar (formerly director of the National Institute of Fine Arts, of the Academy of Fine Arts and of the workshop for the restoration of works of art). The Cinema Section opened in October, and in November Eisenstein was developing the plans for a course in the psychology of art for the University of Moscow, after including the issue of the creative process in his curriculum at GIK.[11] This strong contribution to teaching should be analyzed with regard to Eisenstein's situation in the field of Soviet cinema after World War II; the condemnation of the second part of *Ivan the Terrible* and the state of his health were to keep him away from the studios for a long time. Was it a social strategy on his part? Furthermore, what should be made of the entry of cinema into the institution in question? As early as 1925, the Leningrad Institute of Art History had created a cinematographic committee, then a faculty of cinema, offering a four-year course of studies under the direction of Yuri Tynyanov. Yet its missions were tightly related to needs for professional training (scriptwriters, critics, film club organizers, technicians) and its framework was that of a "poetics of film."[12] Eisenstein's project was of a different nature, its object being cinema, as I already pointed out. The short-term

goal was to encourage research and provide an orientation for courses taught in the Institute's Section on the History and Theory of the Cinema, but also to undertake the publication of a universal history of cinema in seven volumes,[13] whose foundations would be laid out in these *Notes*.

His object, his method, and his writing are obviously the most interesting dimensions to examine for our purposes. They provide the frameworks through which the undertaking should be understood, as well as the modes of its implementation; they are also part of Eisenstein's great theoretical efforts of the time (*Metod*, in particular), a foretaste of which is given by the 1944 article "Dickens, Griffith and the Film Today."

II.

What conception of history is put forth, and more specifically, what conception of film history?

Three concentric circles with different temporalities organize the historical approach, defining three objects and three temporalities. The first defines a general framework which belongs to the Marxist vulgate and is implicit, or sometimes bluntly explicit, in all Eisenstein's writings: in short, it relates cultural and artistic phenomena as well as the evolution of techniques of expression to class struggle.[14] It is a long-term history, that of means of production and social formations, with particular emphases that depend on more event-based political configurations (as in the Bismarck/Wagner relationship). The second concerns the evolution of the medium from its origins to its advent and its development, understood in a general sense: the magic lantern, optical toys, photography, etc. It pertains to a more detailed, more compact temporality (causality). It includes what is usually called "precinema," which it expands to encompass painting, architecture, sculpture, stained glass, engraving, typography, etc., on the one hand, and spectacles as a whole on the other (shadow shows, theater, music hall, conjuring tricks, wax museums, etc.). The third involves yet another temporality, that of human psychology and its basic components (fear of death, need to freeze time, desire to preserve the appearance of what was, etc.) as expressed by beliefs, mythologies, or rituals in which practices such as embalming, mummification, death masks, funerary monuments are privileged. This belongs in a historical anthropology.

III.

The issue in reading these notes may be one of determining which of these three levels (and their sublevels) is most prominent in the exposition chosen, in the writing of history involved, and accordingly which one considers the other two as auxiliaries. That is, what object did Eisenstein give himself, and what form of

intelligibility did he construct under the title of General History of Cinema? Is it the advent of a mass art coinciding with the socialist regime and the new social totality founded upon equality? Is it the gestation, the process of trial and error, and the advent of a "Seventh Art" that would supplant all others and occupy the place of art par excellence in the twentieth century, due to its technical and industrial nature? Is it the pursuit of the same drives, the same "desires" inherent to humans for as long as one can remember – whether drawing on walls, making pottery, painting at the court or writing Romantic poetry? What importance should be given to the assertion according to which cinema "surpasses" and "encompasses" other arts because of its coincidence with the times, with industrial, technical, social, and political modernity? This theme of the 1920s,[15] whose appearance here may be unexpected, constitutes the premise of the general historical framework: the collapse of bourgeois society, the disintegration of the arts in a "second baroque," the loss of unity, of synthesis, and the possibility of retrieving them in a cinema that "starts from scratch," is only a technique but "inherits" everything and, within a socialist society invested with social unity ("Proletarians of all countries, unite!"), may promote this "everything" as a mass art, harking back to the "idea of synthesis" of the Greeks (dithyrambs, liturgies, etc.).[16] This synthesis would be achieved within a "new social and aesthetic totality," whereas due to social divisions, only dreams of synthesis (the Symbolists), a "failure" to achieve it (Picasso), or some hostility toward it (Dada)[17] existed in the early twentieth century.

Clearly, to these three conceptual frameworks correspond three Eisensteins, which are those constructed by his commentators: Marxist, Structuralist, and now intermedial, to which correspond efforts to find his proximity to various thinkers (Hegel, Lévi-Strauss, Bakhtin, Warburg), an effort authorized or even fostered by the "encyclopedic" and incomplete, "totalizing" and unfinished character of the Eisensteinian corpus.

These three circles, distinguished here in an apparent hierarchy, in fact never cease to cross and interact with one another. The syncretism of cinema that defines level 2 (expanded cinema) is the product of level 1 (the state of productive forces and social relations) and proceeds from level 3 (anthropology), which it gave its fullest expression. If the painting "of movement" may appear in the second circle, it is on the basis of the grounds of the third (relation to time), while the first explains its social function (institutions, addressees). Here there is not some simple correspondence: the state of society, the development of productive forces, of technical means, allow artistic evolutions, but feedback effects can be observed: "Aesthetic tendencies become initial technical possibilities,"[18] writes Eisenstein. Here there is no such thing as autonomous "history" – of forms or of media: the history of the medium does not follow the logic of autonomy, of specificity, but originates in a comparative history. To understand cinema, other media should be examined, as well as "cultural series" with which it develops

relations of intersection, belonging, coincidence or difference, and hybridization. Conversely, cinema is a "reader," an "analyzer" of other artistic and spectacular forms; it is, in Lev Manovich's words, "the key cultural form of the twentieth century."[19]

At this point it is necessary to return to the adjective "general" which describes this projected cinema history. It echoes what Michel Foucault said at the beginning of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*: a "general history" challenges the assumptions of a "global history" based on causation, analogy, and consistency, where all phenomena are drawn around a single center – "a principle, a meaning, a spirit, a world-view, an overall shape." On the contrary, a general history "would deploy the space of a dispersion": neither "a plurality of histories juxtaposed and independent of one another" (economy, institutions, sciences, religions, literatures, etc.), nor coincidences of dates, or analogies of form and meaning between these different histories. The task of a general history is

> to determine what form of relation may be legitimately described between these different series; what vertical system they are capable of forming; what interplay of correlation and dominance exists between them; what may be the effect of shifts, different temporalities, and various rehandlings; in what distinct totalities certain elements may figure simultaneously.[20]

It is probably in this space that the historio-*graphy* of Eisenstein can be important to us today: the state of knowledge with regard to the cinema in the narrow sense was what it was in 1946-1948 (see below), but the way Eisenstein apprehends this area and especially the unusual way he divides up chronologies and disciplinary fields opens an approach that is both more accurate (commitment to technical processes, "details") and broader, placing the cinema in ductile mobile epistemes through which we can relate representational traditions (linear perspective), social orders (with their hierarchies), and methods of communication (mobile typeface) without giving these "anachronistic" conceptual connections the coherence of an explanatory system. In this respect the "new history" and especially its efforts to connect cinema to a context and a set of cultural, intellectual, symbolic, and technological factors (a path opened by Crary),[21] is not only in proximity to Eisenstein's approach, but can also find in it a far bolder example of how to draw relations between areas that maps drawn by individual disciplines leave uncharted.

The "theoretical discourse" elaborated by Eisenstein (with its generalizing tendency and, one might say, its "superego" attitude) takes the form of a vectorized historic speech (origin, evolution, chronology), but his "theoretical practice," his historio-*graphy*, continues to create new tentative timelines, and links disjointed moments or phenomena with no obvious relationship between them. Consider

the trivial example of the lists he creates, especially the ones of technical inventions: it seems as if he is copying them from the book by Lewis Mumford, *Technology and Civilization* (1934), while in reality he reorganizes them according to new arrangements; for the falsely neutral initial chronological list, he substitutes other meaningful relationships.

IV.

Eisenstein developed a program that the "New History" of cinema partly set out to realize, unknowingly, after 1978. This program includes not only experiences of vision, optical machines and toys, visual apparatuses (panoramas, dioramas, stereoscopes), the photographic snapshot, and chronophotography, but also visual spectacles (phantasmagorias, Grand Guignol, wax museums, automatons, shadow shows of the Chat Noir...), spectacles of light and fountains, pyrotechnics, and even rarely considered examples (the "model" of stained glass, a transparent image requiring the projection of light and suggesting developments on the side of color processes). It is a program whose examination of exchanges between media echoes some aspects of the current theory of remediation. The New Historians had already built bridges between Eisenstein and early cinema,[22] but here the approach of this history itself is involved, to the point that this effect of "anticipation" leads one to wonder not only what is similar and what is different in the two methods, but also to what extent Eisenstein's may have a present value in the continuation of these works, beyond their delayed "encounter."

Such anteriority also brings up the question of the intellectual context in which Eisenstein found himself while formulating this type of program. What were his sources, the contemporary works he used? This concerns the history of cinema as well as a certain number of analytical positions – the question of movement in painting, for example, which was present at the same time in the films on art by Emmer, Ragghianti, and others, in Auriol's articles,[23] and was introduced earlier by Vachel Lindsay and Léon Moussinac. Which histories of cinema were available to Eisenstein as he set out on his own? Or, more simply, what were the contemporary historiographical tendencies concerning the history of cinema? In the USSR, there were none. Nikolai Lebedev (whose book came out in 1947) devoted himself only to (silent) Russian and Soviet cinemas and began with the first Lumière screening in Russia in 1896. Internationally,[24] there was Bardèche and Brasillach's *Histoire du cinéma*, which he had read,[25] and in "Dickens, Griffith and the Film Today," he cited a number of books on American cinema.[26] All these histories of cinema had their historical narrative start in 1895 or 1896, except Coissac's *Histoire du cinématographe* (1925), which focused on technical evolution and, in Germany, that of Liesegang (1926), who published a history of the magic lantern; it is not certain, however, that Eisenstein consulted them.[27]

The case of Terry Ramsaye's *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture*, is different. The author taught courses at New York's New School for Social Research in 1926, the same year that his book appeared.[28] Eisenstein had read this work, whose long preface, "The Prehistory of the Screen," examines the nature of art, and whose first chapter is devoted to Aristotle, Leonardo da Vinci, Athanasius Kircher, Peter Mark Roget, Joseph Plateau, and the like. Most importantly, Ramsaye hits "in advance" upon several Eisensteinian themes in his preface, examining the question of the evolution of writing and the image, through hieroglyphs, ideograms, and early alphabets (which Vachel Lindsay had already considered). "The progression from the concrete picture to the abstract thought is nearly identical in every form of expression. This places the motion picture in a most significant light."[29] We might also inquire as to whether some of Eisenstein's sources came from this book, to which Georges Sadoul pays homage in the first volumes of his history of cinema.

Sadoul's *Histoire générale du cinéma*

The first two volumes of Sadoul's *Histoire générale du cinéma* came out as Eisenstein was writing his *Notes*.[30] The text bears the same title as the *Notes*, that of a "general" history, implying that there is no particular history either of the medium or, worse, of "cinematic art."[31] This position leads Sadoul, like Eisenstein, to take a look at a whole array of spectacles and media other than cinema and to put forward a series of connections between economy, technology, society, and culture, going back to 1832.

While it is indeed true that cinema was at the outset linked to "antecedents" by commentators, usually scientists or popularizers of science, in journals like *La Nature* or *La Science illustrée* and in scholarly and other manuals,[32] the division between "technical history" and "artistic history" that occurs later on in order to legitimize the new medium dispels this preoccupation, or at least confines it to the "early age" of cinema.[33] Sadoul thus combines a reflection on "the evolution of cinematic language" (as he writes in regard to Méliès)[34] with one on cinema's technical evolution. This research leads him to take a stand against the partisans of "specificity" – to which he opposes an "intermediality" constitutive of cinema – and to endlessly bring up practices from stage shows, photography, graphic design, and so forth, in order to support his historical conclusions. "Cinema is not only a 'specific' art," he writes several years later in a debate with Claude Mauriac. The art of film was not born in a test tube, and did not grow up in a laboratory. "It is not the artificial fabrication of alchemists," but rather "borrowed almost all of its means from different forms of universal culture," and "carried out a synthesis of the other arts, and this synthesis was instrumental in creating a new art, a 'specificity.'"[35] Cinema's specificity, in other words, was to

be a synthesis, an explicitly Eisensteinian notion developed particularly in the *Notes for a General History*.

Eisenstein knew of Sadoul through Moussinac; he read him and corresponded with him until the eve of his death.[36] One hypothesis is that his reading of Sadoul served as a trigger changing his perspective toward cinema, which differed from the perspective he had developed under the aegis of All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS). On September 1, 1946, he wrote to Sadoul: "I enjoyed very much reading the first volume of Histoire [générale] du cinéma, and I hope to see the subsequent volumes soon." Did he read the next volume? Two clues point to a positive answer. First, a note within the main text written for the English and French editions of "Dickens, Griffith and the Film Today" on the close-up in Méliès and the English "Brighton School" refers to Sadoul's second volume.[37] In addition, a passage from the *Notes* dated January 4, 1948,[38] alludes to Lucien Nonguet's 1905 Potëmkin (a reconstructed actualité), referring to Sadoul[39] as well as – erroneously – to a book on Méliès.[40] Sadoul, who wrote for Communist newspapers and periodicals (or those of allies of the Communists), could be accessed in the USSR without a problem. Between 1937 and 1947, a whole series of periodical articles developed his historical undertaking before it took on its final form, touching on "invention," "animated films," "sound," "Edison," "Émile Reynaud," "Méliès," and "the Brighton School."[41] Reading these articles and then going back to Sadoul's first couple of volumes reveals historiographic strategies completely different from those of his predecessors (Coissac, Bardèche and Brasillach, Vincent), his contemporaries (Jeanne and Ford, Toeplitz), and even his successors (Mitry, Robinson). This difference notably has to do with his constant attention not only to the technical and economic dimensions of the context, but also to "cultural series," visual and audiovisual spectacles that belonged in the realm of the emergence of cinema or heralded it. His first chapter, "The Precursors of Cinema," is thus devoted to shadow shows and magic lanterns; it touches on Java, the *wayang*, the *karagöz*, and the development of shadow shows in Europe in the late eighteenth century, paying close attention to the links these media always maintained with the events of their time (during the Revolution, for example, with songs), how they evolved and intersected with others (the print workshops in Metz and Nancy, which worked in the style of images d'Epinal, published cutout shadows, for instance), how their audience changed and how they fed into the first films (Méliès's tricks and their characters growing or shrinking, their noses getting longer, etc.), and how these media coexisted with cinema (Salis's Chat Noir, Caran d'Ache's and Rivière's friezes with their perspective effects, crowd effects, a musical or sung accompaniment, a lecturer), just as cinema was interested in conjuring, pantomimes, and optical theatre. Zglinicki[42] was to adopt this approach a few years later. As his subtitle indicates, he included the "precursors" in the history of cinema, which was far from obvious since, shortly afterward, archaeologist

Kurt-Wilhelm Marek (who signed his texts as C.W. Ceram) postulated that it was proper to have cinema begin with film and projection, everything else (optical toys, shadow shows, lanterns, etc.) being beside the point:

> Knowledge of automatons, or of clockwork toys, played no part in the story of cinematography, nor is there any link between it and the production of animated "scenes." We can therefore omit plays, the baroque automatons, and the marionette theatre. Even the "deviltries" of Porta, produced with the *camera obscura*, the phantasmagorias of Robertson, the "dissolving views" of Child, are not to the point. All these discoveries did not lead to the first genuine moving picture sequence.[43]

While Ceram's first argument, which distinguishes the "cinématographe" (the "technical equipment" of film) and the "cinéma" ("something more than a technique"), is quite common, he makes two other interesting distinctions that allow him to define what is admissible and inadmissible into a history of cinema. First, there is the distinction between the mechanical and the technical: the first is static, while the second is dynamic, and the cinema is a product (an "invention") of "dynamic" sciences. "Here there is not an 'evolution' from one to the other, but a mutation of mechanical thought into technical thought," writes Ceram, allowing him to exclude, as we have seen, numerous practices used in spectacles and representations. He also distinguishes between the cinematic image, which presents a "true movement," on the one hand, and the "change of position" of magic lantern images or the transformation of two separate images into one, via the "illusory identification" of the thaumatrope, on the other. Eisenstein takes an opposite position on all these points, in particular concerning the *Urphänomen des Films*, which for him is rooted precisely in the fact that film produces the idea of movement (inside the spectator's head) from two immobile images that follow each other and are superimposed. Art historian Pierre Francastel will also take up this aspect of cinema in his courses.[44]

"New History" doubtlessly caused the historiography of cinema to shift from the issue of origin to that of genesis – to use Canguilhem's distinction – from the linear, gradual narrative to archaeology and genealogy – to speak like Foucault – but the scope of the epistemological shift of 1978 can be qualified. While Sadoul's discourse generally follows an evolutionary vector founded on causal sequences – essentially because of a preoccupation with the evolution of "cinematographic language" – its analytical foci across historical strata show another approach, particularly when it comes to intermedial exchanges. His thoughts on the dialectics of invention, the state of techniques, and "social demand" are little known.[45] After Georges Friedmann, Bazin pointed to their novelty in his account of the first volume of the Histoire générale du cinéma, before claiming this novelty as his own and casting Sadoul as a "Stalinist" Marxist in the final version of

the text.[46] What distinguishes Sadoul from Bazin and brings him closer to Eisenstein is precisely this interest for material objects, practices, and experimentation. This position brought both to ceaselessly consider the expansion of cinema to include other technological possibilities. In a little book of scientific popularization published in 1957, Sadoul thus dealt with magnetic recording and the immaterial transmission of images, their transformation in "modulated electric currents" (just as Moussinac had touched on the remote transmission of film in 1926).[47] Far from subscribing to the struggle of the "Platonic idea" against the weightiness of matter evoked by Bazin,[48] Eisenstein, Moussinac, and Sadoul are situated instead in what Althusser called "the underground current of the materialism of the encounter."[49]

Eisenstein's position as a historian, which he shared with Sadoul, drove him to consider new developments – in engraving, photography, stained glass, and typography, for instance. To take the case of photography alone, the place of the photographic in his writings – the capture of profilmic data, the record – had resulted in photography being written off. The same type of disappearance may be observed with the Formalists. The point was to develop constructive processes, montage first among them, and photographic capture was seen solely as the raw material for the operation.[50] In the *Notes*, however, photography is approached with a historical depth that goes back to mummies and death masks, followed by a return to "the art of photography." This art is mentioned more specifically in reference to Hill,[51] who was associated with an elaboration of the image through exposure times, composite images, editing in time (light) and space (thirty negatives for one image), just as Le Gray (also cited) was in the practice of editing together two negatives (sky and sea): both run counter to the prejudice of photography as the capturer of what is, the unaltered, automatic print. This is why the passage dated December 2, 1946, on the eternal preservation of the physical being through the mummification of the hero or the death mask in the "prelogical" mentality, may plausibly be compared to Bazin's "Ontology of the Photographic Image," which situates the "mummy complex" at the origin of painting and sculpture, and adds to it the Holy Shroud, a synthesis of the relic and photography. Eisenstein may have had access to this text given its date of writing;[52] he had himself already established the link between Veronica's veil, the Holy Shroud, and photography in his Mexican drawings of the *corrida*, combining the crucifixion of the bull and the crucifixion of the toreador, Veronica and *muleta*.[53] But what distinguishes these two approaches, pointing us toward the path to historical construction according to Eisenstein? A text by Sadoul responding to Bazin[54] may set us on the right track.[55] In it, Sadoul proposes a "History of Photography" whose starting point challenges the Bazinian postulate: for Sadoul, to say that "photography has freed painting from the servitude of likeness" is a "commonplace" which, "in various forms and for a quarter century, a hundred men of letters and critics have repeated [...], someone offering

painters to raise a monument to their liberators, Niépce and Daguerre." Bazin had written, "Niépce and Lumière redeemed it [painting]."[56] Photography, achieving the aims of baroque art, had freed visual arts from their obsession with likeness and led painting to its autonomy. Previously, according to Bazin, "painting basically strove in vain to delude us. Our satisfaction only came from the lack of more perfect processes, whereas photography and cinema are discoveries which solve once and for all, and in its very essence, the problem of realism." Sadoul responds: "photography transcribes reality much more imperfectly than moulding," as it obeys a set of conventions (the "savage" who does not know these will see nothing on the piece of paper held out to him).

Bazin's thought falls within the framework of the paradox of the indexical conception of photography, a conception which brings together imprint and presence through a contact between the photographed object and its photosensitive trace on the chemical medium. Contrary to Bazin, Eisenstein privileges the material reality of the medium and the technical apparatuses making representation possible: capture, inscription, encoding, projection, etc. The "moulding" and the "impression" are archai, but one cannot leave it at that! The medium has a materiality that reacts to said impression; to end up on the medium, an optical apparatus (lenses) for capturing and transformation was necessary, the light "emitted" by the subject had to be transported onto the medium (that the process comes close to being instantaneous – the speed of light – does not cancel the fact that there is indeed an operation taking place) and, in the cinema, the screening of single frames running in the projector adds another transcription to the operation, even though the iconic link (likeness, figuration) is maintained. Now that the encoding of the image "captured" by the electronic camera and its rendition on the screen no longer require the conservation of "traces," but rather a calculation, the ambiguities of perception (Do we see the image reflected on the retina? Is it the eye, or the soul, which sees?)[57] and even more so the camera obscura as model for perception, are fading away: our eye converts electromagnetic waves into "images."[58] Furthermore, the distance between the capture of images and that of sounds is relativized: Wittgenstein observed the shift from score to musical performance to the recording of music in the grooves of a record, referring to the process as a whole through the law of projection and translation.[59]

A text in his memoirs, "The Works of Daguerre,"[60] precisely situates Eisenstein's concern. He writes of his visit to a small museum in California in which daguerreotypes are exhibited in a display window. His whole attention goes to the material reality of these metal plates that reflect (as a mirror) the image of the person looking at it as much as they bear (as an impression) the printed image, depending on the angle adopted;[61] and to the layers of historicity, which Eisenstein peels off one by one:

> It was the first time I had seen and understood daguerreotypes.
> They were small, in parts almost black, and dated back to the time when zinc was used; or they had a smooth surface that winked at me archly – it had to be held at a certain angle for the glass surface to allow you to see the image kept inside the small lockets. They were framed by a ridged border of brass discs as fine as foil.
> And there was a decoration stamped on the outside – a bouquet.
> And a piece of the living image, like a living fragment of the era, a small picture of the living national character, lay within. [...]
> The past, if not actual antiquity, then another world, another century, looked at me with living eyes from those tiny, opened lockets. One half was slightly shabby with a faded velvet padding, orange, cherry or chocolate in colour; the others contained the portraits: eyes, partings of the hair, caps, and beards in the Uncle Sam style of countless people [...].
> Once they were famous, distinguished: the first inhabitants of their settlements; the agile, business-like and efficient Americans of the 'forties, 'fifties and 'sixties! [...]
> Like the throat specialist's small mirror, the surface of another, earlier daguerreotype, reflected a ray of light. Between the flashes on its surface I could catch the fleeting outlines of a pale checked pattern. [...]
> The poses in the daguerreotypes were almost as traditional [as in the old painted portraits]. But heavens, what a variety of faces, what traces of an exciting past, could be discerned in the folds of those faces; the double chins and crow's feet... [...]
> Young, sorrowful faces looked up from under their Confederate caps, as if expecting an imminent death in the field hospitals. These have been so ruthlessly and touchingly described in the pages of notes and diaries of the "great grizzled poet," Whitman...[62]

This text, which exemplifies Eisenstein's historical "method," stands comparison with some passages in Walter Benjamin's "A Short History of Photography." It simultaneously grasps the material reality of the daguerreotype – not only a photograph, but also a decorative object, an object defined socially by the added value of its decorum – and the doubly imprisoned life (traces engraved on metal and displayed in showcases) of those who were "captured," whose looks actualized in the present reach us across the temporal gap of several decades like the light of dead stars. Lastly, the text also registers the historical documentation – through the image – of a society soon struck by the tragic events which were to reap many of these carefree "models" in the slaughter of the American Civil War.

The "Cradle" of Cinema

One of the most striking and difficult-to-understand chapters that we owe to this methodology of a "general history" is perhaps that entitled "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," since, upon first glance, it seems to be dedicated to a particularly Soviet problem in which, furthermore, Eisenstein was personally implicated. Here he defends his own earlier artistic position (in question here are only the 1920s and not the later films, particularly not *Ivan*). But the approach of the essay derives from the *historio-graphic* logic of that "general history" and furthermore offers a "case study." Its object, still insufficiently evaluated today due to its status and the "outcomes" it faced or could face, is that of documentary or "actuality" cinema, in Russian referred to by the single expression "cine-chronicle" (*kino-khronika* or *khronika*). More specifically, what the essay recalls are the virulent debates of the 1920s concerning factography, documents, and archives. The stakes of Eisenstein's inquiry are nothing less than the correctness (or incorrectness) of his position against the partisans of "cine-fact," of nonfiction, and that whole current that grew over the course of the decade around Gan, Vertov, Arvatov, Brik, Tretyakov, and a few others, in the promotion of the material above the subject or story (both of which deform the material in the shape that they impose upon it). Eisenstein early on made the choice of a cinema of re-creation, or re-mise-en-scène of factual material (in *Strike* or *Potëmkin*) with revolutionary pathos (what he here calls epic cinema).[63] Vertov vehemently reproached him for this *détournement* of Kino-Eye in favor of "played" cinema, and in *The Fall of Romanov Dynasty*, Esfir' Shub craftily introduced documentary shots of Russian warships and life on board (for example, those of sailors washing the bridge while the officers celebrated in their dining room with a dog on the table) that aimed to show the uselessness of mise-en-scène as far as the montage of factual elements was concerned. Eisenstein then advanced the radical hypothesis of intellectual cinema with *October*, *The General Line*, and the unfinished projects *Capital* and *Glass House*.[64]

The factographic movement, which included artistic practices other than cinema (photography and literature, in particular), carried out that movement of art into the social world that Constructivist painting and sculpture had engaged in on their Productivist side,[65] following through on all the consequences of the Cubist revolution of "*papiers collés*" and the end of representation, a revolution whose repeated attempts at the "abolition" of the figure of the artist, art's autonomy, and the "construction of life" will become familiar over the course of the twentieth century (from Dada to Objectivism or Situationism, and, within the history of cinema, from the films of the "Kinoks" to Morin and Rouch's *cinéma-vérité* and the Godard of the years 1966-1976.)

Eisenstein, criticized even by those close to him, like Tretyakov and Arvatov, with whom he had worked in the theater, had not participated in the debate with-

in the avant-garde journal *LEF*. He does it here in his own way – articulated in *Metod* as a problem of the "psychology of art": How does an event become a work, how does one move from a "fact" of life to an artistic "fact?"[66] – giving it a historical depth and a "general" impact. He begins by situating documentary or "cine-chronicle" at the basis of Soviet cinema, doing so by separating out a first phase of "capturing" facts that he calls "eidetic," and a second that he inscribes within a history of ornamentation. This "recognition," of course, does not lack its dialectical overcoming, an *Aufhebung* realized by Eisenstein's own cinema, the negation of the negation. ("Kuleshov 'ended' with the arrival of *Strike*. As did Vertov," he writes in the text entitled "Pioneers and Innovators."[67]) It brings with it, however, the consciousness of the permanence of this "origin" in the ulterior development of the form (survival or regression), up to the documentary "mannerism" that he locates in Italian neorealism and several films imitating postwar newsreels.

This "praise" is situated at a vantage point from which it examines "the *urge** to secure phenomena"[68] (previously evoked through drives and desires such as the desire to stop time, for immortality, and for conservation, which take different forms in different periods and societies) through the means that allow for them to take form (technical modalities).

This genealogy of the "fixing of phenomena" lists the chronicle (which describes and recounts them), photography (which fixes them in an image), the document (that carries their trace), and impressions (which keep their lived appearance). The modalities through which these procedures are deployed are then specified, and to each one corresponds an artistic or literary example, sometimes paradoxical: Homer is objective, Egyptian art tendentious, the *Tale of Igor's Campaign* and *Les Grandes misères de la guerre* (Callot) emotional, the *Disasters of War* (Goya) pathetic, the "Mysteries" dramatic, and Shakespearean Chronicles poetic. This is a random chronology that could be developed just as well in the "direction of history" as in reverse; the works belong to different domains based on their distinctive traits, which do not allow one to envision a linear "evolution" from one to the other, but rather construct a genealogy.

A more limited dimension is then evoked, that of commemoration, exemplified by the dithyramb, the dynastic chronicle, the reconstruction of an action and, eventually, television. This is a rather heterogeneous list from which one needs to pick out the relevant aspects that subtextually make an argument regarding the Soviet situation, and the place that celebrations of founding events and great men occupy within it. From the beginning of the 1920s, the documentary cinema that counted among its practitioners Vertov, Tissé, and Kuleshov plays an important part in this celebration (constructing a legitimizing memory), as do other collective or smaller-scale artistic and spectacular activities. Fiction will move in the same direction, not only with the revolutionary anniversary films (of 1905 and then 1917) in which Eisenstein will play a notable role, but with a

whole series of films dealing with the past and meant to guarantee the ideological bases of the socialist regime (the evocation of the situation under the ancient regimes, repressed social and political struggles, etc.). Afterward, what Khrushchev called the "cult of personality"[69] gives works answering to this political demand their familiar hypertrophic forms. From this list, then, we learn that the dithyramb is an excessive, improvisational, and chaotic poem addressed to Dionysus, a dynastic chronicle evokes the reign of a monarch. As for the reconstruction of an action, the list alludes to the mass theater as developed by Evreinov in 1919, following in the footsteps of the open-air theater that followed the French Revolution,[70] reconstituting the events of 1917 (Eisenstein speaks of it on multiple occasions elsewhere). Television, meanwhile, captures and retransmits official events, like the Lumière brothers' *vues*, but here is identified with the Dionysia (festivals in honor of Dionysius, already implicated in the dithyramb), established around 535 BC by the tyrant Peisistratos to rally citizens to the support of the new tyrannical political system.

Cinema is omitted from this series (which leaps from theater to television). It is then considered in two forms: the originary form of the "actualities" or "cine-chronicle," which captures events as they are, and the epic film (that of Eisenstein) that succeeds them, and recreates events through mise-en-scène, much like the medieval "Mysteries" that marked the exit from the church and inaugurated mass spectacle.

To understand the proposition according to which the cine-chronicle, "cradle of Soviet cinema" (its condition of possibility and its first form), originated from ornamental form, one must pass through Alois Riegl and his history of the ornament.[71] It is not that Eisenstein inscribes himself narrowly into Riegl's perspective – although a whole series of ideas brings them close together,[72] as does a refusal to create a hierarchy of periods and types of art – but he clearly read and took it into account, even in his transgressions and bypassing of Rieglian principles. Arguing that "the chronicle is a stage of the artistic film. The initial one. Just as petroglyph and ornament are a stage of the future visual art" and that "the chronicle is the stage of petroglyph and ornament in the history of the artistic film," with "the two same phases in the chronicle: 1) petroglyph and 2) ornament,"[73] Eisenstein takes the opposite position from Riegl. The latter refuses precisely this relation of succession, these stages through which the privilege accorded to mimetic representation – stigmatized later by Wilhelm Worringer in his thesis *Abstraktion und Eifühlung* (1907) – relegates ornamentation to a primitive, preartistic stage, deriving from artisanal practices (weaving), linked to material and utilitarian functions. For Riegl, the "will to art" (*Kunstwollen*) inspires ornamental work from the outset; ornamental work will even come to include figuration, as the latter enters into its field, and transforms it in accordance with its own properties. Yet, Eisenstein's chronicle of the ornament does not give it an extra-artistic status either, since it is differentiated from the first stage, the "eide-

tic," which corresponds to "automatic fixation."[74] The formulation is puzzling: Why "eidetic"? In the Eisensteinian lexicon, particularly in the essay "El Greco and the Cinema,"[75] *eidetic* was opposed to *iconic*, as *obraz* is to *izobrazhenie*. It was on the side of the concept, the nonvisible (of the essence) as opposed to the representation, the visible (of appearance).[76]

Eidetic Images

The meaning that Eisenstein assigns to "eidetic" as far as the cine-chronicle is concerned must be further specified in reference to what has just been said – which it will perhaps clarify retroactively.[77] We find its first usage in "Vertical Montage," referring to "Comrade S.," a patient of the psychologists Vygotsky and Luria.[78] S. is now famous under his real name, Solomon Veniaminovich Shereshevskii, since Luria's 1965 *The Mind of a Mnemonist* made the case of hypermemory well-known.[79] Comrade S. joined an "unlimited capacity to remember" with the "gift of synesthesia," writes Eisenstein, and "he also had the 'eidetic' gift i.e. the ability, not analytically but automatically and precisely, to reproduce any drawing, however complicated."[80] The term "eidetic" may thus come from Luria, who uses it in his book, but the term and its particular accepted usage can be traced back to the German psychologist Erich Rudolph Jaensch of Marburg, who studied the phenomena of direct perception, memory, and thought transmission after 1920,[81] and represented an anti-Gestalt school of thought.

For Luria, "eidetic images" are the mental images into which S. transformed everything that he saw, read, or heard, for the purpose of memorization. However, Luria insists on the "techniques of eidetic images": according to him, S. carried out a series of operations and employed a certain number of procedures to recall the words and images that were presented to him. He began by putting them into order in his head and lining them up alongside a street of his hometown or a place from his childhood, taking care to place them in well-lit spots and to make them as large as they needed to be. In a second stage – which took on greater importance when the laboratory experiments were continued on the stage[82] – he extracted a metonymic detail from these images (for a knight, a foot and a spur), and "abridged" them to put them together in a whole. In a third stage, he decomposed the words into syllables to only keep one part of them (usually with meaningless words that were given to him to test his capacity). The proximity of these visual techniques with a certain number of cinematic procedures (or more generally, iconic ones: one could include image "lexicons," emblems, blazons, and symbols, such as those of Cesare Ripa)[83] was not lost on Eisenstein, particularly in the case of the close-up and the *pars pro toto*, as well as the mental "cinematism" evoked here, in the movement and walking.[84] The "eidetic," "recorded," "fixed" images thus are not at all "photographs" (unless of

course one considers the hypermemory to be "photographic"); Luria even speaks of "thought-vision."

But what strikes Eisenstein in these accounts of S.'s case is that the treatment of exterior (phenomenal) sources – capture, transmission, treatment, classification, and transformation into mental images that can then be "pulled out," reproduced – takes place mechanically in the machine-brain of this Soviet "Mr. Memory." He writes, "not analytically but automatically and precisely." Here there is an analogy with the camera (including the habituation to codes that govern the camera's functioning)[85] and the film's chain of reproduction. S.'s case, not cited in the *Notes* but underlying their argument, with its machine-memory (cf. "The fixating of the reflection of the image of phenomena in memory"[86]) verifies the isomorphism of the cinematic apparatus and human consciousness, a conviction Eisenstein voices multiple times during this period.[87] An "automatoscope" (the name of Edison's little-used machine, chosen because it connotes the automatic character of the vision), the cinema technically expresses "the phenomenon of the reflection of reality that lies at the root of the formation and establishment of human consciousness."[88]

Therefore, through S., one can take up the historical tale – the history of cinema – "from the point of view of the mechanization by technical means of the process of reflection itself, and of the fixating of the results of such a reflection":

> From the eidetic phenomenon to the photographic camera. The automatic immediacy of the reflection of phenomena of reality in so-called eidetic phenomenon. The fixating of the reflection of the image of phenomena in memory. The problem of the reproduction by technical means of processes: the getting the copy of phenomena of reality in a mechanical way, and fixating it by technical means.[89]

The Ornament

This psycho-physiological genealogy, however, underwent a rupture with "automaticity" in its first "intellectualization," leading to its differentiation.[90] This was the moment of Vertovian "Kinopravda" and "Kinoglaz," which introduced the *pars pro toto*, repetition, analogies, and rhythm, and which correspond to the ornament in the history of art. To make this point, Eisenstein takes from Riegl the notion of *contour*. This is a distinctive element for the historian because to reproduce an animal in clay does not require, he writes, a great ingeniousness; the instinct for imitation suffices. Drawing a characteristic and deriving a silhouette, however, result from a creative act: they assign a given surface the image of a being of nature. But where the Viennese art historian praises areas of solid color and linearity, detachment from the prejudice of imitation or servitude to material and customs, Eisenstein develops a whole different approach, considering con-

tour as bodily movement: it revolves around the self, taking it as support (as in tattoo art), then revolves around a motif, before grasping it from a distance as part of the representational order. Here we find one of the main dimensions of Eisenstein's aesthetic reflection, one dealing with the line, which his own drawing practice puts to work: the continuous line, taken not as prowess but as corporeal movement. The ornament plays with the repetition of motifs, an uninterrupted linking together, drawing close to the frieze or the linking of figures on the film strip, or the drawings on the drum of a phenakistiscope. In this sense, Eisenstein proposes that "the departure point for the new era (in the arts as well) – of Soviet film art, as well as human culture in general – was the chronicle," but that he made it explode, seizing hold of it and giving it a new expressive quality in *Strike* and *Potëmkin*. Vertov's charges that *Strike* plagiarized *Kino-Eye* are here recognized and reclaimed by Eisenstein.[91]

The limits and the risks of the ornament are those of ornamentalism (Vertov), reornamentation, regression toward repetition, and the association of images through assonance and analogy. The cinema of mise-en-scène, however, can likewise "fall back" to the restaging of the chronicle through fictional means and degenerate into "documentary stylization," an aesthetic mannerism (as with Rossellini and neorealism, Noël Coward, and certain war films), as with television, which is subject to a "chronicle-ization," or the mise-en-scène of the contemporary document.

Baroque and Decadence

Eisenstein's agility as a comparatist, these provisory constructions, these proposed lineages, and these unconventional connections create a centrifugal history of cinema, to say the least, one that distinguishes itself from those enterprises that call themselves such but in actuality end up proving centripetal. The mobilization of psychology, ethnology, art history, philosophy, and a whole series of other kinds of knowledge, however, poses the problem of the relevance of these resources, many of which have become obsolete, and the effect that they might have on Eisenstein's argument, running the risk of constructing a "poetic of origins," as Rémy Labrusses writes of Josef Stryzgowski.[92]

Contrary to this centrifugal character, one must note the socio-historical framework of the texts, which sometimes has effects of a surprising rigidity. As soon as one situates the *Notes* within the whole of Eisenstein's theoretical reflection, one notices that the articulation between the three levels identified earlier – which one sees here in a single phase of work that unites the collection, the accumulation of facts, and a certain number of perspectives sketched in programmatic fashion, often gathered in formulas – was not always as flexible and subtle as what we admire here. In *Metod*, a text written around the same time, as well as in many earlier works (including *Nonindifferent Nature*), historical analysis

of a socio-political type often dominates the approach and clearly leads to a series of contradictions. One such contradiction can be located on the level of discord between the vision as a whole – a long-term social history – and the precise, documented examination of the history of media, spectacles, and symbolic practices of all orders. The interest that Eisenstein shows toward expressive procedures is developed under the sign of an assessment of the whole, always deferred, postponed until later, and sometimes brutally articulated: all plastic and literary effervescence unfolds against the backdrop of decadence, of the social disintegration of bourgeois society and capitalism,[93] and a "baroque" drifting of the arts (the "neobaroque" that he alleges at the outset).[94] Eugenio d'Ors, whom he references here and who develops a transhistorical conception of the baroque, gives this preliminary definition of it:

> Everywhere where we find multiple contradictory intentions united in a single gesture, the stylistic result belongs to the category of the baroque. The baroque spirit – to express ourselves in a vulgar manner – does not know what it wants. It wants, at the same time, the for and the against. It wants [...] to linger and to flee. [...] It flouts the demands of the contradiction principle.[95]

One might relativize the importance of these statements by seeing in them a tribute paid to the reigning Zhdanovism, a doxa that it was hardly wise to contradict. Thus in *Nonindifferent Nature* Eisenstein opposes the "healthy and physical polyphonic synesthesia of the beginning of the century" to its degeneration "at the end of the century and during the era of decadence," a "formalism" (the word carries a great deal of meaning) that leads him to recognize his own "excesses" concerning "attractions" when he admitted to considering them "outside of a unified plot."[96]

This argument (of a tacked-on Zhdanovism), however, fails to take account of two factors: for one, Eisenstein dared to show his heterodoxy in the field of art theory more than once, even in public (recall his intervention at the All-Soviet Congress of Film Workers in 1935 – "Film Form: New Problems" – and the response that he made to the numerous individuals who disagreed with him as well as to certain "friends" who spoke against him at the podium). Second, these *Notes* and most of the texts in *Metod* and the *Memoirs* remained "private" texts, in any case not published during their author's lifetime, not submitted for publication, and doubtlessly not conceived with immediate publication in mind. Most of all, this argument ignores the connection between Eisenstein's exposition of his aesthetic "method" and his "sociologizing" statements.

In Eisenstein studies, some pointed out several years ago how on both the diachronic axis (an evolution of thought marked by an "epistemological break"[97]) and synchronic axis (a double regime of a "wide-shot" and a "close-

up"), contradiction extends across all of Eisenstein's theoretical writings on the questions of unity, synthesis, continuity, and totality. By entitling his last major theoretical project *Metod*, he places himself on a level that bypasses plastic and formal questions, a level of "artistic method" that is inscribed within a theory of realism.

It seems a vain effort to get around this contradiction, which appears at all levels: between 1929's "Dramaturgy of Film Form" and 1937's *Montage*, the basic concepts remain the same but their "dominant" changes: the *Urphänomen* that saw the conflict of two immobilities producing, by superimposition, a concept of movement in the spectator's head, becomes the fusion of a single image, subsuming its elements.

The question of the fragment and of fragmentation – correlate of the demand for unity and the global image – gathers within itself several problems: the allegorical vignettes of Adolph Menzel, analyzed in the 1940s, meet the ideal of the *pars pro toto* and presuppose an off-screen – a totality, an *obraz* (the global, nonvisible image). On the other hand the fragmentation of modern art – Cubism and Dadaism – is a dislocation, a sign of the individualism caused by bourgeois society. The reference to the baroque and the neobaroque enters into this socioaesthetic typology. D'Ors gives a precise characterization of the classical/baroque opposition, supported by psychological considerations (borrowed from Janet) – from which he does not draw the same negative conclusions as Nordau – but which retain the opposition between unity, center, defined contours and consciousness on one hand vs. multipolarity, continuity, unconsciousness and exterior attraction on the other:

> When humanity is in a state of good health, the *éon* of classicism is established; if this weakens, the baroque *éon* takes its place. The first produces in morphology a kind of *cénesthésie* [that is to say, the consciousness of unity]; the second abandons itself to its multipolarity, which allows the rich and troubled springs of the subconscious to overflow. The object that results has, in the first case, a contour and a center; in the second, it is continuous and multipolar, lacking true contours and obeying an attraction situated outside of itself.[98]

Eisenstein himself encouraged an attractional fragmentation in the 1920s, his praise of Japanese framing in 1928-1929 stressing the practice of the cut, of extraction; he made "multipolar" films and practiced a montage based on heterogeneity. Furthermore, this practice led to him being seen as connected to the "baroque." Viktor Shklovsky, criticizing *October*, saw "each object disintegrate, metamorphosize" and the film create a "'Soviet Baroque' style,"[99] and also called for a "new simplicity" among filmmakers and writers.[100]

From then on Eisenstein connects good fragmentation and good montage to socialist society, whereas bad fragmentation is a symptom of decadence. The characterization that he makes in socio-political terms is not at all perfunctory – a mere sign of conformity with the Stalinist doxa. Commenting an art book published in 1938, *100 Details from Pictures in the National Gallery*,[101] he asks: "Are we right to try and see in this anodyne enterprise, at times closer to a *jeu de gages* or hide-and-seek, an ideological tendency and the 'sign of an era'?"[102] Along with several others, like Luc and Paul Haesaerts's *Flandres*,[103] this book by Kenneth Clark attests to a current of thought and iconographic practices that we have nowadays reduced to that "imaginary museum" of Malraux – which was their heir and inspired by them – that made new usage of the photography of works of art, and of details, in particular. Eisenstein, who was greatly inspired by the works of Legendre, Hartmann, and Willumsen on El Greco in writing his essay on the painter,[104] recognized the interest in this valorization of elements that remained unperceived while seeing the whole image, and the marvel that carried away the spectator who has his vision of a painting thus renewed. Even if he was not inspired by it, he recognized himself in it. But at the same time, his practice of using detail is different: it responds to the need to understand the whole from a fragment that "expresses everything" – this is theory of the *obraz*, the "global" image. In Clark, he laments, "the details are regrouped independently from the paintings from which they come, and only on the basis of their individual charm or their renewing value,"[105] before going on to broaden his critique to the magazines of the 1920s and 1930s (*Querschnitt*, *Variétés*, *Prométhée*) and their usage of "photo montage."[106]

In the case of the detail, one can take examples from fragmentation in Eisenstein himself to see the difference. Thus, in his analysis of El Greco's *Martyrdom of St. Maurice*, he isolates an element that might be missed at first glance: "a small part of the painting in the left corner" that shows the essential details concerning the Saint's decapitation, while in the foreground, the saint is speaking with captains from the Roman army. It is a "composition [that] seems to be devoid of a subject," but takes on meaning through its arrangement of different "frames," a "cine-composition," or "through far-off or secondary details, through an action without importance or secondary characters, and with a theme occupying the background, one draws closer little by little, from one frame to the next, to the thematic center placed at the center of the composition."[107] Here it is not a case of choosing an unusual, appealing, or simply "beautiful" detail, nor of reducing the painting's unity to pieces in order to find other constructive logics, nor to consider the "detail" – as Daniel Arasse has in our time – as a kind of "lapsus" that gives a key to a "hidden" reading. The link here is a semantic one, the part reflects the whole that is condensed within it and refracted in it, either narratively (a distinct moment of the painting's story, anterior or posterior) or intellectually (metaphorical function: in *Metod*, Eisenstein says that every synecdoche and me-

tonymy is inscribed, *in fine*, at the level of the metaphor – an anticipatory inversion, in a way, of Marie-Claire Ropars's claim that in *October*, metaphor is produced by metonymy[108] – which puts us on the trail of the difference between Eisenstein's situation and a certain modernity).[109]

3. The *Notes for a General History of Cinema* and the Dialectic of the Eisensteinian Image

Luka Arsenjuk

The difficulty of Sergei Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema* lies not so much in their fragmentary and unfinished nature as it does in the fact that they present us with a text in which the history of cinema is itself achieved by cinematic means. Cinema appears in Eisenstein's note-taking as both an object of historical analysis and as the set of operations or means by which this analysis is composed. By submitting his historical account to the work and the form of montage,[1] Eisenstein aims at something other than merely the production of knowledge claims or judgments about cinema's historical status: he also wants to produce an *image* (*obraz*) of cinema's history. The history of cinema can, for Eisenstein, be put in relief only if it itself becomes the subject of what he called imaginicity (*obraznost'*); only if time as something historical is made to pass through and lets itself be affected by the temporal experience of the image. The texts of the *Notes* are, therefore, characterized by a certain tension, a split between two rival temporalities, of which one rests on the tasks of a film historian – to stabilize time in chronologies and periodizations, to establish causal links in the form of interpretation and narrative organization – while the other takes the shape of a demand made on the historical material of astonishing breadth by the filmmaker in search of an image. We might therefore orient ourselves with respect to Eisenstein's *Notes* by saying that image and history do not necessarily make sense of time in the same way. This is perhaps a strange claim to make in relation to Eisenstein, but he was not alone among the great filmmakers with his belief that the appearance of cinema meant that from now on history (including cinema's own) must make a necessary detour through the heterogeneous terrain of the (cinematic) image.

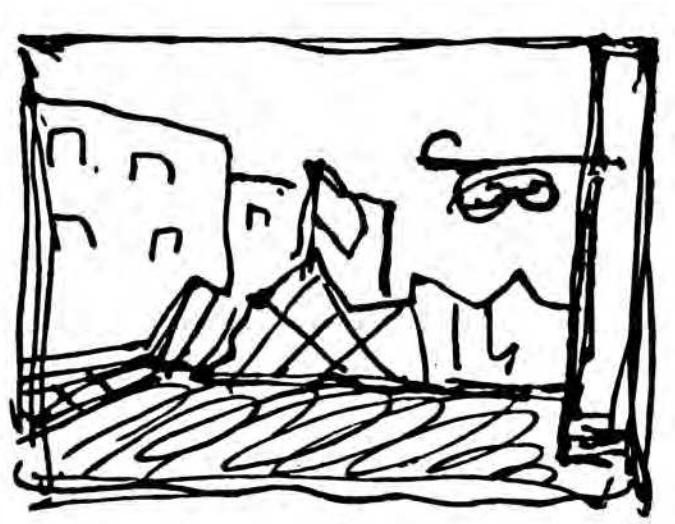
What, then, is an image in its specifically Eisensteinian conception?

The Drawing of a Barricade: Depiction and Defamiliarization

I propose to approach the question of the Eisensteinan image by way of a single example: Eisenstein's drawing of a barricade in the essay "Montage 1937."[2] The drawing appears a few pages into the essay, after Eisenstein has already discussed the "biography of the shot" in his own work; reminded us once again of the fundamental relation between montage and conflict; announced the methodological task of analyzing the "progressional links" between single shot composition, montage of shot sequences, and audiovisual montage; and begun his approach to the question of mise-en-scène by way of a pedagogical analysis of a scene from *Père Goriot*. By the time we get to the barricade, the stakes of the project of *Montage* have been sketched out in nearly their entire scope.[3]

Eisenstein's choice of a barricade as the crucial demonstrative example of "Montage 1937" is hardly coincidental. It is not difficult to see how a barricade (surpassed in Eisenstein's own imagination only by the guillotine) could serve as a particularly effective figure for all the essential preoccupations of Eisenstein's cinema: violent historical conflict, revolution, the masses in movement. It would indeed be possible to insert the barricade into a series of objects-become-attractions that in Eisenstein's work function as literalized metaphors of a sudden reversal of historical fortune: the famous raising of the lion's head in *Potëmkin*, the illogical bullet that suddenly assembles itself into a machine gun in *October*, or the village co-op's ecstatic milk separator in *The General Line*. Yet it is primarily a different sort of reversal, or leap, that the barricade is meant to demonstrate to us in the text of "Montage 1937." It is, namely, supposed to show us precisely how one constructs an *image* rather than merely a picture or a scene (*kartinka*); how a drawing can suddenly lead us to an experience of imaginicity (*obraznost'*) in place of mere figuration or portrayal (*izobrazhenie*). These are the two sides of the fundamental Eisensteinian opposition – image vs. mere picture, imaginicity vs. figuration – which Eisenstein's text will have to animate in a dialectical way.

Because of the existence of this basic opposition, "a drawing of a barricade" can mean two very different things, which Eisenstein stages by including in his text not one, but two drawings. In the first drawing (Ill. 1, p. 291), we have, according to Eisenstein, a representation of a barricade in terms of purely naturalistic, everyday detail (*bytovaia detal'*). The first is a drawing in the sense of a mere picturing of a scene. We might say "a drawing *of*..." in the objective sense of the genitive form and in the absence of any subjective determination in the static and balanced composition of the represented elements. We are dealing here with a *depiction* in which the form of the drawing traces the contours or the limits of its object, which it thereby contains within the disposition of its lines. The depiction of the scene appears here as indifferent to time. It could be taken as a representation of a barricade awaiting battle, were it not for the fact that a tension of some violent future occurrence seems absent from the picture. It could

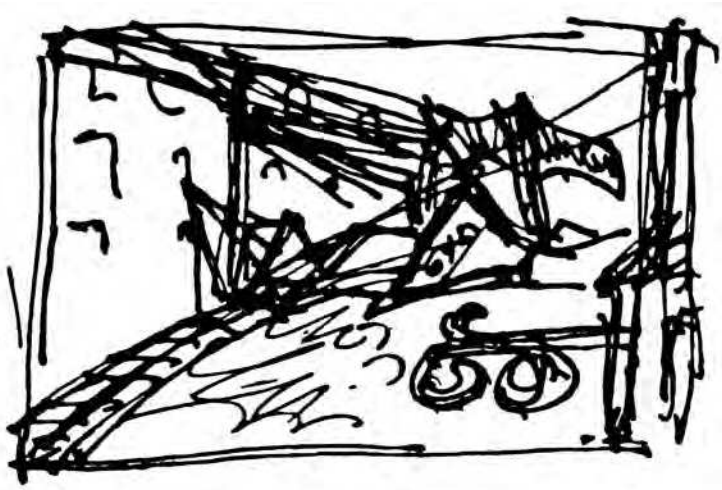


Ill. 1 – The first drawing: the barricade in naturalistic, everyday detail ("Montage 1937," p. 24)

likewise be taken for a scene in which the battle has already ended, but for the fact that the barricade and its surroundings seem rather unperturbed.

The second drawing (Ill. 2, p. 292), which Eisenstein juxtaposes against this first one, offers, however, something completely different. The elements in the second drawing – the disarticulated pieces of the barricade, the almost dematerialized surface of the street, the sidewalk which seems to have metamorphosed into a railway track – have all become agitated. This restlessness is nowhere as visible as in the convulsion of the perspective with which the pretzel sign, which in the first drawing towered over the barricade, now suddenly appears below it, giving us a literal metaphor of an "overthrow" achieved, as Eisenstein says, "by purely compositional means."[4] Something is happening in the second drawing; and the entire scene, taking the shape of an event, now plunges into time. The change in the second drawing corresponds to Eisenstein's interest in showing things in their becoming: "I like to regard every phenomenon as a some sort of 'today,' with its 'yesterday' and its 'tomorrow'; as something within a sequence, having its 'before' and its 'after,' i.e. its preceding and subsequent stages."[5]

Deformed and at first almost unrecognizable, the barricade finds itself in a swirl of movement that undoes the calm of the space of its representation. The breaking of this space appears perhaps most clearly in the pair of lines that, like a pair of tense wires, stretch from the barricade (an object set within the representational space) and wrap themselves around the upper-right-hand corner of the drawing's frame, with which the limit of representation is suddenly drawn into the space it was supposed to delimit, while the object previously nested in this space is expelled, or even exploded, from its position. The sense of represen-



Ill. 2 – The second drawing: the barricade as an image of struggle ("Montage 1937," p. 24)

tational objectivity and naturalistic depiction, which characterized the first drawing, appears in the second to be taken over by a veritable subjective disordering. One is able to comprehend this second drawing of a barricade as though in it the barricade itself, instead of being contained by the drawing, suddenly took possession of it. As though no longer simply borne by the act of drawing, the barricade subjectively reorganized the form, following a logic that can no longer simply be called depictive, since the role the barricade plays in this new situation is also no longer simply that of a mere object or a passive thing.

One, then, produces an image of a barricade (for only the second drawing, says Eisenstein, is also an image, an *obraz*) by constructing the barricade not as an object of depiction but rather as a set of forceful effects that on the surface of the drawing register the barricade's becoming. Yet the element of depiction (the first drawing) is not simply absent from the second drawing; Eisenstein insists one should never completely abolish the depictive function. Instead, in the second drawing – that is, in an image of a barricade – depiction is submitted to a sudden dynamization, whose purpose is to give us, as movement and as a series of expressive gestures, what the former can only render statically, emptied of time. In the second drawing,

> the plane of the barricade *cuts into* the wall of the houses. [...] [T]he line of the base of the barricade [...] *cuts into* the roadway. [...] T]he line of the upper edge of the barricade [...] is shown as a jagged line, which seems to evoke the phases of a struggle: each peak in the spiky contour is a point of conflict in the changing fortunes of two opposing sides.[6]

An image of a barricade appears in the drawing precisely as a new type of dynamic unity into which these fragmented and rapid movements are composed.

Dynamization, which in the example of the second drawing takes the form of a set of forceful cutting movements – a veritable montage of lines – constitutes a tense rivalry with the operation of depiction against which it is superimposed. We can perhaps compare it to the operation of *ostranenie*, or the "making strange," in the Russian Formalists' idea of artistic technique as *defamiliarization*. The comparison is justified to the extent that the dynamization of a barricade in Eisenstein's drawing shares some of the essential characteristics with the Formalists' desire to disorganize the automated and habitual – we would say merely depictive or naturalistic – mode of perceiving phenomena that surround us. According to Viktor Shklovsky, the purpose of an artistic image is "not to make us perceive meaning but to create a special perception of the object – [*an image*] *creates a 'vision' of the object instead of serving as a means for knowing it.*"[7] A "vision," a becoming rather than an already constituted and knowable result, matters in Eisenstein's example as well. "Without this *fully realized perception* of the barricade, a Barricade with a capital B will not come into being."[8] As even this short sentence indicates, however, the dynamization of perception or estrangement is, for Eisenstein, only the first step. When compared with the Shklovskian definition, the operation of defamiliarization plays a much more limited role in Eisenstein's conception of the image. To put it somewhat schematically, in Eisenstein's case, the purpose of art is not exhausted in the idea of estrangement. The estranging dynamization of perception functions not as an aim in itself, but rather as a means for bringing about something else, which I will attempt to describe in the following section of this essay.[9]

Let us for now simply identify, starting from the two drawings presented by Eisenstein, *depiction* and *defamiliarization* (understood as the dynamization of perception) as the first operations of the Eisensteinian image. While it never fully negates its function as a figurative depiction of objects, it is crucial to see how the Eisensteinian image always performs the operation of raising or transfiguring the objects it depicts into a new kind of existence, in which the relation of depiction is shaken and its objective sense, without disappearing completely, gives way to the dynamic interrelationship of an immanent play of forces.[10]

Drawing Lines: Generalization and Pathetization

The double operation of depiction and defamiliarization described above – let's call it an operation of *dynamic figuration* – is, however, only half of the story. The achievement of a fully realized perception in an image of a barricade cannot be separated from the simultaneous appearance of something of the barricade that this dynamic perception supports, but which nevertheless does not itself belong to perception. Eisenstein will call this other dimension the "essential signifi-

cance of the barricade."[11] So that a "Barricade with a capital B" has to be understood as referring not only to the heightened perception (a "vision") of a barricade, but also to the appearance of the barricade's intelligible meaning in the drawing. Dynamic figuration plays the role of something like a crutch for – to use Eisenstein's formulation – the "materialization of the idea" of a barricade in the sensible fabric of the image.

But how can we see this intelligible element, the "essential significance"? In what form does essence appear? The question is not difficult to answer. For the terms with which Eisenstein names the appearance of essential meaning in the image proliferate throughout the text of "Montage 1937": "a *graphic projection* of the character of the action,"[12] "the *imprint* of action" or "the *line* of character,"[13] "psychological and dramatic *outline* of the action,"[14] "*graphic representation* of the most generalized conception of a phenomenon,"[15] "compositional *handwriting* of the shot,"[16] and so on. Meaning projects itself in the image graphically, as design or *a schematic outline of movement*.

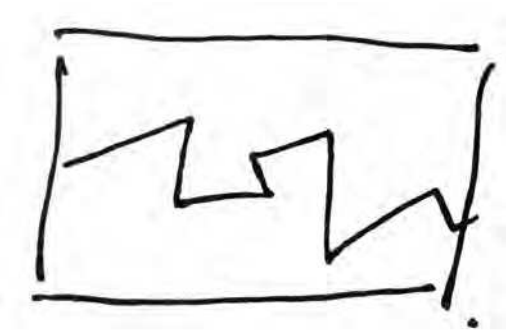
We can see why the dynamic figuration of a barricade, which allowed us to perceive it as a play of forces (a series of cutting movements), is necessary for the appearance of a Barricade with a capital B. The movement of the forces at play in the dynamic cut-up of the figure of the barricade reveals the outline through which the essence of a barricade schematizes itself in the image. The dynamic movement of perception, now captured in the snapshot of its graphic trace, makes appear in the image what Mikhail Iampolski called the phenomenon's "essential bone structure." Iampolski provides a remarkably concise description of Eisenstein's graphic obsession:

> The line, for Eisenstein, has a special significance. In drawing a line, or even retracing it with our eyes, we miraculously gain access to the "essence" of things, to their meaning. [...] Eisenstein arrives at a kind of pangraphism: the world, for all its diversity, is, under the phenomenal surface of things, governed by the semantically charged line. [...] This line or scheme Eisenstein calls the "generalizing agent of meaning" (*obobshchaiushchii osmyslitel'*).[17]

A Barricade (with a capital B) will therefore simultaneously imply two things: (1) a dynamic figuration of a barricade (depiction + defamiliarization), which gives us a perception of the object as transfigured into a play of forces; and (2) that this transfigured object will at the same time support the rendering of a "graphic design,"[18] a schematic outline, of the barricade's essential meaning.

Does the above, however, mean that the question of "essential significance" in the Eisensteinian image should be conceived exclusively as an elevated mode of mimetic representation? Does Eisenstein do all the work to dynamize our perception and defamiliarize the logic of representation at the level of depiction (what he would call "imitation at the level of form") only to reintroduce it at the level of

the essential interpretation of phenomena (what he would call "an imitation of the principle")?[19] Does he introduce all the violent dynamism and movement destroying the sense of any simple pictorial representation of a barricade only to all the more forcefully return to a stasis of representation when it comes to the abstract graphic appearance of the barricade's essential meaning in the image? Is it, finally, true that "Eisenstein's thinking operates entirely within the framework of these Platonic ideas"[20] and that the image, once it has led us to a thing in its essential outline, must fall in line with meaning?



Ill. 3 – The zigzag: "it can be read as... anything you like." ("Montage 1937," p. 27)

Not exactly. For, the movement of graphic, outlining, abstraction that is supposed to represent the essential meaning of a phenomenon in the image runs into a profound contradiction. As Eisenstein notes, describing the third drawing (Ill. 3, p. 295), from which everything but the most general outline of the barricade has been left out,

> a generalization from which the purely figurative element has been removed would be a bare, non-objective abstraction dangling in mid-air. [...] So generalized as to be deprived not of the compositional outline, [...] but of the actual picture, and retaining only the "image-expressing" zigzag line of its contour. All "imaginicity" and "expressivity" would instantly evaporate from the sketch, while the zigzag itself might not be read as a barricade but as [...] *anything you like*: as a graph of the rise and fall of prices, or as a seismographic trace of subterranean tremors, and so on and so forth.[21]

Following the "Platonic" path of graphic schematization to its limit completely destabilizes all signification. Mimesis of a phenomenon's essential meaning in the form of a pure graphic outline (its "bone structure") brings about a threat of a sheer proliferation of meanings, which is at the same time experienced as a loss, a dissolution, and a complete relativization of the very essence it attempted

to represent ("it can be read as... *anything you like*.") It is crucial to note how in the quoted passage (in a rather non-Platonic manner) it is not the sensible particularity of the image that relativizes the abstract essential meaning of a thing, but rather the essential movement's progressive evacuation of all sensible particularity that itself causes meaning to multiply and thereby evaporate.

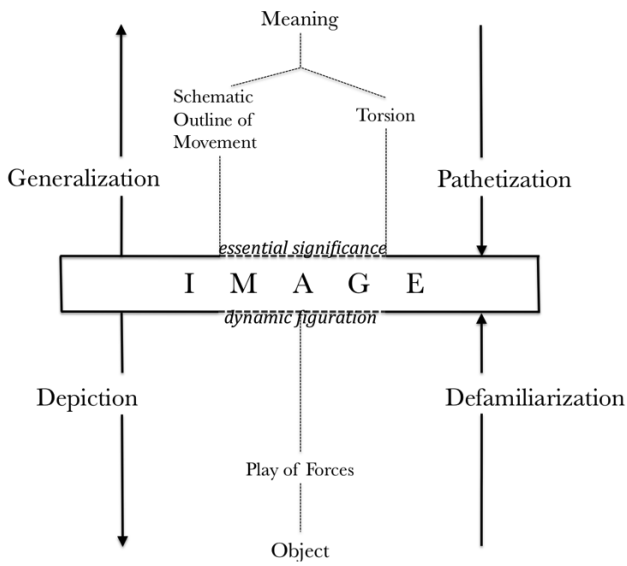
Eisenstein will, on the one hand, use this point to insist on the necessity of keeping the element of the figurative, of depiction, in the image. The essential meaning of the Barricade (visible in its schematic outline) must be realized *through* the particular object (the depicted barricade) and not at the latter's absolute cost. The "bone structure" must be seen leaping out of the dynamized body, but the figure of this body must still in some way or other remain visible so as to fix the skeletal articulation of meaning lest it turn into meaninglessness. In all of his images, Eisenstein maintains a certain tension between the particular (the object, depiction) and the general or generalizing (the schematic outline of movement, essence): "The characteristics of the barricade, read as concrete object, will, apart from this *general idea* of the barricade, always also include the particular *image of the idea* peculiar to the situation in which that barricade figures."[22]

On the other hand, however, something a bit stranger and more radical still takes place in Eisenstein's stumbling upon the meaninglessness of the pure outline; something that has little to do with the tension between the general outline and the particularity of the depicted object in the image, and everything to do with the internal contradiction of the schematic outline in itself. When presented for itself, the "semantically charged line," or as Iampolski also calls it, the line as the "generalizing agent of meaning," suddenly turns into its opposite: it becomes a line of semantic discharge and the agent of a sheer proliferation/loss of meaning (again, an outline can mean "*anything you like*" it to mean, which is to say, it means nothing). The outline is a paradox. An agent of meaning that is equally an agent of meaninglessness, the eloquent, intelligible outline is also the line in its blabbering or mute – it comes to the same thing – delirium. The very same schematizing, generalizing movement of the outline, which makes something essential of the Barricade appear in the image, leads us, if followed to the end, to the self-cancellation of this essential meaning.

There exists in the outline a little surplus of movement realized simultaneously with meaning and significance. The design of the outline with its cutting movements and jagged lines renders visible the essential significance of the Barricade (the vicissitudes of "struggle"), but it is also simply movement, a little bit of movement in its excess, a bit of delirious movement, in which the movement enjoys itself. We can evoke here Eisenstein's favorite and oft-repeated Heraclitean dictum, "First the movement, and only then *what* moves," which could for our purposes be read in the following way: "Always a bit more movement in the outline than is needed to make the outline meaningful." Now, it is important to

note that this opposition between the outline of movement as signifying (meaningful) and asignifying (proliferation/loss of meaning) cannot be taken as simply an external one. One cannot excise the delirious bit of movement and keep only the movement's signifying intent. The two are produced at the same time, which means that getting rid of the bit of the asignifying excess would also rid the outline of its essential significance. Meaning and delirious proliferation/loss of meaning form an internal *torsion* of movement that haunts the schematic outline from inside.

With that, we can add two more operations of the Eisensteinian image to those of depiction and defamiliarization, which we identified in the previous section of this essay. First, there is the operation of *generalization*, which turns images – by way of the schematic outline of movement – toward meanings and essences they make visible. But, as Eisenstein finds, meaning is not simply within itself in the outline, it is also beside itself, deliriously proliferating and/or disappearing. To use a couple of Eisenstein's favorite words, we could say that meaning is ex-static (literally outside itself) and that because of that one finds in the outline not only signification, but also pathos. The line does not only intend and signify, it also undergoes and suffers. It is signifying *and* passionate, pathetic. So that we can add yet another operation to the three already identified, which is that of *pathetization*. The second double operation (generalization and pathetization) forms the movement of "essential significance" in the image and with the double operation of dynamic figuration (depiction and defamiliarization) gives us the following diagram of the Eisensteinian image (Ill. 4, p. 297).



Ill. 4 – The diagram of the Eisenteinian image

Conclusion

After this excursion through the Eisensteinian image, let us in conclusion briefly return to the initial question posed in the introduction to this essay: namely, the question of the tension between time-as-history and time-as-image in the *Notes*. It is striking that each of the four operations we have found at work in the Eisensteinian image could also be associated with a distinct type of temporality: the everyday or the anecdotal (depiction), the event or the evental (defamiliarization, which Eisenstein often called "de-anecdotalization"), the eternal (generalization), and what we might call the excessive or the delirious in the sense of time as sheer proliferation/loss (pathetization). We could perhaps think of the four operations and their distinct temporal modes as moving in a kind of dialectical synchronicity of the asynchronous, as four distinct tempi of the image that operate simultaneously and yet do not add up to one single time. "For a while there is some uncertainty about this, but [Eisenstein] finally comes to insist on the plurality of coded levels within the filmic image, and categorically rejects the dream of univocality."[23] The image with its montage of distinct temporal voices thus importantly differs from the experience of time gained through historical interpretation, whose achievement lies in the ability to render a multiplicity from a temporal perspective that is more or less totalizing. In his historical writing, of which the *Notes* offer an example, Eisenstein seeks to produce and place in tension a certain totalizing narrative of the historical development of cinema as well as a complex image of cinema, which he creates by assembling a montage of anecdotal depictions,[24] statements of conceptual generality that turn on what is essentially, eternally the case,[25] instances of evental defamiliarization,[26] and also a certain sense of delirium, where one gets the feeling that this capacious history of cinema could include and digest absolutely everything just as it could all of a sudden collapse around its empty center and evaporate in front of our eyes (a kind of caricature or parody of historical totalization). One of the lessons of Eisenstein's unfinished project is that, to grasp the phenomenon of cinema, it is sometimes necessary to interrupt the historical mastery of time with a form of construction in which one builds the time of cinema not by unifying it, but, on the contrary, by multiplying it across its discontinuous levels.

I would like to thank Abe Geil, Keith Jones, Michelle Koerner, Liz Papazian, Natalie Ryabchikova, and Eric Zakim for reading and commenting on this essay in its various stages. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Graduate School at the University of Maryland for its support. Its Research and Scholarship Award, which I received in the Summer of 2012, greatly supported the writing of the essay.

4. Act Now!, or For an Untimely Eisenstein

Nico Baumbach

Regarding the cinema spectator, in 1925 Eisenstein demanded, "We need *not contemplation but action*."[1] According to Eisenstein, the content of a film should not be sought in its story or themes but in "the socially useful emotional and psychological effect that excites the audience."[2] The context of Eisenstein's early polemical declaration could not be more distant, but today spectatorship is increasingly articulated as an *activity* that is not mediated by a representation that absorbs the viewer but rather is made by the spectator (or "user") as much as it is made for him. A broad range of contemporary discourses whether from media theorists or advertisers, tell us that forms of media today are interactive, our culture is participatory, consumers have become producers, and so on. Meanwhile, the content of these media are increasingly recognized as their "socially useful" effects and affects. To be sure, contemporary claims about the activity of the spectator do not form a univocal discourse and we may, for example, want to make a distinction between the cyber-utopians who celebrate the ways media is now available to everyone and the pessimists who see only new insidious mechanisms for social control, but what both these positions share is the impression that increasingly we are no longer passive recipients of audiovisual media, but rather active creators. How do we account for the uncanny resonance of Eisenstein's demand for an active spectator today?

With this question in mind, I'd like to take the occasion of the publication of Sergei Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema* (1946-1948) to provide some preliminary remarks about the general history of the reception of Eisenstein within film theory over the last fifty years. Specifically I want to look at the reception of Eisenstein in terms of two central matrices and their interrelation: (1) How film theory has conceived of the ways that film can be thought of as political, and (2) How film theory has understood the relation between films and the body and brain of the spectator.

In particular, the central tenets of Eisenstein's writings that were long thought to be from an era that had been laid to rest seem to correspond to current trends in the discourses identified with the amorphous category of "new media." The

Notes takes cinema as "the heir" and culmination of the vast history of representational forms; indeed, it seems as if "cinema" for Eisenstein may have no intrinsic identity beyond this "synthesis" of all the arts and media that precede it, which is to say that it is a place-holder for something that today might very well go by another name.[3]

But in film studies, too, the days of the passive disembodied spectator are over. In writings not only on new media and alternative modes of production or reception but also on classical Hollywood film, spectators, we are told today, are not discursive constructs interpellated by the text of the film; they are creative producers who make the text as much as they are made by it. Theory is increasingly articulated in relation not to the text itself but the body, affect, sensation, or neurons. Whether finding support in Deleuze and Bergson, returns to phenomenology or forms of cognitive science, a wide range of heterogeneous discourses no longer ask about how texts signify, but about the sensorium they activate.

Eisenstein, it should be noted, asked about how films signify *and* the sensorium they activate and indeed the unification of these two questions is at the crux of his project. I will return to this point but for now I'd just like to make it clear that while I want examine more closely the ways in which Eisenstein anticipated certain contemporary agendas, to some degree I share the sentiment guiding the concern expressed by Paul Willemen that "sooner or later some techno-fetishist is bound to invoke, abusively, Eisenstein's name in the celebration of the internet or computer-based art."[4] If Eisenstein has become timely, perhaps the goal should be to make him untimely again, to find the aspects of his theory that while appearing to fit into a genealogy that can be connected to current received ideas can also be shown to be in certain respects heterogeneous to those same ideas. As I hope to show, what remains untimely about Eisenstein is the relationship he conceives between aesthetics and politics.

As Willemen feared, Eisenstein does get evoked as a precursor for a new generation of film and media theorists though often superficially. For Lev Manovich, Eisenstein's theories of intellectual montage are echoed in virtual reality guru Jaron Lanier's anticipation in the 1980s that virtual reality would usher in an era of "postsymbolic communication," in which mental processes will be able to be objectified in such a way that we will no longer need to be weighed down by those inconvenient arbitrary signs known as words.[5] For Jonathan Beller, Eisenstein desired what will become normalized in the "attention economy," an idea of cinema as "a machine that transforms mental life" by taking the activity of the spectator as a form of productive labor.[6] For Jan Simons, Eisenstein was an early theorist of multimedia.[7] For Bill Seaman, Eisenstein anticipates the potential of his own computer-based media art by having been "keenly aware of the emergent conceptual realm brought about through the realm of media."[8] For contemporary cognitivists like Torben Grodal and Carl Plantinga, Eisenstein along with

Hugo Munsterberg was pioneering in his use of cognitive hypotheses about the relation between the brain and body and the film.[9] And although Friedrich Kittler makes no mention of Eisenstein in this context, his influential proposal that we see film theory as an offshoot of psychophysics is no doubt ripe for a reading that takes Eisenstein's use of reflexology for a theory of montage as a significant moment within this framework.[10] Eisenstein therefore can be seen as a progenitor of theories of the relation between embodiment, affect, cognition, and new media forms that are either apolitical or serve political purposes strictly contrary to those of Marxism or communism.

On the other hand, the now increasingly unfashionable idea that the film spectator is disembodied stems, of course, from writings in the 1960s and 1970s that framed film theory in explicitly political terms. In a position most explicitly articulated by Jean-Louis Baudry, sometimes known in somewhat reductive terms as "apparatus theory," disembodiment as well as a kind of mental relaxation that bore analogy to the dream state was seen as an effect of the apparatus with an ideological surplus value. The corresponding job of a new kind of political cinema and theory itself was to make the spectator active by making her conscious of the repressed apparatus. For Baudry then "the return of the apparatus in flesh and blood" in Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* allowed for the possibility of what Althusser called a knowledge-effect.[11] This discourse shared the same premise as not only Eisenstein, but much contemporary film studies, whether cognitivist, phenomenological, or Deleuzean, that passivity was a bad thing, but where they differed was in whether it described a dominant condition of cinematic spectatorship. If the spectator was not naturally active, he or she needed to be made active through a coming to consciousness of the conditions of possibility of spectatorship. How could this be done?

The name that was most often enlisted to provide the formula was Bertolt Brecht. D.N. Rodowick labeled this discourse "political modernism," understood as exemplified by an editorial in *October* advocating texts that seek "a critical or discursive function within cinema itself."[12] As the title of the journal makes apparent, the political modernism of the 1970s placed itself within a tradition extending back to Eisenstein, but this does not mean that it was the same discourse. The logic of the political modernism of the 1970s was premised on the idea that the baseline of cinema was ideology in the pejorative sense and what film and theory should do was thwart it. Cinema was no longer "the heir" of all the arts; it was rather, as Serge Daney put it, "a bad place."[13] Passivity or the smooth transfer of ideology could be interrupted by a device that made the audience aware of the level of mediation. Activity was for the sake of knowledge and film theory like alternative forms of film practice were oriented toward, as Christian Metz put it, "disengaging the cinema-object from the imaginary and wining it for the symbolic."[14]

And when the idea of a Brechtian cinema that became central to political filmmaking and film theory in 1960s and 1970s sought precedents in the great era of Soviet filmmaking, Eisenstein though he was, of course, a hero and widely acknowledged as the most significant theorist and practitioner of cinema as a political art, was never fully embraced as a model in either the French or Anglo-American film theory in the 1960s and 1970s. It is telling that in the aftermath of 1968, when Godard and Chris Marker looked back to Soviet filmmakers as emblems of nonhierarchical forms of collective filmmaking, it was Vertov and Medvedkin respectively that they turned to and not Eisenstein.

Why was there no Les Groupes Eisenstein? The obvious answer might be that Eisenstein's project, invested in finding a formula for the control of the psyche of the masses, might be thought to be too marked by an era of totalitarianism, or the other hand too tied to Taylorism and other processes of capitalist rationalization. Brechtian art might then be seen as not risking the dimension of Eisenstein's art that could be considered authoritarian or propagandistic. But in a remarkable essay called "Eisenstein's Madness," Jacques Rancière points out that this is not a satisfying explanation. He argues that the reason Eisenstein's theories and practice are not often claimed as an influence on contemporary forms of political film and video and its accompanying discourses is due not to his politics but his aesthetics.[15] Eisenstein's aesthetic logic is not compatible with what we typically understand by "propaganda." Propaganda requires a hierarchy in which the symbolic explains the aesthetic, but Eisenstein sought to overcome this opposition.

Whereas Brecht supplies an endlessly renewable resource for thinking the ends of contemporary art, Eisenstein, according to Rancière, elicits a certain embarrassment or discomfort today because he sought to bring a dream of aesthetic modernity to its limit, not to thwart the logic of representation but to overcome it – to create an art that short-circuited mediation and worked directly on the nervous system of the masses.

> Unlike Brecht, Eisenstein never wanted to instruct or teach his audience how to see and create a distance. Brecht set out to purge theatrical representation of identification, fascination, absorption. Eisenstein, instead wanted to capture all of them and multiply their power. [...] A communist art was not for him a critical art aimed at bringing about a new consciousness; it was an ecstatic art that directly transformed the links between ideas into chains of images in order to bring out a new regime of sensibility. That is the heart of the problem. Our grudge with Eisenstein has less to do with the ideals he wanted us to share with him than with the fact that he turns our supposed modernity on its head. He reminds us of that idea of artistic modernity to which the cinema once thought it could identify its technique: the anti-representative art that was going to replace the stories and characters of yore

with a language of ideas/sensations and with the direct communication of affects.[16]

Eisenstein sought to release the power of mimesis by wresting it from the mimetic logic of representation. The politicized film theory of 1970s, set on the critique of realism as illusionism, tended to fail to distinguish these different conceptions of mimesis. For Peter Wollen, for example, Eisenstein unlike Vertov was too close to classical narrative – the signified remained dominant[17] – but few thinkers went farther than Eisenstein in insisting that the representational dimension of the image was only the means to an end whose object was the psyche of the spectator. Eisenstein sought mimesis not of appearance – the realism which André Bazin called "psychological" – but of what he called in a 1929 speech, the "principle of appearance" which lies "behind appearance."[18] This is what Mikhail Iampolski has called "the method of artistic x-ray," a primary form of mimesis that underlies the secondary effect of verisimilitude and can be accessed as a common denominator to work directly on the spectator at the same primary level; it does not involve a rejection of mimesis but the seizing of its principle in such a way as to avoid the logic of absorption into a diegetic world to produce its effects.[19]

As brilliant as Rancière's essay is, he fails to recognize the extent to which this perhaps once repressed modernist dream of fusing prelogical and conceptual thought in a new art that works directly on the mind and body of the spectator increasingly resonates with current utopian and dystopian fantasies attached to media today. Yet absent in these new theories is the explicitly political dimension of Eisenstein's work. As Rancière shows, Eisenstein identified this idea of artistic modernity with an attempt "to put communism to the test of cinema."[20] It is with this in mind that I would like to look more closely at how we might best understand the political dimension of Eisenstein's conception of spectatorship.

There are no doubt different ways of thinking of the politics of Eisenstein's work, but since the active consumer/spectator/user today is often thought to be evidence of a more democratic dimension to new media and Eisenstein's work is often thought to be antidemocratic, I would like to think more concretely about the politics of the way Eisenstein conceived of the relationship between the film and the audience. I propose then that we consider the politics of cinema not in terms of political content – i.e., stories that concern the strategies of government, the pursuit or exploitation of power, or revolutionary uprisings – or in terms of how a particular film can be credited with calculable political effects in the public sphere by raising awareness, inciting a call to action, or galvanizing the masses, but rather in the ways that cinema can inscribe equality.

A word that features far more frequently in Eisenstein's writings than "equality" is "unity." Indeed the concept of unity has been a central sticking point that has been a barrier to Eisenstein's being embraced by film theory as it developed

in the Anglo-American world in the 1960s and 1970s. As an example we might look at Ben Brewster's editorial qualification of the only essay focusing on Eisenstein published in *Screen* in the 1970s, "Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift" by David Bordwell. According to Brewster, who found Bordwell's essay not sufficiently political to be published without additional comment, "The problem of Eisenstein's aesthetic theory is that at all stages unity prevails over heterogeneity and incongruity – even kabuki is made into a monistic ensemble. [...] Eisenstein never saw montage as the deliberate promotion of heterogeneity itself for aesthetic and political effect, which is what it always meant for the German practitioners of montage, and for Brecht in particular."[21]

But what is the relation between unity and equality? In the second version of Benjamin's famous essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," he claimed that "Any person today can lay claim to being filmed."[22] This provides an example of what I am calling cinematic equality, which is to say an idea of cinema as a way of inscribing equality. Leaning either on the old theatrical tradition of professional acting or the emerging discourse of celebrity, being in a film meant in 1935, as it still usually does, being an actor or a star. In contrast, Benjamin looked to Soviet cinema for his model that he insisted was in some sense inherent to the transformations in sense perception brought about by capitalist modernity in which film was both symptom and agent. According to Benjamin, "Some of the actors taking part in Russian films are not actors in our sense but people who portray themselves – and primarily in their own work process. In western Europe today, the capitalist exploitation of film obstructs the human being's legitimate claim to being reproduced."[23]

Benjamin's statements about the egalitarian potential of mass media are frequently evoked but the implications of them tend to remain unexamined. What does it mean for everyone to have the right to being reproduced? By way of explanation, Benjamin proposes an analogy. Using the example of letters to the editor in daily newspapers, he suggests that the reader "as an expert [...] gains access to authorship." As in Russian films, in newspapers, "Work itself is given a voice."[24]

Here we are in more familiar terrain and can recognize one of the central discourses about Web 2.0 – the barriers to access are eliminating the distinction between amateur and expert. But we should notice here two distinctions: There is a slippage from subject to author in the analogy of the letter to the editor with the worker portrayed on film. The worker who portrays himself on film is not him or herself a filmmaker, the way the reader of the newspaper becomes a writer. Nonetheless, it is a slippage that Benjamin would see as intrinsic to the new art of mechanical reproduction in which the image of the artist/author genius is no longer relevant. For Benjamin, the human body on screen also had a claim to

authorship of the film as it made possible the capacity for self-representation or, as it he put it, "a productive use of the human being's self-alienation."[25]

Eisenstein was the Soviet filmmaker Benjamin most admired and in a 1947 piece "The Audience as Creator," written during the period he worked on the *Notes*, Eisenstein would use the same word "experts" to refer to the Soviet spectators. They were experts not because they were literally filmed but because their social function or position within the division of labor was. The people onscreen were substitutable for those in the audience and if they weren't that was a failure of the filmmaker. "A boxer in the auditorium will not let the slightest technical mistake, committed by the boxer onscreen escape his notice; nor will a jockey fail to observe in the screen jockey's posture; nor will a foundry worker,"[26] and so on. The bodies on screen linked the filmmaker and the audience members as creators of the same "great historical cause." As Eisenstein put it, "Our film audience is a creator-audience sharing with the film-makers the creative authorship."[27]

It is instructive to compare Eisenstein here to Vertov who Benjamin surely also had in mind when he referred to nonactors in Russian films as "people who portray themselves – and primarily in their own work process." For Vertov, labor is also explicitly cited as the very basis for conceiving of how montage inscribes equality. According to Vertov, evoking *The Communist Manifesto*, Kino-Eye establishes "a visual bond between workers of the whole world" without the mediation of "a teacher or propagandist."[28] The nonanthropomorphic camera eye, the indifferent machine, makes possible a true equality or unanimity unmediated by an avant-garde. The workers of the world are united by the communism of filmic expression. The artist or filmmaker does not stand above the other workers as a master, but in a horizontal relation as a producer among producers. The Kino-Eye for Vertov is not an eye of surveillance or fetishistic fascination as film theorists will later identify in the gaze intrinsic to the cinematic apparatus, but a democratic participant that in Vertov's 1929 film *Man with a Movie Camera* linked the equal movements of the factory worker, the telephone operator, the hairdressers in the beauty salon and the cameraman. Vertov was the self-proclaimed "first shoe-maker of Russian cinema." His colleagues still fettered by bourgeois narrative forms were merely shoe shiners. For Vertov this equation of filmmakers and shoemakers was reciprocal. Artistry is a universal capacity available to anyone and the reception of the film was predicated on this idea. As Vertov put it, "Everyone has something of the poet, artist, musician. Or else there are no poets, artists, musicians."[29] Art for Vertov, in Benjamin's terms, should be divested of aura, that sense of distance that separated art from the audience.

Eisenstein like Vertov, and unlike the advocates of Brechtian cinema, didn't want to create a distance between the film and the audience but to eliminate it. And like Vertov, he sought to do this by finding a method called "montage" that created an equivalence between spectator, filmmaker, and the actors or types on

screen. Here is where the similarities end.
As Eisenstein put it in "Montage 1938,"

> The image conceived by author, director and actor and fixed by them in the separate depictive elements, will finally come into being anew in the perceptions of the spectator. [...] The strength of the montage lies also in the fact that the spectator is drawn into a creative act of a kind in which his individual nature is not only not enslaved to the individuality of the author but is deployed to the full by a fusion with the author's purpose.[30]

Whereas Vertov sought to show that the filmmaker was a worker among workers and was also in a certain sense a spectator, Eisenstein sought a method that would make the spectator act or work in a way that was equivalent to that of the filmmaker. Whereas Vertov wanted to link all forms of productive labor into a relation of equivalence through the rhythmic energy of montage, Eisenstein wanted montage to transform cinema itself into a form of productive labor. The productivity of the labor was instantiated or given flesh by the spectator.

In this sense Jonathan Beller is right that Eisenstein in a certain way predicts late capitalism's desire to make attention into a form of labor, but he is wrong to suggest that Eisenstein desires an "audience of dogs."[31] If Eisenstein in 1938 as in 1926, still wanted to make sure that the spectator's response could be calculated with certainty and fused with the unambiguous intention of the filmmaker, he was also keen on asserting the necessarily *creative* dimension to that process. The image that the spectator creates "is the same image that has been conceived by the author, but that image will also have been simultaneously brought into being by a creative act on the part of the spectator."[32] Eisenstein's conception of montage took the stimulation-response logic as a means toward a process of conversion that could be realized only at a higher level, which the spectator arrived at. There are two paradoxes here: (1) The higher unity created by the spectator's labor was only possible because of a proto-logical dimension that preceded the spectators' labor, and (2) The creative act on the part of the spectator had to be forced by the film. As he put it, "it is precisely the montage principle, as distinct from the depictive principle which forces the spectator to create." Each spectator creates "his own image, his own conception" which are all "as images, individual and different, yet at the same time they are thematically identical. And each reader's/spectator's image [...] is simultaneously the author's image and – equally – *his own* image, which is alive and intimate. [...] The image conceived by the author has become flesh, [...] the flesh of the spectator's image."[33]

In the section of the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* entitled "The Heir," the principle of montage is called "unity in diversity."[34] The phrase might be seen as a succinct summation of the principle that guides not only "montage" as a concept, but also the *General History* itself and Eisenstein's project throughout his

career. In the 1920s, of course, the stress on conflict or opposition might not share the seemingly pluralist implications of "diversity," but if we are to seek a unity in the diversity of the history of Eisenstein's own thought, it might be found in the consistent desire to think how the heterogeneous can combine into a new form with its own autonomy.

The will to unity may not sit well with us today, but in a moment in which activity is increasingly treated as an imperative and an end in itself to be valued as long as it can be numerically measured, we should be reminded of a conception that believed that the activity of filmmaking and film viewing could be part of the collective egalitarian project of creating something that as a unity was not the sum of its parts but qualitatively new.

5. Pathos and Praxis (Eisenstein versus Barthes)

Georges Didi-Huberman

As a whole, Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema* appears as the protean outline of a greater dialectical endeavor constantly animated by a double rhythm, something like a respiration or a perpetual heartbeat. On the one hand, Eisenstein understood cinema as a kind of gigantic diastole, an extraordinary opening of the field of the image: as a consequence, he called for an anthropology in which Greek dithyrambs and Christian pilgrimages, puppet theater and grisaille, Egyptians and Picasso, Chinese scrolls and Van Eyck's altarpieces, Peruvian pottery and Verlaine's poems, Javanese theater and Constructivist photomontage, among the countless examples brought up, would jostle together. This involved placing the cinema in the forefront of a general observation on the effectiveness of images and the – psychic, physical, social – movements they simultaneously required and gave rise to. This explains why Eisenstein, in spite of the "socialist" scientism and the party lines to which he constantly had to answer, never hesitated to conceive of images within the pluri-disciplinary perspective of a sort of mythopoesis found in many of his contemporaries (Aby Warburg and Marcel Mauss, Carl Einstein, and Georges Bataille, for instance).

On the other hand – and this is in no way contradictory with the first point – Eisenstein approached cinema as a materialist practitioner and thinker. He would then also – through a systolic movement, one might say – zero in on the crucial site of his theory of montage, where everything splits again and reorganizes concretely: by this I mean the visual shock his dialectical and dynamic conception of images entails. This is why he also stands in the proximity of artists or thinkers such as Bertolt Brecht and László Moholy-Nagy, Walter Benjamin and Ernst Bloch. It should be remembered, for example, that Ernst Bloch had understood montage as the procedure central to artistic modernity as a whole – the "heritage of our times," as he put it, which was all we had left of the "collapsed context" of a world that had undergone the devastation of the First World War.[1]

Ill. 1 – Alexander Rodchenko, poster for *The Battleship Potëmkin*, 1925.

Let us also remember how Walter Benjamin located this economy of the shock in Bertolt Brecht's epic montages – which were theatrical, but were at once captured in their closeness to cinema:

> Epic theater proceeds by fits and starts, in a manner comparable to the images on a film strip. Its basic form is that of the forceful impact on one another of separate, sharply distinct situations in the play. [...] As a result, intervals occur which tend to destroy illusion. These intervals paralyse the audience's readiness for empathy. Their purpose is to enable the spectator to adopt a critical attitude (towards the represented behaviour of the play's characters and towards the way in which this behaviour is represented).[2]

The difficulty in understanding Eisenstein evidently has to do with the heterodox dialectics he made use of, the usual ideological and theoretical uses notwithstanding. He never reduced his "truth," either to an absolute knowledge issuing from the speculative movement beyond antinomies, or to an absolute position issuing from the conflict between two opposite parties ("illusion" against "truth," for instance). His dialectics constantly involved the intervention – there lies the heterodoxy – of the mythos in the logos (following the teachings of anthropologists or Freudian psychoanalysis) and of the pathos in the praxis (fol-

Ill. 2 – Naum Kleiman, montage of shots from *The Battleship Potëmkin*, undated.

lowing the teachings of poets or, once again, psychoanalysis, but also of the psychology of emotions developed by Lev Vygotsky).[3] It proved impossible for Eisenstein to develop a knowledge of contemporary Mexico without looking to its myths, its beliefs, its superstitions, its rituals, its survivals, all of which forming a temporal material where, in his view, the very energy of Mexicans to emancipate themselves from their centuries-old alienations and find the conditions of their own revolutionary future should be understood.

Just as vain in Eisenstein's eyes was the attempt to understand revolutionary praxis without appealing to the pathos which provided it with the very premises of a physical acting out, as one may say. Because it was misunderstood – or simply dismissed – this heterodox dialectics of pathos and praxis has to a large extent conditioned the debates inherent to the reception of Eisenstein's work. The poster designed by Alexander Rodchenko for *The Battleship Potëmkin* in 1925 (Ill. 1, p. 310), for example, orchestrates a violent antinomy between pointed cannons and slaughtered crowds on the stairs of Odessa. It suggests, therefore, the side which the different army corps had to take with respect to the people rising up. The montage produced later by Naum Kleiman from single frames of *The Battleship Potëmkin* suggests, by contrast, a much more complex, much more anthropological stance, as though cued to an atlas – a montage – of multiple "pathos formulae" (Ill. 2, p. 311), a glimpse of which Eisenstein himself had

given in the form of single frames from *The General Line* in a spread designed in 1930 for the periodical *Documents* (Ill. 3 and 4, p. 312).

Ill. 3 and 4 – Sergei M. Eisenstein, montage of shots from *The General Line*. Source: *Documents* 4 (1930), pp. 218-219.

The relation established by Eisenstein between pathos and praxis – that is, between the bodily modifications of subjects affected by history and the historical modifications acted by politicized subjects – does seem constructed, composed, an object of montage each time, in something whose complexity prevents us, in the end, from reducing his work either to a Jungian mystique (an art of ecstasis or pathetic lyricism) or to Stalinist propaganda (an art of message or watchword). Eisenstein's images fascinate, yet they also exasperate. For nothing is more exasperating than being fascinated, or seeing oneself "transported off one's seat as a spectator," the experience the filmmaker claimed he could make happen. Nothing is more exasperating, for a discourse of truth, than feeling liable to be fooled by the image.

It is a well-known fact that Roland Barthes's critique of our contemporary "mythologies"[4] has played a considerable part in France in the acknowledgment of ideological phenomena vested in images. Barthes rejected the mythos as a lie about historical praxis (in favor of the epos, for example), just as he rejected the pathos as an aesthetic lie contained in "shock" effects (in favor of the *punctum*, for example). Certainly, he introduced a legitimate suspicion toward "media" images of pain, in particular when these feature sensationalism and sentimentalism. At the same time, however, he simplified the problem in such an elegant manner that his disciples, as though to extend the elegance of the style of his thinking, repeated his simplifications without realizing it. Barthes, for instance, examined a "shock-photo" representing "the grief of Aduan Malki's fiancee, the murdered Syrian." Barely denouncing other, "overconstructed" photographs that try too hard to "signify the horrible for us to experience it," he concedes that in this particular photograph "the fact, surprised, explodes in all its stubbornness, its literality, in the very obviousness of its obtuse nature." Yet he immediately refuses to take in the tragic of the image, which in his view only incites to an "emotive purgation," unlike the epic construction of history, that which according to Brecht would alone make possible a "critical catharsis" (but does not the word "catharsis" mean "emotive purgation," precisely?)... All this aims to reduce – to simplify – the photographed horror to the sole situation of the spectator comfortably facing the photograph: "the horror comes from the fact that we are looking at it from inside our freedom."[5]

At around the same time, Roland Barthes wrote a memorable critical review of the photography exhibit *The Family of Man*, designed by Edward Steichen.[6] He then found himself confronted with other pathetic images, other images of pain (but of pleasure as well), other images of death (but of life as well); he saw the mourners photographed by Alvarez Bravo in Mexico, Margaret Bourke-White in India and Korea, Eugene Smith in American black ghettos.[7] As it happens, however, rather than looking at these images for what they are – and some of them, he never says it, are simply admirable – Barthes opts to widen his point of view and, as a result, expresses a general protest against the "very old mystification"

which, according to him, gave the exhibition its very principle: "to suppress the determining weight of History" while postulating "the universality of human actions" on the basis of an "identical 'nature,'" of a "Great Family of Man" forming a unity – "magically produced" and ambiguous in its political consequences – beyond all its variations, all its historical injustices.[8] What does Barthes try to simplify there? First, the exhibition *The Family of Man* was perhaps not as much as he claimed removed from a point of view on history: the many references to recent wars, genocides, political terror attest to this, for instance. One could almost see the exhibition as a photographic response to the introduction by the Nuremberg court – which some images chosen by Steichen bring to mind – of the legal concept of "crime against humanity." Moreover, we know through works such as Robert Antelme's *L'Espèce humaine*[9] that it was possible, during those same years, to speak of "human actions" without conforming to the spiritualist soppiness which Barthes rightfully sought to denounce.

One of Barthes's great concerns in his approach of images was always to distinguish between two regimes of meaning, which the article of *Mythologies* devoted to "shock-photos" already names with much precision: on the one hand, the "pure sign" prevails, that is, the visual sign aiming for the "perfect legibility" and which, on this account, "does not disorganize us," as Barthes superbly writes; on the other hand, the "obtuse nature" of an irreducible "obviousness" looms, that which, in an image, may reach us, move us deeply, deliver a truth.[10] We must then acknowledge a reversal of the hierarchies which the standard iconographic reasoning would enforce on us: from that point on, the "perfect legibility" of an image has to be considered as a rhetorical effect comparable to what Barthes, in a literary context, rightly named "the reality effect,"[11] something like a realistic cliché. Conversely, when "the fact, surprised, explodes in all its stubbornness"[12] and, as a result, makes the image mysterious, the real returns through a countereffect of sorts in which an experience of strangeness is delivered – Barthes will later choose to refer to it as the punctum.

In the meantime this distinction, so fertile, between the two signifying regimes of the image, was theorized by Barthes with the terminology of "obvious meaning" and "obtuse meaning."[13] In this regard, it is not without interest to note that the example on which Barthes developed his distinction was none other than a series of images from Eisenstein's *The Battleship Potëmkin*. The task at hand was therefore to locate instances in which such images only made "*signification*" visible (obvious meaning) and instances in which they were able to deliver "*signifiance*" (obtuse meaning), according to a vocabulary manifestly borrowed from Jacques Lacan. Barthes first sees only "obvious meaning [...] in its pure state" in the grieving women: this is a way of reading Eisenstein's cinema as an iconography saturated with pomposity, oversignification, gestural "decorativism" – down to the relation established with the pictorial tradition of the *pietà* – that is, in the

Ill. 5 – Montage of shots from *The Battleship Potëmkin*. Source: Roland Barthes, *L'Obvie et l'obtus. Essais critiques III* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), p. 47.

end, a mere realistic rhetoric full of clichés, to which he denies any polysemy, any power of ambiguity:

> Eisenstein's "art" is not polysemous: it chooses the meaning, imposes it, hammers it home (if the *signification* is overrun by the obtuse meaning, this is not to say that it is thereby denied or blurred): the Eisensteinian meaning devastates ambiguity. How? By the addition of an aesthetic value, emphasis. Eisenstein's "decorativism" has an economic function: it proffers the truth. Look at III (Ill. 5, p. 315): in extremely classic fashion, grief comes from the bowed heads, the expressions of suffering, the hand over the mouth stifling a sob, but once all this has been said, very adequately, a decorative trait says it again: the superimposition of the two hands aesthetically arranged in a delicate, maternal, floral ascension towards the face bowing down. Within the general detail (the two women), another detail is mirroringly inscribed; derived from a pictorial order as a quotation of the gestures to be found in icons and *pietà*, it does not distract but accentuates the meaning; this accentuation (characteristic of all realist art) has some connection with the "truth" of *Potëmkin*. Baudelaire spoke of "the emphatic truth of gesture in the important moments of life"; here it is the truth of the "important proletarian

> moment" which requires emphasis. The Eisensteinian aesthetic does not constitute an independent level: it is part of the obvious meaning, and the obvious meaning is always, in Eisenstein, the revolution.[14]

Roland Barthes then catches in passing, in the same sequence of *Potëmkin* – which features the funeral of seaman Vakulinchuk – a single frame that suddenly causes the obvious signification of images and their "message of grief" to vacillate:

> I first had the conviction of the obtuse meaning with image V (Ill. 6, p. 316). A question forced itself upon me: what is it in this tearful old woman that poses for me the question of the signifier? I quickly convinced myself that, although perfect, it was neither the facial expression nor the gestural figuration of grief (the closed eyelids, the taut mouth, the hand clasped on the breast): all that belongs to the full signification, to the obvious meaning of the image, to Eisensteinian realism and decorativism. I felt that the penetrating trait – disturbing like a guest who obstinately sits on saying nothing when one has no use for him – must be situated somewhere in the region of the forehead [and] came very precisely from a tenuous relationship: that of the low headscarf, the closed eyes and the convex mouth. [...] All these traits (the funny headdress, the old woman, the squinting eyelids [...]) have as their vague reference a somewhat low language, the language of a rather pitiful disguise. In connection with the noble grief of the obvious meaning, they form a dialogism so tenuous that there is no guarantee of its intentionality. The characteristic of this third meaning is indeed [...] to blur the limit separating expression from disguise, but also to allow that oscillation succinct demonstration – an elliptic emphasis, if one can put it like that.[15]

Ill. 6 – Montage of shots from *The Battleship Potëmkin*. Source: Roland Barthes, *L'Obvie et l'obtus. Essais critiques III* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), p. 48.

These two passages deserve to be looked into for a moment. In the first, Barthes speaks of Eisenstein's "art" only between quotation marks: his images "devastate ambiguity" through "emphasis" and "decorativism," his cinema claims to "proffer the truth" of the proletarian revolution, all of which only results in obvious meaning, according to him, whereas genuine art may be recognized in the delivery of its precious "obtuse meaning" – or at least so goes the thesis implicit in these lines. If Barthes devotes the very end of the text to a heavy defense of the single frame as allowing the film to be "grasped" authentically – I say "heavy" because I feel that it is hampered by its own paradoxes, and notably by its references to the Eisensteinian theory of montage which proposes the exact opposite – it is perhaps because Barthes senses, in his analysis of still, isolated images of the mourners, all that he loses of the explosive montage of images of the film itself.

To realize this, one simply needs to view again the sequence from which these frames have been excerpted. The sequence is of course part of an epic narration that has the revolution as a principal motif. Yet the motif does not operate in it as "obvious meaning," "pure sign," narrative unit endowed with a "perfect legibility": it is given to see only in a montage of differences out of which "obtuse meaning" bursts forth at every moment, in every interval, as long as one accepts to become attentive to the rhythm, the very pulsation of these differences. We are at the beginning of the third part of the film, whose title, "Death Demands Justice," reads like a political slogan or a chapter from a Victor Hugo novel. What can then be seen, however, immediately undoes the obvious meaning of this sentence: it is a space unsettlingly foggy from which sailboats slowly and silently emerge, as in Caspar David Friedrich's paintings. From then on, everything is organized around a play of contrasts: old sailing ships (sails, masts, rigging) over a background of industrial docks (mechanical crates), for example. Then, once Vakulinchuk's exposed corpse has been glimpsed, men are still shown quietly fishing in the harbor, a little cat eating a piece of fish. When the crowd is seen walking down the immense stairs toward the dead or marching on the imposing curve of the pier, one still lingers on the drying laundry, the trivial breeches, the hanging fishing nets.

What Barthes fails to see, especially, is that the grief of women confronted with the dead – a "classical" grief, he writes, one unilaterally "decorative" according to him – does not appear as a fixed form, but always as a musical rhythm, a dialecticized motif, an always complexified gesture, an affect destined to a necessary transformation. Eisenstein did not content himself with showing mourners and chose, rather, to assemble them in a montage, in an extraordinary variety of adjacent images – the old woman on whom Barthes focuses his attention thus appears at three very different moments of the sequence, manifestly to tell of three different states of her grieving body – precisely because the lamentation is understood or, better still, constructed by the filmmaker in a meaning

which is neither fixed nor obvious. Mourning turns out to affect bodies so "classically," according to the *pietà* form Eisenstein draws from iconographic canons of Russian icons, only to find in itself an other energy meant, precisely, to destroy this classical form: from one image to the next, the lamentation turns into imprecation; the crying of each becomes the singing of all; religious despondency gives way to the political protest of the *pasionaria* and the young militant, whose speeches, it is explicit, now "demand justice." We have moved from the religious sphere to the political sphere, and the effect (the emphasis) of the former was needed for the latter to deliver its countereffect (acting out).

A decisive moment in the sequence comes when a bourgeois in the midst of the crowd, reacting to the traditional gestures of lamentation – Christian Orthodox gestures, gestures of "popular" devotion, as is often said – shouts out, quite irrationally, "Death to the Yids!" (He probably takes aim at the young orators, but it is then understood that Eisenstein likes nothing more than constructing manifest situations on the basis of latent or symptomatic significations.) From that moment on, "grieving bodies," bodies of lamentation become animated with a whole new energy: the bourgeois gets lynched, women shout in anger, a kind of wild joy takes hold of the mourning crowd. Revolution, indeed: revolution in affects, in gestures, in bodies, in collective decisions.

Eisenstein did not simply place an old world (that of the old mourners) and a new world (that of young revolutionaries) side by side, since men too allow their tears to flow in the sequence, just as the old women are able to turn their grief into furor and revolt. The filmmaker introduced a desire and a violence that go beyond any obvious meaning. Still, he did so thanks to the activation of a more subtle, deeper memory than anything Barthes was ready to acknowledge in the old mourner's "funny" side – a somewhat coarse expression chosen to denote the effect of visual *punctum* related to the garb alone. This old woman is much more than "funny": she is anachronistic in that she taps into the most traditional forms of funerary gestures to draw a new form of revolutionary protest from it. Finally, it also appears that, through the constant montage of heterogeneous orders of size – the seaman's corpse with the little cat eating, the crowd gathered in earnest with the underwear drying in the sun – Eisenstein ceaselessly gives to see this "obtuse meaning" which Barthes recognizes only once in the static contrast between the mourner's "noble grief" and her "rather pitiful disguise."

Roland Barthes thus elicited, including in the best of his postmodern disciples, the attitude of distance which regards as a critical outlook what often proves to be the refusal of any outlook. In a famous issue of the *Cahiers du cinéma* titled "Images de marque," Alain Bergala thus wanted to see, in photographic images of pain and lamentation, "the sticky identification to the victim, to the fellow humans whose fate has taken a dramatic turn" by which, in his view, "the photograph offers itself up as a fetish, a screen-memory for desire."[16] In consideration of which, in front of the famous image of a group of women and children

arrested by the Nazis in the Warsaw ghetto, and in order to avoid feeling pity, he preferred to "come across" – or to extract, rather – some Barthesian "third meaning" solely in the accessory of dress, the cap of the little Jewish boy, without a word for the event itself constituted at first glance by all these raised hands, all these petrified bodies, and all these crazed looks under the death threat documented in unbearable detail by the image. One might say that for a sizable number of post-Barthesian – and post-Lacanian – critics, the pathos would be the worst of the image, it being understood that the Imaginary would already be the worst of the Symbolic: in short, an appalling illusion. Specious, uninformed, mistaken. Could it be that in images of lamentation, one may find only lamentable images?

This point of view, however, is trivial, defensive, moralistic even. The contempt for pathos in the political field is akin to the rejection of kitsch – the "bad genre," the "error of taste" – in the aesthetic field. It may be deconstructed in several ways: thanks to the aesthetics of intensities according to Friedrich Nietzsche, the anthropology of *Pathosformeln* according to Aby Warburg, the metapsychology of affects and representations according to Sigmund Freud, the ethnology of the "obligatory expression of feelings" according to Marcel Mauss, the poetics of passions according to Erich Auerbach, the "sacred sociology of the contemporary world" according to Georges Bataille or, more recently, what could be called the "pathetic politics" according to Pier Paolo Pasolini and Glauber Rocha. How not to see, above all, that the best response to the Barthesian critique of pathos lies in Eisenstein's film itself, and more generally, in the poetics of the great filmmaker and theoretician that he was?

On the one hand, scenes of mourning and lamentation almost always hold pivotal positions in Eisenstein's dramaturgic compositions: this may be seen in *Strike*, which ends with the vision of the bodies of murdered strikers, a vision whose slight high angle at eye level is exactly that of someone who would come and assess the situation (from the standpoint of history or praxis) or to meditate (from the standpoint of mourning or pathos). In *October*, there are also dead revolutionaries that the camera itself "mourns for," not to mention the structural inversion of this situation in the famous scene of "Orpheus put to death by his very maenads (his bourgeois women)."

In *The General Line*, a poisoned bull is mourned collectively. In *Que Viva Mexico!* mourning rituals – half-pagan, half-Christian – run through the entire narration, in an economy of images constantly oscillating between documentary style and Surrealist composition. As to the construction of *Bezhin Meadow*, it is held together by two funerary scenes, the mourning of the mother at the beginning and the mourning of the child at the end. In *Alexander Nevsky*, it is of course the bravery of soldiers killed in action for which tears are shed. Finally, in *Ivan the Terrible*, funeral vigils are bombastic and ominous as they must have been under Stalin:

they are paranoid and instrumentalized politically, loving but also vengeful, conspiratorial and excessive to the point of madness.

On the other hand, specific work should be started so as to get the measure of the theoretical answer produced by Eisenstein himself to clear pathos from any "psychological" weakness, that is, with a view to producing images of lamentation which would not be lamentable images for all that: in short, images of pathos not necessarily disconnected from praxis and political history. As early as 1922, Vladimir Mayakovsky took a stand against Hollywood's "whining" cinema:

> For you cinema is a spectacle.
> For me almost a *Weltanschauung*.
> Cinema – purveyor of movement. [...]
> Cinema – a sower of ideas.
> But – cinema is sick. Capitalism has covered its eyes with gold. Deft entrepreneurs lead it through the streets by the hand. They accumulate money by stirring the heart with whining little tales.
> We must put an end to this.[17]

Eisenstein himself repeated this criticism. However, he chose not to ignore that pathos was rooted at the very heart of revolutionary praxis. What the mourning scene builds up, in *The Battleship Potëmkin*, is nothing but the dialectical transformation of peoples in tears toward their historical power as peoples in arms. Mourning thus appears pivotal – Eisenstein writes of a caesura, implicitly reusing Hölderlin's principle of the poetic caesura on a cinematographic level – between the inertia of an exhausted people and its movement toward emancipation:

> Actually, near the middle, the film as a whole is divided by the dead pause of a caesura; the stormy movement of the beginning pauses totally so that it can gather momentum a second time for its second half.
> The role of a similar caesura in terms of the film as a whole is played by the episode of the dead Vakulinchuk and the Odessa mists. [...]
> In one case – it is several shots of clenched fists in which the theme of mourning over the murdered man jumps to the theme of rage.[18] (Ill. 7 and 8, p. 321)

Eisenstein said somewhere – in his 1933 essay on cinema and literature – that the scene of mourning in *Potëmkin* was intimately linked, for him, to the memory of a poetic line, "A silence of death hung in the air."[19] How not to remember as well the chapter from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* titled "A Burial; An Occasion to Be Born Again," one sentence from which reads, "like everything that is bitter, affliction may turn to revolt"?[20] How not to acknowledge the pivotal role of pathos in any historical praxis?

Ill. 7 and 8 – Sergei M. Eisenstein, *The Battleship Potëmkin*, 1925. Single frames.

6. Eisenstein's Absolutely Wonderful, Totally Impossible Project

Jane Gaines

The English translation and publication of Sergei Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema* is momentous, obviously, but for all the wrong reasons as well as for better ones. Yes, the *Notes* may tempt us to think for a minute that this could become a "history of cinema," to imagine its completion, or even to champion it as a final authority and definitive lineage to which we can now attach "cinema today." Or, worse, we may attempt to use the *Notes* as "lessons from history" for the present – how to proceed or not to proceed to think cinema in transition. The project has to do with us, certainly, but not in the ways we might think – least of all because if "[c]inema is the heir of all artistic cultures," as Eisenstein proclaims at the beginning of the section of the *Notes* entitled "The Heir," we can now know what is the "heir of cinema." So we start by resisting the temptation to take Eisenstein's *Notes* as secretly containing the historicist answer for us to the question it implicitly poses: "What made cinema the cinema that it is?" especially because that question leads too easily to the corollary: "Is cinema on its way to becoming something other than cinema?"

Instead, I want to use the occasion to begin to assess the "historical turn" in the field of film and media studies.[1] Influenced by what some call "the new philosophy of history," I propose three oblique angles on the question of "history" that lurks in the term "history of cinema," and these are: "impossibility" in several senses, genealogy as "bad" and "good," and, finally, "historical time" as "peculiar," to quote Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar.[2] Since those associated with the "new philosophy of history" do not necessarily agree on what to call their approach I will sometimes refer to these critiques of traditional historiography with the less contested term "theories of history."[3] Because when we start to ask what we mean by "history," or even "histories," we are right back in the territory of the "theory" that the "historical turn" was originally meant to avert.[4]

The importance to us of the total impossibility of Eisenstein's intriguing project cannot be underestimated. Yet what is meant here by "impossible," given that

the philosophical implications of the term "impossible" may be incompatible with the daunting empirical challenges implied? Claiming that the project is empirically impossible is of course not at all the same as claiming it for the philosophical sense of the impossible, although the ordinary usage persists in the philosophical. Here, however, I actually want to keep both meanings – the empirical sense of unrealizable and the theory of history sense in which every attempt to write the historical past is founded on a doomed assumption that the past can be retrieved and represented accurately in the present. In this second meaning, "impossible" is a code word for a deconstructive stance, the enlarged sense in which might see Eisenstein's fragments as impossibly possible.[5]

That some of those aligned with the "new philosophy of history" identify themselves as "deconstructionist historians" begins to have a kind of symmetry because they continue to conduct historical research all the while declaring the absolute impossibility of the historical project.[6] In this respect it seems likely that on the basis of the *Notes*, Eisenstein can be an honorary "deconstructionist historian," like Walter Benjamin with the Arcades Project as well as Jacques Derrida himself, by virtue of never having written a proper history.[7] But where does that leave those who once were called "film scholars"?

We are situated, as André Gaudreault says, "post-Comolli," that is, after Jean-Louis Comolli's 1971 six-part *Cahiers du Cinéma* article critical of the first generation of traditional film historians.[8] So Gaudreault has thrown down the gauntlet. Exactly how critical is the field willing to be? This is the field that since the 1980s has taken up "history" as a new direction, all the while expressing increasing skepticism about either "history of film" or "history of cinema."[9] Without a doubt, the search for the moment of the "birth of cinema" has been discredited, certainly beginning as early as Comolli's "Technique and Ideology." Yet there remains the dream of it. Because Comolli still holds out for, as he says, a "materialist history of the cinema today," stipulating that it would need to be accompanied by a "materialist theory of history."[10] In the end, however, Comolli, like Eisenstein before him, could be seen as having left an unfinished project. David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, whose assessment we defer to in consideration of their own prodigious historical research, would comment: "That Comolli has left the task undone suggests that he found it daunting."[11] Thus we have in the field not one but two historical monuments to an ambitious impossibility, less than a quarter of a decade apart.

To what, however, does the dream of "a history of cinema" commit one? At issue is the politics of the genealogical approach which could be taken in two competing directions. Here, the new philosophy of history acknowledges the "good" genealogical, now archaeological project, following Michel Foucault, which critiques what we might call the reactionary or "bad" genealogical approach, as we will see.[12] But first, just to restate Eisenstein's prefatory remarks

which point toward a genealogical mode of approaching the project he calls "the history of cinema":

> Cinema is the heir of all artistic cultures, as is the nation itself that elevated it for the first time in all history – both in estimation and creatively – to the very heights of art, and it is the heir of all cultures of the preceding ages.
> Cinema is the art of the USSR *par excellence*, and it is so in a natural and organic way.
> It is according to this perspective that the history of cinema must be established.[13]

In this statement we find, yes, the seeds of the genealogical assumption, if nowhere but in the elevation of cinema to "heir." Later, we find in the *Notes* lists of inventions and inventors, chronologically organized, and clearly derived from the "Inventions" section at the end of Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*.

Thus, for example:

> 1558 Camera with lens and stop for diaphragm
> Daniello [sic] Barbaro
> 1590 Compound microscope (Jansen)
> 1714 Typewriter
> 1719 Threecolor printing from copper plate
> 1796 Lithography (!)[14]

Followed by:

> Dynamic image and sound
> 1807 Kymograph – moving cylinder for recording continuous movement (Young)
> 1839 Electrotype (Jacobi) (?)
> 1839 Callotype (Talbot)
> 1839 Daguerreotype (Niépce and Daguerre)
> 1840 Micro-photography (Donné)
> 1841 Paper positives in photography (Talbot)
> 1855 Television (Caselle)
> 1856 Color photography (Zenker)
> 1858 Phonautograph. Voice vibrations, recorded on revolving cylinder (Scott)
> 1864 Motion Picture (Ducos)
> 1870 Celluloid (J.W. and J.S. Hyatt)
> 1877 Microphone (Edison)
> 1877 Phonograph
> 1882 Motion picture camera (Marey)

1886 Hand camera (Eastman)
1889 Modern motion picture camera (Edison)
1893 Moving picture (Edison)
1894 Jenkins's "Phantoscope" – first moving picture of modern type
1895 Moving picture projection (Edison)
1907 Television-photograph (Korn)
1920 Radio broadcasting
1927 Radio television[15]

What do we have here? A fascination with chronological lists from the master theorist of asynchronicity, and, what is more, verticality from the aesthetician of the diagonal! One can debate whether or not chronology is always doomed to imply causality, one technological breakthrough the consequence of an earlier one, always in this model an "advance" but never a retrograde move. Yet from a contemporary standpoint looking at such a chronology we can't help but think about what forces disrupt and cut across it – the duplication of effort, waste, competing claims, piracies, industrial espionage and patent disputes, not to mention fraud and graft. And why these inventions but not others? Comolli observed that even in spite of the first histories, that is, despite Georges Sadoul and Maurice Bardèche and Robert Brasillach, for example, even all smoothed out, one cannot help but see "births" begetting, cancelling, and begetting "births." Thus:

> It is in fact as both plural and fragmented that the "birth of cinema" emerges from all its "Histories": scattered and sporadic, beginning anew with each new "apparatus," each technical detail and each new patent, and at the same time held back, postponed again for a time by the lack in each successive apparatus of some technical detail, of the new solution to a new problem.[16]

For Comolli, the technological evolution narrative will always testify against itself.

Such a chronology as Eisenstein has included here is also a line of descent, and whether or not these particular ancestors are themselves auspicious or venerable the idea of ancestry alone contributes to the "elevation" of film from its low status as nonart. And genealogy is always about paternity, about who will or will not exhibit physical characteristics and as a consequence can or cannot inherit property. Laws of biological heredity are resolutely one-directional. Only in science fiction can paternity be orchestrated against chronological time – think here of Robert A. Heinlein's "All You Zombies" in which, following a sex change operation, the character is able to both "father" and "mother" himself. So, I think, making technological family trees in an effort to understand machines and scientific instruments is an exercise less science and more science fiction,

such chronologies lending themselves to fantasies of paternity. Or, stories of illegitimacy and abandonment that still obsessed with paternity. Consider, in this regard, how we are now faced with the perplexing question as to whether to "grandfather" cinema into a new family tree so that it can be seen to legitimately beget the digital. We might ask how this is any different from John Connor sending Kyle back in time to become his own progenitor in an effort to rescue the future in *The Terminator* (1984). Why? Because while we may agree that the historical past no longer exists we may still write about it as though we can know it now. The easiest form of historical explanation is the arrangement of past events chronologically before the present such that later events appear as a consequence of the earlier. The historian is expected to convincingly prove evolution if not causality when he or she can really only "fiction" technological relations. If nothing else this comparison should demonstrate how the contemporary philosophy of history thinks this problem, dedicated as it is to proving that historical study is not science. If not science, then, the mere use of the term "digital cinema" itself might suggest that the paternity question has been settled. But no. Thomas Elsaesser, arguing against such an inevitability, claims the opposite:

> For instance, the arrival of "digital cinema" – for many, still a contradiction in terms – has thrown into doubt the very definition of "what cinema is," and it has rendered diffuse any single point of origin, any linear path of influence or causal chains that confidently prescribe particular trajectories or ascribe specific goals to either film or the cinema.[17]

While we may hope, following Elsaesser, that the digital moment can forestall the resolution of the question as to "what cinema is," the question may be decided not by science or technology but in the realm of metaphor.

While on the one hand the digital troubles the genealogical, on the other, it shores it up by elevating its antithesis – film. This we find in the film archivist's discourse. If the genealogical borrows the family tree analogy it can as easily borrow the microbiological gene as when the question of digital restoration is posed as the problem of an archival ethics, that is, to mix or not to mix the inferior digital "DNA" with that of the photochemical in the same restored image. Here, to differentiate the photochemical the archivists' term "film-born" can rig the debate on the side of ontological purity.[18] Here "film-born" reinforces the idea of genetic makeup even when there are really no genes involved, although the analogy encourages something like the worry about genetically modified corn getting into the food chain. But what, really, is the danger of viewing images in which we can "no longer tell" compared to that of eating mysteriously modified food?

The pitfalls of genealogical thinking are terribly obvious. Lining up antecedents, like searching for ancestors, has been deployed in the service of the most

conservative of politics. Yet in Eisenstein the genealogical project is undertaken in the service of the idea of a revolutionary new nation although by 1947 the nation was no longer new and not necessarily revolutionary. So I don't want to belabor this point because the genealogical method is just too easy a target. Rather, I want to probe the alliance between genealogical thinking and the discipline we call "history," a probe as a *segue* that allows the "why history" question once more.

To press the question of "why history" further let's take another tack – the very "history" itself of the nineteenth-century notion of "history." Admittedly, I invoke history in a critique of "history," but that is my point. To call upon history is to call up authority. Hayden White, himself calling upon history, reminds us that in that century the new study of "history" was properly disciplined and made scientific as a means of legitimizing new nation-states. The worry about ethnic origins was in this context an imperative. Newly trained historians, he says, effectively addressed anxiety about "mongrelization."[19] These fears now exposed, the term "mongrelization" is freed up to do more than just indict race purity. We can now claim *mongrelization* as a productive metaphor for cinema-as-confluence. What is more intriguing is that Eisenstein's genealogical project, pushed to its extreme, finds not legitimate high culture ancestry but *mongrelization*, that is, cinema, so broadly conceived, is a product of unknown ancestry given all the cross-breeding, most notably, the high with the low, the ancient and the modern. And interestingly, David Rodowick, answering the charge of "inferiority" associated with film as aesthetically mixed, intimates the possibilities of just admitting that it is a "mongrel medium."[20] While Eisenstein may have thought to make a case for cinema as clearly "the heir" of the arts and culture that predate it, instead, with so many tributaries and origins proposed in the *Notes* the end result is cinema as productively, as we might say, unoriginable.

Now to my third approach, to continue to urge the question as to why we think that "history" is important for the present, which is not to say that it necessarily should be, only that we should ask "why" rather than assume that it is. So what exactly is the rationale that underwrites our historical research? What are the animating reasons for going to the incredible trouble of historiographic inquiry on behalf of what Eisenstein (and we sometimes) have called " history of cinema," even while granting its "condition of impossibility," to quote Jacques Rancière seeming to channel Derrida.[21] And history's "condition of impossibility" is no more dramatic than in the three modes of time – past, present, future – the modes that can never be made to line up at one and the same time because by definition they can never be the same time. This is the structure that we negotiate without thought in daily life but which is for philosophy a major conundrum. Contemporary work in the philosophy of history wants to know what notion of "historical time" governs the work of professional historians.[22] Certainly this "time" is not the same notion as the one that organizes our ordinary sense of

"here today, gone tomorrow," or "what's over is over." Right? And yet, perhaps the way in which traditional historians grasp the problem is no different from that of ordinary people. In other words, these historians don't necessarily see that there is a problem.[23] Hayden White and other theorists of history maintain that working historians take "the past" for granted and that although they may not be so heavily invested in "objective truth" that they think there is one version of events, they still write and research as though the events of the past do *not* depend upon their own narrative realization of them.[24]

These issues are arising for us as we study the *Notes* because, following theories of history, our "present" present stands to Eisenstein as a "future present" and our past is the "former present" in which he made his notes. That our "present" present is not only an earlier era's "future" but our own "future past" is difficult (if not impossible) to grasp in this alternating pattern, even if we accommodate it daily, looking back and expecting forward.[25] As Keith Tribe introduces Reinhart Koselleck on "historical time," however, it is the question of how we live the present given that the past (chronology) is in felt relation to what was once an "anticipated future," putting the emphasis on how the present is always the future that "once was," or the "former future." What we have here is something like Heidegger's "hermeneutic circle" in which the three modes are put in explanatory relation to one another.[26] And here, as I see it, is a challenge to the one-way "lessons of history" in which to know the present one must know the past. The way to refuse the "lessons of the past" is to think of the three positional modes as constantly interpreting one another. Here is where we can appreciate Althusser and Balibar's formulation of the antithesis of historicism. Against the highly ideological "continuum of a linear time" they see an "extremely complex and peculiar temporality," noting that it is "utterly paradoxical."[27]

So the "peculiar temporality" of historical time suggests how our present moment is implicated in Eisenstein's *Notes*, but our present is not only the cinema future for his unrealized "history of cinema" but also the future for the Soviet state and world Communism. Whatever we say about the conditions of Eisenstein's historical research will also be colored by our post-Cold War present interpretation of the events of the pre-Cold War moment in which his project was conceived by the Soviet state, as Masha Salazkina shows in this volume.[28] Hence just as we might today be inclined to say that Eisenstein's "cinema future" is *no more cinema*, the present in which capitalism has "won" interprets the past and reads the future as *no more socialism*. For instance, Youssef Ishaghpour, in contemporary conversation with Jean-Luc Godard, looks at the past of the American film industry and the Russian revolution (once the future and later the past for Eisenstein), and summarizes the victor's narrative: "There was a dream factory that conquered the world and then there was the 'utopia' of the Russian revolution that turned into a nightmare" (represented, he thinks, by Lenin's 'mummy' disintegrating in public view"). Godard, however, breaks in to object to this ver-

sion of events: "The history of Russia isn't written."[29] It would seem that only Jean-Luc Godard is left to keep alive Eisenstein's connection between a "history of cinema" and the utopian future envisioned by the Russian revolution. And since we know that in his book commentary as well as in his television series, *Histoire(s) du cinéma*, Godard wrestles with traditional historiography, we are encouraged to take his assertion that there is as yet "no history of Russia" as a challenge to Ishaghpour's version of events. So we will take Godard to mean something like "the verdict is still out" on the question of whose cinema conquered the world, or, for that matter, what is to be the fate of the "utopian" (the future of the future) as aligned with both cinema and the Russian revolution.

From the point of view of the "former" present of Godard's Dziga Vertov group, the moment of Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin's anti-Vietnam War film *Letter to Jane* (1972), the "future" present (today) *should have been* the end of capitalism. Today, from the vantage of the former future in which the revolution has not been realized, some might be inclined to leave the Dziga Vertov group out of some version of the "history of cinema." But this is not to argue for its inclusion. My point is that the entire enterprise of traditional "history" writing, telling, and showing is an attempt to rectify the odd imbalance of historical time. We are tipped off to the final futility of this exercise by Godard's use of the ironic quotation from Oscar Wilde: "To give an accurate description of what has never occurred is [...] the proper occupation of the historian."[30]

Now to ask "Why history?" for the last time. Given the exasperating difficulties of locating events in the constant turnover of historical time, considering the way the three modes are always in a pattern of alternation, and given the paradoxical situation we find ourselves in – respecting the autonomy of the past events that we effectively make, why undertake historical research at all? The "historical turn" in the study of film represents a case in point. What happens if we ask the same question of specific projects in the "present" present in which the burning issue is how to think the impact of digital or computational technological capabilities on what has been "cinema"? To be more specific, What is the current rationale used to justify renewed investment in silent era cinema research? Thomas Elsaesser, for one, has framed this question as: "What can early cinema studies tell us about the kinds of rupture represented by the digital, and thus what does it teach us about our present multimedial, intermedial, hypermedial moment?"[31] On first consideration, this might look like a "lessons of the past" justification, that is, the idea that in order to grasp events in the historical present one *must* know the events that occurred before because the past "explains" the present. In contradistinction to this, much current theoretical and historiographic work on cinema has an eye on both the so-called digital present *and* the historical first decade of the motion picture.[32] One historical moment is held in interpretative relation to the other. And yet, I have to ask the next question. Do we not sometimes privilege our historical findings, a strategy that could be inter-

preted as a "displacement" in which we reference the one but mean the other time? Why the apparent privileging? Because, after all, what use has the past for our insight into it? Then again, when we think more than one temporality at once we may end up with the paradox of an entity that is only known through the study of its own death and demise, something of which is captured in Paolo Cherchi Usai's often-quoted provocation that "The ultimate goal of film history is an account of its own disappearance, or its transformation into another entity."[33] Still, is this not the paradigm for the study of all historical change?

Perhaps not, because for Eisenstein, in contrast, the ultimate goal of his "cinema history" is to establish cinema as the special art of the revolutionary state. And here is where the new philosophy of history cannot necessarily help us. While honoring Marx as a philosopher of history, the new theorists of history distance themselves from Marxism as an approach to the study of history. Why? First, as they might put it, Marxism, in its explanation of historical events is dead set on a pattern from which it does not veer – the great struggle between labor and capital. I would add, secondly, and more importantly here, that Marx's understanding of "all of history" included *the future* as well as the past and the present, in other words, all times. Rancière, an exception to the rule as a theorist of history, reminds us of how vital the future was to Marx, and goes so far as to pinpoint the future relative to the past as the "essential axis" of Marxism. He goes on: "The analysis of class struggle that was Marx's paradoxical glory is rather the theatrical distribution of the shapes that may be taken by the conjunction of the "*not yet*" and the "*one more time*." And here also Rancière gives us one of the few to attempts to put the past, present, and future into relation with one another without sparing us. We cannot *not* also study the present: "But the defining characteristic of the present – like that of the real – is that it conceals itself ceaselessly from those who have come to terms with it. It must thus always be regained over the past and the future, established by the incessant critique of the past that repeats itself out of season and of the unduly anticipated future."[34] No, "*not yet*." In this respect, André Bazin who in his historical overview projected technological advance only to find he had recapitulated the origins could have the last word: "Cinema has yet to be invented!"[35]

Conclusion: George Washington's Wet Nurse

Given the difficulties presented to us by historical time any project that seeks to find definitive support for itself in the events and objects of the historical past is doomed from the start. That project is an unrealizable endeavor hitched to an impossible temporal feat. Yet Eisenstein's research project is itself significantly different from the proper "history of cinema" that it would never become. One could argue that it was fortuitous that he did not commit the poststructuralist sin

of narrativization (or even that he *would* not have given that he was such a modernist antirealist who preferred montage to continuity).

The unnarrativized *Notes* are, however, a rich source of what Foucault refers to as "disqualified knowledges," or "low-ranking knowledges," here brought forward for further study.[36] Thus if a legacy for cinema has been here established, it is the antilegacy of eclecticism or *mongrelization*: almost everything goes into cinema and everything and anything comes out of it. We should not be surprised. Today productive theoretical uses have already been made from Eisenstein's thinking about cultural confluence as well as from his imaginative search for sources. We see this no more significantly than in his return to the fairground and its roller coaster, the "American mountains," as the Russians called the ride that stimulated seekers of modern thrills. And who would have thought twenty-five years ago that Eisenstein's reference to the fairground would support an entirely new "attractions" paradigm that would have such staying power?[37]

So what do I find in the *Notes* that could provide us with the germ of the next paradigm? Above all, I am most impressed by Eisenstein's listing of "George Washington's wet nurse."[38] The reference is no doubt to Joice Heth, the elderly and infirm African American who P.T. Barnum exhibited as the link to the first president of the United States, claiming that she was 160 years old. In answer to the public challenge to his hoax, Barnum had her autopsied at her death. What is remarkable is that Eisenstein would incorporate the hoax, the fraud, and the charlatan into his thinking about the trajectory of motion picture attractions, contributing to the incredibly expansive repertoire he has given us to draw upon. What is absolutely wonderful about Eisenstein's project is that it offers so many kinds of knowledges, any of which could conceivably come to fruition as a new paradigm for the present.

7. Dynamic Typicality

Abe Geil

Eisenstein references his famous method of typage (*tipazh*) just once in his *Notes for a General History of Cinema*. With an anachronistic juxtaposition of the sort that pervades these texts, Eisenstein marks "*a direct* transition" from the "enthusiasm for an element of *crudité*" found in Degas's paintings of bathing women to "the aesthetics' of typage in all its 'unattractiveness."[1] If the *Notes* appear to have nothing more to say about typage *per se*, it is worth recalling that for Eisenstein the significance of typage exceeds its narrow definition as a technique for casting nonactors as social types. As he insists elsewhere, there is a typage of plot as well as character, which signifies both the internal unity of a film's overall construction and the typicality of the events it portrays. In its broadest register, typage is nothing less than "the signifier of the entire construction obtaining at a particular period."[2] Approached in this way, as a mode of *typicality*, the underlying operation of typage can be seen to play a pervasive role in the *Notes* and in Eisenstein's thought generally. Insofar as its task is to make a single member of a social class or occupation stand for the whole, typage is a paradigmatic instance of *pars pro toto* (the part for the whole) – a concept central to Eisenstein's later writings, including the *Notes*.

In this chapter, I attempt to trace a genetic link between the more narrow understanding of typage as device or method and this broader concept of *pars pro toto* in which it participates. Beginning with the aesthetic practices to which typage is most clearly indebted – commedia dell'arte and caricature – I examine how they share in the same basic operation of typicality: the construction of a juncture between the general and the particular in a single depiction. To clarify the force of this operation, I place it in contradistinction to two other modern strategies for producing types. The first of these counterexamples is drawn from the hostile political and cultural milieu in which Eisenstein increasingly found himself from the early 1930s onward; the second from the nineteenth-century confrontation between caricature and the positivist application of the protocinematic technique of composite photography. What distinguishes Eisenstein's conception of typage from these other approaches to type is captured most concisely in the *Notes* with his oxymoronic formulation: "dynamic mummification." By per-

forming the operation of *making typical*, typage for Eisenstein becomes a motor of change and becoming even as it utilizes the seemingly most static of forms.

From Theater to Cinema: The Paradox of Infinite Types

> "As soon as I crossed over into cinema, I threw myself into typage."
> – Eisenstein, "Theatre and Cinema" (1934)[3]

Eisenstein never claimed typage as his exclusive invention. Like montage, it was a term in general circulation among Soviet filmmakers in the 1920s. In his periodizations of Soviet film history, Eisenstein consistently coupled typage with montage as one of the "general tendencies" of the first period (1924-1929). As he puts it, the device was "refracted differently" in the work of the period's principle filmmakers: from Vertov's "factographic" approach, to Kuleshov's "model actor" (*naturshchik*), to Pudovkin's scenario-based method.[4] Nevertheless, Eisenstein was the name most closely associated with typage, and for a time, especially in the immediate wake of *Battleship Potëmkin*'s success, that association lent the device its greatest prestige.[5]

As a concept, however, typage has a peculiar status in Eisenstein's theory. Unlike montage, which dominates his writing in the 1920s, it does not play a significant role in his major essays from this period, the very time when the device was so conspicuously present in his filmmaking. It seems to suffer from a presumption of theoretical self-evidence within Eisenstein's writings (as well as the voluminous secondary literature) in a way that montage never has. Not until the early to mid-1930s do we find any extended discussions of typage, at which point Eisenstein treats it retrospectively rather than as an active element of his theory and practice. These retrospective accounts are at their most illuminating when he is describing his transition from the Proletkult theater to making his first film, *Strike* (1925). As Eisenstein tells it a decade hence, typage figures centrally in the story of his transition. In fact, the most elaborate discussion of typage appears in a 1934 lecture entitled "Theater and Cinema" for a course on direction at the State Institute of Cinematography (GIK, later VGIK), a lecture he delivered during the very time he was returning to theater after a ten-year hiatus.[6] Eisenstein describes his movement from theater to cinema in terms of an organic leap: at the moment when theater had reached its limit with Proletkult it "grew into" cinema. Along with montage, the primary path of that growth led directly from commedia dell'arte to typage: "It transpires that the most theatrical phenomenon, that is, the comedy of masks, is transformed into a feature of the maximal purity of cinema."[7]

This transformation produces two remarkable changes. The first concerns how the audience recognizes character types. In commedia dell'arte, stock masks

present a "defined character passport" – stamped with stylized traits reinforced for the audience over years of repetition – which is recognized the moment it appears on stage.[8] A similar economy of recognition is at work in Eisenstein's conception of cinematic typage. Which is why it is possible for typage to fulfill one of the basic criteria of a film "attraction" – its effects are calculable in advance – so that without making recourse to psychological expression or narrative development the filmmaker can "know that, when I present this face, the entire audience will know what is going on."[9] The crucial difference is that the economy of recognition in typage derives from a horizon of experience unbounded by the conventions of theater or any other artistic tradition. "[I]n typage," Eisenstein remarks, "you invariably present a particular audience with a face that expresses everything on the basis of social experience (and not only social but also biological experience)."[10] Unlike the form of habitual recognition that depends upon the audience's familiarity with the stylizations of specific, finite characters in the comedy of masks, in cinematic typage it is possible to recognize a character one has never seen before because "the sum of their physiological features disposes us towards them in a particular way."[11] Here Eisenstein simply passes over the question of precisely how this link between social and biological "experience" and the physiological features of a particular face is constituted.

The second change that accompanies the transformation of commedia dell'arte into typage is the counterpart, on the side of the image, to the expanded horizon of its recognition: whereas commedia dell'arte uses a set of seven or eight stock characters, typage in cinema works with a potentially *infinite* number. More than the simple crossing of a numerical threshold, such a transformation virtually defines the leap from quantity to quality. It begs the question of how a conception of type can persist in a domain of infinite characters. In the comedy of masks there is a one-to-one relationship between type and character that adheres in the stylization of the masks as an identity of content and form. Many of Eisenstein's typage constructions, especially in the early films, continue to work in an analogous mode. The stylization of the fat capitalists in *Strike*, for example, with their top hats and cigars, reproduces more or less directly the types drawn by George Grosz in *The Face of the Ruling Class* (1921). Here the type is already constituted by a set of stylized traits that preexist and determine the selection of individual characters that conform to it. In other cases, however, Eisenstein presents entirely singular types. We might think, for example, of Marfa Lapkina in *The General Line* (Ill. 1, p. 336) or Stepok in *Bezhin Meadow* (Ill. 2, p. 336). In these cases, the operation appears reversed. It is as though Eisenstein's act of selecting a face itself produces the type it is meant to represent. The copy produces its model. In this way, the problematic of typage is not just about deriving a potentially infinite number of characters from a finite set of types. Rather, it entails a notion of *infinite types*. How are we to understand such a paradoxical syntagm? Does cinematic typage somehow posses the capacity to convert any face into its

own singular yet immediately recognizable type, and if so, at what point in this process does the very logic of the type dissolve into sheer multiplicity?

Ill. 1 – Marfa Lapkina from the cream separator sequence in *The General Line* (Sergei Eisenstein, 1929).

Ill. 2 – Vitya Kartashov as Stepok in *Bezhin Meadow* (Sergei Eisenstein, 1937).

Typage as Caricature

The prospect of infinite types is of course a political as well as an aesthetic problem, one linked with nineteenth-century urbanization and the historical emergence of "the masses" as new forms of mobility and circulation unmoored social appearances from accustomed identities. In *Une Fille d'Eve*, for example, Honoré de Balzac would bemoan this new world of "infinite nuances": whereas "the

caste system gave each person a physiognomy which was more important than the individual; today the individual gets his physiognomy from himself."[12] It was no coincidence that the art of caricature flourished in this social context. Much in the way that Balzac understood the literary vocation of his encyclopedic *La Comédie humaine*, caricature held out the promise of reestablishing the intelligibility of social types.[13] Long before Eisenstein encountered the comedy of masks in Meyerhold's theater, he had an intense interest in the art of caricature – especially the nineteenth-century French caricaturists Grandville, Charles Philipon, André Gill, and, above all, Honoré Daumier[14] – and his conception of typage is equally if not more indebted to this tradition. At a formal level, the problem caricature responds to is the very gap that typage bridges between "character" and "type," or individual and class, or, more abstractly yet, between the levels of particularity and generality. If caricature bridges this gap, it is not as a form of mediation but as a short-circuit. Theodor Adorno describes this operation in the work of Eisenstein's beloved Daumier: "[H]e assigns a very special status to the concept of the type: in each image of the particular, as rendered in an outsize nose or a set of bony shoulders, an image of the general is to be captured at the same time."[15] Likewise, typage's work of *making* typical aims to directly produce in the image of an individual face – in all the "*crudité*" of its concrete particularity – the image of a type.

This idea of a direct transition from the particular to the general recurs at several key points in the *Notes* where Eisenstein marks a leap in the history of art from a stage of mimetic reproduction to a higher level of generalization. He describes this variously as the leap from the direct "reproduction" of an object or event to its "mummification,"[16] from "banal 'copying'" to the "reconstruction of the principle of the structure of phenomena,"[17] and, with respect to photography and cinema specifically, from the "mechanical copy of reality" to "conscious photographic creation."[18] This leap is integral to Eisenstein's understanding of what it means to compose a *General History of Cinema*, not because it represents a settled stage of development, but, to the contrary, because it repeats itself throughout the history of art prior to cinema and again in the history of cinema itself. Moreover, it *must* repeat itself. For this movement is both progressive and regressive, returning to a previous moment of particularity at the same time as raising it to a higher level of generality.

The nature of that double movement brings us directly to the intimate link between typage and the principle of *pars pro toto* that I gestured toward at the outset of this chapter. In the *Notes*, Eisenstein suggests that in the course of its emergence in the history of art the principle of *pars pro toto* performs its own variation upon the leap we've just described. And it makes that leap again in the history of cinema where it emerges most conspicuously in the close-up. *Pars pro toto* first arises as what he calls "*pre-synecdoche*," in which the part is simply "any one of all possible details." Eisenstein's example here is Griffith's "informational

close-up," an arbitrary element cut out of the spatial temporal whole and enlarged. In its next phase, *pars pro toto* accomplishes the transition to a fully realized synecdoche in which the detail now bears a necessary relation to the whole: it is "the *typical one* – as the *only* one substituting for the whole."[19] Now the exemplar of *pars pro toto* is "*our* close-up," found, for example, in the shot of the ship doctor's pince-nez in *Battleship Potëmkin*. But here we must take care to avoid an easy conflation. Given the close association of the face with the close-up in the history of cinema, there is an obvious temptation to reduce typage to a mere function of the close-up. For Eisenstein, however, there is no necessary relation between typage and the close-up. It is simply that both participate in the logic of *pars pro toto*, whether independently or in concert. Just as the close-up did not originate with the invention of film, as Eisenstein famously insists, neither did typage.

When Eisenstein discusses typage as a matter of practical artistic judgment, he casts particularity and generality as the poles of "naturalism" and "conventionalism." A typage construction will fail to bring its effect across if it errs too far in the direction of one pole or the other. At one extreme, it risks sinking into naturalist particularity and becoming "no more than a face, plain and simple, rather than a typical collective face." At the other, it risks the "deadness" of repetition and generalization, passing "over into hieroglyphics" and losing its "pictorial effectivity."[20] But this way of posing the problem is misleading inasmuch as it suggests that an effective typage construction requires splitting the difference between these poles, as if it were a matter of adding or subtracting a quantum of the natural here or the conventional there. To the contrary, the entire force of the notion of *infinite types* lies in short circuiting the middle-course resolution. In this respect, Eisenstein's most incisive approach to typage – understood now as a paradigmatic instance of *pars pro toto* – is perhaps not to be found in his discussions of typage itself but, rather, in his famous doctrine of the juncture of opposites. As we've seen, the caricatural dimension of typage lies in a direct coincidence of the particular and the general – in its capacity to make "extremes meet."[21]

From "Living Man" to Image (*Obraz*)

If we accept that Eisenstein's idea of typicality is best understood according to the juncture of opposites, what then should we make of the fact that Eisenstein's remarks on typage in the early to mid-1930s *do* nevertheless stress the idea of balance? To begin with, the passage quoted above regarding the need for a balance between the vital particularity of "naturalism" and the generality of "conventionalism" needs to be considered carefully within the ideological context of its utterance. At that point, typage was thoroughly associated with the formalism that had been under assault in official Soviet culture since the late 1920s. In the

years leading up to the adoption of Socialist Realism as the official doctrine for Soviet cinema in 1935, the slogan of the "the living man" was one of the primary weapons by which that assault was carried out. Conceived and promoted by the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP), this slogan took up the broadly vitalist theme of "life" overcoming the sterile intellectualism of "form," concentrating it into a representational norm for the correct portrayal of socialist characters. Representing the "living man" in the work of art meant depicting a character's vital attributes and particularities through an emphasis on psychology. And of course it was precisely such psychologism that the ideographic strategy of typage was designed to oppose in the first place. But if in 1929 Eisenstein could still publicly attack the "the living man" as the reactionary imposition of a "right-wing deviation" upon Soviet cinema,[22] by 1937 he is compelled in an official statement of self-criticism to adopt its vitalist terms in renouncing the typage tendencies that contributed to the "catastrophe" of *Bezhin Meadow*:

> [I]n regard to the appearance of the cast. These were not living faces but masks: the ultimate generalization of "typicality" [*tipichnost*], as distinct from a real face. In their behavior, the emphasis was on stasis, where the static frozen face was like "the mask of a gesture" just as a mask was the ultimate generalization of a dead face.[23]

Yet this is only one side of the delicate operation of self-criticism that Eisenstein was compelled to perform. For just as it was possible in the view of the censors to err on the side of "dead" generalizations, it was equally incorrect to place too much emphasis on the particularity of life's manifestations to the detriment of typicality. Thus Eisenstein also criticizes the central episode of *Bezhin Meadow* – a kulak father murdering his Young Pioneer son – for being "not in the least bit characteristic." Even though the incident was taken from real life ("such things had happened") it was nevertheless "not a *typical* episode. Quite the opposite: it is exceptional, unique and uncharacteristic."[24]

Eisenstein's balancing act in "The Mistakes of *Bezhin Meadow*" with regard to the problem of typicality can be understood as his attempt to manage a fundamental contradiction at play in the vitalist canon of Socialist Realism. According to Mikhail Iampolski, this canon attempted to enforce two incompatible normative demands: "On one hand, it fostered the attitude that life was to be maximally reflected in all its manifestations. But, on the other hand, emphasizing any element was perceived as elevating a part to the detriment of the whole, hence as a sign of formalism."[25] What resulted was the impossible criterion of "perfect averageness [...] some 'apothecaries' weight' of all components."[26] This essentially untenable ideological demand for averageness, which led first to the valorization and later the denunciation of the "living man," ultimately found resolution in a concept that was sufficiently vague to accommodate these

contradictions – the "image" (*obraz*). Originally a concept in religious art dating to the Byzantine tradition, Iampolski describes the recuperation of "image" (*obraz*) in the context of Socialist Realism as "an amorphous construct that combined aspects of typification and averageness with those of life's elementary vitality."[27] This doctrine of the "image" enabled the continuation of the contradictory ideal of an average or typical hero, a figure who incarnated the very best attributes of vitality while remaining entirely "within the bounds of the average, with all extremes blandly balanced."[28]

From 1937 onward – after the denunciation and physical destruction of *Bezhin Meadow*, as well as his coerced letter of self-criticism – Eisenstein too adopted the "image" (*obraz*) as a central category in his writings. But whatever ideological cover the term's vagueness may have provided, it is clear that Eisenstein's explorations of the "image" carry forward and even sharpen his "formalist" interest in the problematic of typage (albeit without using the term).[29] This is especially evident in his unfinished book *Montage*, composed of texts written largely between 1937 and 1940.[30] In these texts, Eisenstein explores the coexistence of what he calls "depiction" and the "generalizing image" across a stunning range of graphic forms. "I believe that it is in the existence of these two elements – the specific instance of depiction and the generalizing image which pervades it – that the implacability and the all-devouring force of artistic composition resides."[31] This formulation of the "image" (*obraz*) captures the basic operation of caricature: the direct production of an image of the general in a depiction of the particular.

Composite Photography as "Real Generalization"

While the ancient art of physiognomic caricature underwent a cultural resurgence during the nineteenth century in the context of social massification, it could hardly match the biopolitical utility of the new science of statistics when it came to the classification of populations. For the Victorian eugenicist Francis Galton, physiognomical classification would only ever rise to the level of positivistic knowledge exemplified by statistical analysis by purifying itself of the subjective distortions of caricature:

> The physiognomical difference between different men being so numerous and small, it is impossible to measure and compare them each to each, and to discover by ordinary statistical methods the true physiognomy of a race. The usual way is to select individuals who are judged to be representative of the prevalent type, and to photograph them; but this method is not trustworthy, because the judgment itself is fallacious. It is swayed by exceptional and grotesque features more than by ordinary ones, and the portraits supposed to be typical are likely to be caricatures.[32]

Galton staked the superiority of his new anthropometric technique of composite photography upon its capacity to overcome precisely this propensity for caricature by extracting the element of human judgment altogether. The key lay in devising a procedural formalism that matched the technical automatism of the photographic medium. Galton's solution was to divide the total exposure time for a given composite by the number of facial images in the sample class of a given type out of which the composite was to be composed – mugshots of "male criminals," for example (Ill. 3, p. 341).[33] The result, he claimed, was a new "pictorial statistics," the equivalent "of those large statistical tables whose totals, divided by the number of cases and entered on the bottom line, are the averages."[34] By uniting the iconic and indexical properties of photography with the statistical capacity for quantitative abstraction, Galton's composites would visualize types as "*real generalizations*, because they include the whole of the material under consideration."[35] Even the characteristic blurring along the edges of these composites was claimed by Galton to increase their statistical precision by measuring "the tendency of individuals to deviate from the central type."[36] Most importantly, that "central type" is brought into focused solidity by the repeated exposures of overlapping features. Thus the most abstract level of representation, statistical average, is pictured as entirely concrete, while the deviating blurs register the "ghost of a trace of individual peculiarities."[37] Translated into the terms of Eisenstein's concept of the "image" (*obraz*), Galton's ideal of "real generalizations" expresses the dream of subsuming depiction into the line of generalization without a remainder – not the juncture but the fusion of opposites.

Ill. 3 – Composite Portrait of a Criminal Type (Francis Galton, 1897).

In effect, Galton promises nothing less than a technological fix for the paradox of infinite types: to square the circle by simultaneously preserving and averaging nature's empirical multiplicity. By redoubling the automatism of photography, his "real generalizations" purported to bridge the gap between a regime of visual differentiation (the mug shot as a means to identify specific individuals) and a regime of visual classification (the composite portrait as a means to establish general categories into which any number of individuals could be slotted). In actuality, that bridge is only accomplished by virtue of the transcendental taxonomy of quasinatural types that organized the photographs of particular faces into Galton's sample sets to begin with. This smuggling of a transcendental order into an ostensibly empirical demonstration is the basic operation by which physiognomy is converted into an object of positivist knowledge and set in contradistinction to its disavowed other: physiognomy as caricature.

Eisenstein insists upon this same distinction but from the side of caricature and against positivist representation. In "Beyond the Shot" (1929), for example, he describes the expressive force produced by the disproportionate representation of facial features in portraits by the great eighteenth-century Japanese woodblock printmaker Tōshūsai Sharaku ("the Japanese Daumier"[38]) and compares it to a cinematic montage of incongruous shot scales. In both cases, the effect is not simple distortion or discontinuity. Rather, the depictive elements of the representation are subordinated to what Eisenstein calls (following Julius Kurth) a "*semantic purpose*": to embody in the image itself a standpoint toward the object it represents. Whereas Galton links caricature to human judgment as proof of the latter's faulty perception, Eisenstein elevates this link to an active principle of *tendentious* composition, and, in the name of this principle, he asserts that "[p]ositivist realism is by no means the correct form of perception." When he then turns to sharply criticize the demand for "actual (absolute) proportions" on the part of "positivist realism," he sees its will to correct figural distortion as the function of a social structure that seeks to negate tendentiousness *tout court*. As a demand for "subordination to the inviolable order of things," this tendency "returns periodically and unfailingly in periods when absolutism is in the ascendancy, replacing the expressiveness of antiquated disproportions with a regular 'ranking table' of officially designated harmony."[39]

This latter statement, aimed here against the antiformalist tendencies mounting in the official Soviet culture of 1929, could easily be applied retrospectively to Galton's idea of composite types as the modern corrective to the distortions of caricature or, for that matter, prospectively to the normative demand of Socialist Realism for the impossible balance of heroic typicality. What both of these doctrines share is an idealist commitment to the univocal relation between an essence and its phenomenal appearance, a relation that entails a conception of form as the causal expression of an immutable order. They cannot tolerate the distortion of a standpoint embodied in the form itself, not least because it threat-

ens to reverse the direction of causality, redounding upon the underlying order that it ought merely to express.

Physiognomy as Self-Generalizing Form

From the beginning, Eisenstein found the prospect of reversing the causal order of essence and appearance virtually irresistible as an aesthetic operation. Evidence of that appeal can be seen, for example, in his embrace of various motor theories of cognition and emotion for his theory of attractions. Among the most influential proponents of these theories in the early twentieth century was William James. And in a very late essay written in same period as the *Notes*, Eisenstein recalls that during his time in the Proletkult theater he was "already aware of James's famous formula that 'we are not crying because we are sad; but we are sad because we are crying.' I liked that formula first of all aesthetically, for its paradoxical quality."[40] Eisenstein's description here of his affinity for this Jamesian inversion returns us to the paradox of typage whereby the selection of an individual face precedes the general type it is meant to express.

As an illustration of how Eisenstein puts this inversion to work with respect to typage, consider his transformative appropriation of the tradition of physiognomy itself – a discourse that focalizes the expression of essence in the outward appearance in the face. In his speech to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers in 1935, Eisenstein combines an explicit rejection of the scientific validity of Lavater's physiognomy with an affirmation of its artistic power. "We do not ascribe any scientific value to it objectively, and yet the moment we have to show a typical characterization of external appearance on a par with a three-dimensional depiction of the character, we start using faces in the same way as Lavater did."[41] The discredited science of physiognomy can reemerge in art "where it is needed as an image," as Eisenstein puts it, because the falsity of physiognomy as a science lay in its positing a univocal relation between essence and appearance. Once that relation is severed, the physiognomic appearances assume an autonomy of form that makes them available to art.

In *Montage*, Eisenstein describes more precisely how it is possible to appropriate physiognomy in this way. Physiognomic appearance depends upon what he calls a "reversed metaphor" which entails "a 'figurative' connection between mimicry and physiognomy. A person's physiognomy generalizes, as it were, those mimetic features which are most peculiar to him. His habitual movements seem to be frozen in the permanent *character mask* of his face."[42] It is crucial, however, not to interpret this as a naturalistic description. If you need an actor to play an old craftsman, Eisenstein tells his students at GIK, "you don't go to a workshop and pick out the first craftsman who has been there since before the Revolution. Not at all."[43] Rather, it is a matter of selecting a face in which that entire history of experience and expression appears *as if* it were congealed there. For Eisen-

stein, the efficacy of that selection is ultimately a question of artistic judgment. What matters for our purposes is the act of selection *as* a mode of judgment in the first instance as opposed to taking what he calls disparagingly a "naturalistic mug shot." It is the leap between what he calls in the *Notes* the mere reproduction of reality and its "dynamic mummification." Indeed, Eisenstein's aesthetic appropriation of physiognomy as self-generalizing form recalls the fundamental dynamism at the heart of his conception of the "image" (*obraz*):

> constituted as a generalization, as an aggregation of separate metaphors into a single whole: this is again not a process of formation; it is an end-product, but an end-product which, as it were, contains a swarm of *potential* dynamic (metaphoric) features that are ready to explode. It is the sort of immobility that is not inaction but the acme of dynamism.[44]

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I would like to briefly consider how the idea of dynamic typicality I've attempted to elucidate might also shed light on Eisenstein's idiosyncratic construction of a history of cinema in the *Notes*. As Antonio Somaini demonstrates in his introduction to this volume, the basic compositional principle at work here is *montage*. Somaini convincingly argues that by taking up montage as an "epistemic tool" invented by cinema itself for the exposition and analysis of its own history Eisenstein is able to produce a nonlinear history of cinema adequate to his understanding of the medium's temporal complexity. To this fundamental insight into the centrality of montage for our understanding of the *Notes*, I would add only that its less illustrious sibling might have a supporting role to play. Typage, at its most basic level, involves a principle of selection (why *this* face among the multitude?) and, given the sheer capaciousness of what Eisenstein planned to include in his "general" history of cinema, the problem of selection is no small matter. Within a time scale spanning from petroglyphs to the most current developments in mid-twentieth-century film, there are a quasi-infinite number of possible examples available to be taken up as elements in a potential montage. And, if Eisenstein's *Notes* prove anything, it is that there is nothing in the entire history of art, media, and technology that cannot in principle be compared to cinema. Once the selection is made and taken up, the accomplishment of montage is to produce out of the example's contingency the necessity of typicality – a synecdoche in Eisenstein's strong sense of a nonsubstitutable substitute for the whole.

But alongside the principle of montage, a more conventional logic of linear history is also present in the *Notes*. This is perhaps most evident in the various chronologies of inventions, such as the list of precinematic technologies that Eisenstein borrows directly from Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*.[45] The

principle of typicality offers a way to think a relation in the *Notes* between these apparently incommensurable historical logics. When Eisenstein asserts, for example, that "drawn cinema precedes other types" he is referring at once to protocinematic apparatuses like the zoetrope that mechanically create the illusion of movement from still images *and* to the style of contour drawing exemplified for him by Disney's animation.[46] But it is only in asserting the typicality of the latter, with its direct connection to the long history of animal epos, that the historically contingent invention of the zoetrope can assume a kind of retroactive necessity. It is this sense, that Eisenstein can "*duly put [Disney] in the beginning*" of the history of cinema, ahead of an apparatus invented some seventy years before Disney was born.[47] In fact, Eisenstein constructs one of his most extreme anachronisms in his luminous notes on Disney (written in the years just prior to the *Notes*) where he imagines Ovid plagiarizing Disney some two thousand years in advance. After rapturously describing the "literal metamorphosis" he sees embodied in Disney's drawn animations, he insists that his choice of the term metamorphosis "is not a slip of the tongue, for in leafing through Ovid, several of his pages seem to be copied from Disney's cartoons."[48] Eisenstein's method for constructing a history of cinema – one capable of producing the necessity for such an anachronism out of the conventionally static chronologies of artists and inventions – is perhaps best captured up in his own one-line summary of the *Metamorphoses*: "a direct protest against the standardly immutable."[49]

8. Archaeology vs. Paleontology: A Note on Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*

Vinzenz Hediger

"*Un artiste original ne peut pas copier. Il n'a donc qu'à copier pour être original.*"
– Jean Cocteau

What kind of a history of cinema does Eisenstein propose in his notes? How does his "General History of Cinema" relate to other histories, and in particular to the histories of other arts? And to what extent is the idea of a "General History of Cinema" still relevant to our contemporary concerns?

To answer these questions, it may be useful to start with a statement from another filmmaker/critic/historian which was made fifteen years after Eisenstein wrote his sketch of a "General History of Cinema." In an interview published in 1962, Jean-Luc Godard proclaimed: "We are the first filmmakers who know that Griffith has existed."[1] The "We" Godard spoke about was, of course, the group of French cinéphiles-turned-critics-turned-filmmakers that included Truffaut, Chabrol, Rohmer, and Godard himself. This group became known as the "*nouvelle vague*," a label originally coined by journalist Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, founder of *Le Nouvel Observateur* magazine, to describe the postwar generation whose ascendancy coincided with the rise to power of Charles de Gaulle. What was new about the "*nouvelle vague*" directors was indeed, as Godard somewhat grandiloquently claimed, that they knew who Griffith was. They were all graduates of the twin academies of the Cinémathèque française and *Cahiers du cinéma*, i.e., the schools of Henri Langlois and André Bazin. Langlois started collecting film in the late 1920s based on the assumption that film was an art form and that directors were artists whose work deserved to be preserved for posterity. As can

be seen from his very early writings Bazin set out to become a film critic with the stated goal to prove, through his own work, that film was an art that deserved its own criticism and theory of criticism, like painting, literature, or music. For both Langlois and Bazin treating film as an art, whether in the act of screening films or talking and writing about films, meant acknowledging that film had its own history: not a history that derived from other arts, but a history in its own right. While Bazin thought and wrote a lot about cinema in relation to theater, painting, and the other arts he maintained the idea of a medium specificity of cinema in texts such as "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" or "The Myth of Total Cinema." Even when Bazin defended the idea of a "*cinéma impur*" his main point was that cinema could stand on its own without having to resort to the abstraction and formal purity promoted by the various avant-gardes of previous decades.

So what exactly did Langlois and Bazin convey to Godard and his peers by teaching them that Griffith had existed? One way of looking at is to say that they taught their students that cinema was a modern art in the sense defined by Stanley Cavell. "The modern," Cavell argues, is a condition in which art acquires a history, that is in which "music and painting and poetry (like nations) have to define themselves against their past." Acquiring a history, however, also means acquiring a future. Defining an art form against the past also means subjecting art works to a logic of the new. In the condition of the "modern," as Cavell calls it, works attain relevance to the extent that they innovate upon existing forms, i.e., to the extent that they represent a use of the medium that is new and distinctive when compared to what came before, which may also mean that they expand the limits of their medium of expression and redefine that medium. Once an art has become modern, artists gain prominence in direct proportion to their proven ability to innovate, to create something new and redefine their medium of expression. In the process, technical ability becomes secondary to the ability to innovate. It remains an open question whether Andy Warhol was, technically speaking, as good a painter as Rembrandt, but there is no doubt that the inventor of pop art is as important an artist as the Dutch master of the golden light. Technically ability remains important, but for the "modern" artist a sound knowledge of the history of a given art is a necessary condition for artistic success. What is more in the process of defining themselves against their past "each of the arts becomes its own subject, as if its immediate artistic task is to establish its own existence."[2] Whether we describe the result with a concept like "reflexivity" or use some other term to capture this tendency: once the task of the artist becomes to create something new, and testing the limits of the medium becomes standard procedure in artistic production, art develops a tendency to be, at least partially, all about itself.

As for cinema, the question, as Cavell famously wrote, is not whether cinema can be an art but how it could be spared the fate of becoming one for so long. Cinema and especially classical Hollywood cinema is, in Cavell's view, most em-

phatically not a modern art, but an art that emerges and evolves outside of the strictures and constraints of art-historical consciousness. It is a classic art form whose practitioners are blissfully oblivious to the dictates of the new. Rather than innovate and test the limits of their medium, classical Hollywood filmmakers simply produce masterpiece after masterpiece. In Cavell's estimation, in the sound period from the early 1930s through the 1950s more undeniable masterpieces come out of Hollywood than there are in all of Elizabethan poetry (and that includes Shakespeare).

The "modern" only really catches up with cinema in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, with a new generation of filmmakers who are indeed aware, as Godard phrases it, that "Griffith has existed." The films Godard and his "*nouvelle vague*" peers create are not necessarily technically superior to their predecessors. In fact, in a survey article for *Film Quarterly* from 1959 on the earliest films of the "*nouvelle vague*," Noel Burch, defending a different strain of cinematic modernism derived from the avant-garde in the visual arts, deplores the poor quality and obvious lack of technical skill on display in the works of this new generation of filmmakers.[3] What Godard, Chabrol and their peers may have lacked in well-honed technical skill they make up for by creating something new, and by testing the limits of the medium. The jump cut for instance, a technical mistake of the most glaringly obvious nature, became a distinctive trait of Godard's films after *À bout de souffle* (1960), to the extent that older filmmakers like Henri Verneuil started to insert jump cuts into their films to keep up with the hip new cinema of the younger generation.

But as disruptive or even "revolutionary" as the artistic practice of Godard and his generation may have appeared, the historical consciousness from which it derived actually created continuity with the past of film art.[4] Godard placed himself in an explicit line of filiation with numerous great directors of classical cinema, but particularly so with Fritz Lang. Lang appeared, of course, as the quasi-mythical director of a film version of *The Odyssey* in *Le Mépris* (1963). What is less known is that Lang provided, however unwittingly, the financing for *À bout de souffle*: the film's producer, Georges de Beauregard, coproduced Lang's second-to-last German film, *The Indian Tomb* (1959), and used the "*avance sur recettes*," the state subsidy paid out as a function of that film's box office success, to finance Godard's directorial debut.[5] In a lengthy interview with Fritz Lang, produced for French television in 1967 by André S. Labarthe, Godard provided a template for this and other filiations that constituted the continuity of his work with the past of film art. The title of the program was "Le dinosaure et le bébé" (The dinosaur and the toddler), a title that established a sense of the awe-inspiring distance between Lang, one of the founders of film art, and his still youngish disciple Godard, but also suggested a specific genealogical template. For Godard, apparently, to define himself against his past meant to discuss film art in terms of

origin and descent. Reflecting on film history meant tracing his own origins, meant a form paleontology.

What is important here is that Godard was actually in a position to use paleontology as a template for film history: It was possible for him to trace his own origins to predecessors like Fritz Lang or Griffith, who were also filmmakers, that is, who worked with and within the same medium as him, and within the same medium that he was expanding with his disruptive new form of artistic practice.

Against Cavell one could argue that cinema acquired its own history long before Godard and his peers came along. In fact, what is probably the first tract on the history of cinema was published in France in 1914, and when film lovers like Henri Langlois or Iris Barry started organizing film archives devoted to film as an art and the preservation of works threatened with loss at the dawn of the sound era, they certainly acted with a clear idea of the medium's history in mind.[6] In their 1935 *Histoire du cinema*, which was translated by Iris Barry into English in 1938, Bardèche and Brasillach sorted cinema according to national origin and defined cinema not only against its past, but also against the past of the various "great nations" of cinema.[7] Their approach to film history, which despite Braillsach's fascist leanings and not least thanks to Barry's translation provided a model that held sway over film historiography for the next few decades,[8] simply expanded on the principle of nations competing with each other through their major film artists established three years earlier with the first edition of the Venice Film festival.

Furthermore, while the existence of film historiography does not necessarily mean that the artistic practice of film was driven or guided by a consciousness of the medium's history, there is little doubt that the avant-garde filmmakers of the 1920s considered themselves as artists in what Cavell defines as the modern sense of the term. However, the avant-garde filmmakers of the 1920s looked less to cinema and its past than to the other arts to define their place and the place of their art in history. All avant-gardes must subscribe to the temporal logic of a steady historical progress of the arts in order to carve out their place at the forefront of that progress. According to the avant-garde of the 1920s, cinema, albeit a new art form, had already fallen behind and needed to catch up with the other arts, particularly with painting, which had just undergone a revolutionary shift to abstraction, and with music, where Schönberg's twelve-tone music was the latest word. For an artist-filmmaker like Hans Richter, who also happened to be prolific writer on the history of the cinematic arts[9] and who set out to turn cinema into a medium for "producing sensations" rather than merely for "reproducing objects before the lens,"[10] abstract animation and the pure play of forms was the way for film to achieve parity with the other arts. While characters on screen in the 1920s hypnotized each other with spells like "*Du mußt Caligari werden!*" (You must become Caligari!), the avant-garde entreated cinema to become (like) paint-

ing and music it if truly was to be an art, carving out a pattern that was to endure into later stages of the avant-garde. When Peter Kubelka stressed that music had been a metric art for hundreds of years and called for cinema to become a pure metric art along the same lines before he proceeded to exhibit his films as "Film-tableaus," i.e., segmented into strips of equal length in a rectangular picture frame as if they were abstract paintings to be hanged on a wall, he was still following in the footsteps of the first avant-garde of the 1920s.[11] Paradoxically, by linking the fate of cinema to the supposed historical progress of the other arts the avant-garde reverted behind Lessing's *Laocoön* to an Horatian conception of "*ut pictura poiesis*," of the identity and interchangeability of the arts, obliterating the medium's specificity and with it what may have been perceived as cinema's own particular history in the process.

As for Soviet cinema of the 1920s, the response of filmmakers such as Eisenstein to the "institutional mode or representation" of Western and particularly Hollywood cinema consisted in attempting to place cinema not only at the avant-garde of art history, but of history *tout court*. The cinema of Eisenstein and his peers was not merely a product and a representation of the revolution but was meant to be a contribution toward its completion.[12] Eisenstein's *Notes* are a culmination of two and a half decades of reflection on the place of cinema in the history of the arts by a master practitioner who considered cinema not merely as an object of historiography but as an agent of history.

In defense of Godard and his Cavellian chronology it is important to note that in his *Notes* as well as in many of his earlier writings Eisenstein uses a genealogical template that is quite different from Godard's paleontology of cinema. Eisenstein's goal in the *Notes* is to "determine the historical place of the cinema in the history of the arts." While *Yo*, his autobiography, served to show "how one became Eisenstein," the *Notes* prepared the ground for a work that was supposed to show how cinema became what it had become, particularly in the hands of Eisenstein.[13] In the *Notes for a General History of Cinema*, but also in his earlier writings, Eisenstein systematically reaches outside of cinema to other arts and other media, as well as beyond his culture of origin to show how cinema had become what it was, and to envision what cinema could yet become. Eisenstein also knew who Griffith was, as did Richter, by the way, even though he misspelled his second name as "Ward" in one of his texts from the 1950s. But when Eisenstein writes about Griffith, he writes not about the cinema alone and about Griffith in relation to the history of cinema. Rather, he writes a sentence like this: "From here, from Dickens, from the Victorian novel, stem the first shoots of the American film esthetic forever linked with the name of David Wark Griffith."[14] Instead of dinosaurs and toddlers Eisenstein writes about plants, or more specifically about transplants: among other things, the emergence of cinema appears as a cross-pollination of sorts between the arts, but also as a cross-pollination between various media. But Eisenstein's genealogical templates are not limited to

metaphors lifted from biology. "This is sound cinema!" Eisenstein is reported to have exclaimed while watching a Kabuki theater performance. In Kabuki, Eisenstein discovered not only the principle of breaking down the actor's body into its component parts that is one of the hallmarks of cinematic montage (a principle, by the way, that Richter attributed as one of his principal innovations to Griffith). Eisenstein also discovered an articulation of body, gesture and spoken language that he read as a model for the montage in sound film, just as he had discovered the principle of silent film montage in what he perceived to be the ideogrammatic principle of Japanese and Chinese writing. Like Erza Pound, Eisenstein based his reading of Japanese and Chinese writing on a misconception of the Chinese ideogram that they both ostensibly inherited from Ernest Fenollosa, namely that the word (i.e., the Chinese or Japanese character) could carry the pictorial equivalent of its linguistic meaning.[15] As in the case of Pound, Eisenstein's misconception proved to be highly productive. Eisenstein's understanding of the ideogram as a representation led him to an understanding of montage, and particularly intellectual montage, as the juxtaposition of images of concrete objects to construct abstract concepts and notions, preferably through a conflict of meanings.

Some critics have read Eisenstein's fascination with Japanese art and culture as a case of orientalism and "primitivism." According to their argument, Eisenstein steps outside the boundaries of his own culture and enlists Asian art in order to create a "primitivist" genealogy of cinema that dispenses with and explodes the confines of the models of European art.[16] That may be so. After all, the Soviet Empire was the successor of the Russian Empire, which was a colonial empire like Britain or France, with the difference that Russia engaged in internal rather than external colonization, from the colonization of the Ukrainian plains and the subjugation of the Siberian tribes to the systematic acquisition of resource-rich territories in central Asia. The culture that Eisenstein attempted to transcend by searching for epiphanies of prefiguration in Asian art was a culture still profoundly marked by the colonial experience. "The revolutionary state absorbed the practices and experiences that the Empire projected onto its subject peoples," writes Alexander Etkind in a discussion of Hannah Arendt's concept of the "boomerang effects" of colonialism on the colonizing societies. "Not only is the post-Soviet era postcolonial, the Soviet era was postcolonial, too."[17] Along those lines it is possible to argue that Eisenstein's conception of the revolutionary audience of peasants and workers, beyond his artistic figurations of the mass as a "total union inaccessible to the limited individual" which owed a great deal to Freud and his idea of the unconscious,[18] remained embedded in a rhetoric of internal colonization that the Soviet cultural elites in an oblique way inherited from their tsarist predecessors and that proved to be surprisingly resilient to the cultural and political upheaval of the Russian revolution. Eisenstein's "primitivism," then, would be as much a matter of the "primitives" at home that the

Soviet revolutionary filmmakers set out to educate as it was a matter of the "primitives" and their art abroad, a matter of the non-European origin of some of his sources.

In any case a discussion that focuses solely on Eisenstein's supposed orientalism in drawing on Asian art and culture misses the larger point: namely, that Eisenstein's genealogical pathways feed into a comprehensive conception of cinema as the "*Vollendung*," the completion and end, of all the other arts, which includes non-European arts and their history. The idea of one art as the completion and summation of all the other arts in itself is not new. As Eisenstein, the polymath, knew well, Bernini's baroque chapels and the Cornaro chapel in the church of St. Maria della Vittoria in Rome in particular were designed to be "complete artworks" and to create evidence of an underlying unity of the visual arts, with architecture providing the outer frame to embed all the other arts.[19] Furthermore, as Dieter Thomä has argued in his essay on Eisenstein's 1940 production of Wagner's *Die Walküre*, the concept of the "*Gesamtkunstwerk*" provides one of the inspirations for Eisenstein's ideas about montage, and the inherent tensions of the Wagnerian "*Gesamtkunstwerk*" can be said to find a reflection and continuation in the contradictory dynamics of Eisensteinian montage.[20] However, beyond the influences of Bernini and Wagner Eisenstein's conception of cinema as the completion of art must also be traced back to Hegel's philosophy of history. The indebtedness of Eisenstein to the dialectics of Hegel is not a matter of contention. His notion of conflict, for instance, is directly lifted from Hegel. However, the extent, and the bold nature of Eisenstein's Hegelianism probably only come really to the fore in the *Notes for a General History*. For Eisenstein, cinema is to the other arts and to the history of art as the philosophy of Hegel is to other philosophies and to the history of philosophy. In philosophy, writes Hegel in the *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, the first step is "*Auffassung*," perception, the second step is "*Beurteilung*," judgment, while the third step, the most difficult and most important, is the synthesis of understanding and judgment, "*Darstellung*." "*Philosophie ist Darstellung*," writes Hegel, philosophy (and that means first and foremost the philosophy of Hegel) is both a representation and performance, a conceptual reenactment of sorts, of prior philosophies and the history of philosophy. At the same time, "*Philosophie als Darstellung*," philosophy as both representation and performance of all previous philosophies, is the completion of philosophy and its history, the end of philosophy. In his genealogy, Eisenstein, one could argue, simply replaces philosophy in "*Philosophie ist Darstellung*" with cinema, the other philosophies with the arts and the history of philosophy with the history of art. Cinema is "*Darstellung*," i.e., both a representation and a performative reenactment of the previous arts and their history, and it is simultaneously a summation of all the other arts and the completion of their history.

However, Eisenstein's genealogy of cinema does not proceed by way of a dialectics in which earlier art forms become obsolete and gain an afterlife only in

sublation. In fact one can even argue that Eisenstein's conception of the history of art is in a way as far from a historicist conception of empty, homogeneous time as it is from the steady, revolutionary progression of history as process in a Marxist sense. Instead, Eisenstein's conception of history appears to be closer to Benjamin's idea of "*Jetztzeit*" of a past that becomes present and comes alive in messianic splinters.[21] In his writings on cinema and the other arts Eisenstein proceeds in what we might call the mode of *prefiguration and epiphany*: a moment of epiphany reveals the prefiguration of cinema and of its specific esthetic problems in other arts and media, and provides a solution for one or several of these problems. Thus Kabuki is sound film in the sense that Kabuki prefigures the problem of sound film and provides a template for the solution of this problem, in the historical moment that the problem actually poses itself. To the extent that the other arts survive in cinema, they survive not because they become absorbed into some kind of conceptual totality, but because they contribute building blocks toward the new art, messianic splinters that prefigure and eventually activate the potential of the coming art of film. Rather than a paleontology of practitioners of film art, then, Eisenstein's genealogy of film is an archaeology of the prefigurations of cinema, and rather than filiation his mode of inquiry is that of historical epiphany.

Godard's paleontology of cinematic filiation succeeded Eisenstein's archaeology of prefiguration and epiphany, and the "*nouvelle vague*" certainly helped to enshrine the auteurist approach to film history as the default mode of film historiography in the decades since. Even in the *Histoire(s) du cinema*, where Godard appears to engage in an archaeology of cinema of his own, the paleontological model eventually prevails. At the beginning of episode 3A, for instance, Godard argues that cinema begins with Manet because the female figures in his paintings abandon the interiority of the female gaze, the "*moi d'abord, le cosmos ensuite*" of Da Vinci, Vermeer and even Corot. Instead, in Manet they start to look back with a look that says "*Je sais à quoi tu penses*," engaging the viewer in an exchange of looks in which the "me" joins the cosmos, as Godard puts it, and which anticipates – or rather begins – the patterns of looking of cinema. But while Godard's declaration "*Et avec Edouard Manet commence la peinture moderne, c'est-à-dire le cinématographe*" may sound like a prefiguration of the Eisensteinian kind, the sentence really translates as "lest we forget, before Griffith came Manet." Godard was merely the first to know that the paleontology of cinematic filiation stretches back to a certain well-known proto-Impressionist painter.

Eisenstein's archaeology, on the other hand, appears to have found a series of postfigurations in the various media archaeologies that have sprung up over the last twenty-odd years and presented themselves variously as alternatives to the paleontologies of auteurist film history. The New Film history of the 1970s and 1980s integrated approaches from economic and social history to break with what a new generation of scholars had quickly come to view as the stale pieties

of the great-auteurs-from-great-nations paradigm of film history. New Film history eventually branched out into a form of media historiography that tends to dissolve the object of film into a Foucauldian media history. This new media historiography can take the form of a media archaeology of film as proposed variously by Thomas Elsaesser, Wanda Strauven, Michael Wedel or a historical epistemology of the film *dispositif* as proposed by François Albera, Maria Tortajada, and others. More radically, the media archaeology of Friedrich Kittler dissolves the object of film altogether into a new Hegelian narrative not of the complete artwork, but of the complete medium, that is, the computer. This narrative, which may best be described as Techno-Hegelianism, turns Hegel not only from its head to its feet, but replaces the feet with the Heideggerian "*Gestell*" of technology, or more specifically: media technology. In Kittler's media archaeology, the computer takes the place of the Hegelian "*Geist*" and becomes the medium that can represent all other media. Thanks to the binary code, writes Christoph Tholen in a seminal volume on the computer as medium that he coedited with Kittler and Norbert Bolz in 1994, the computer is capable of "representing all that presents itself" (*alles zu präsentieren, was sich präsentiert*).[22] While Tholen's claim echoes a similar claim made in 1962 by the then-head of corporate communications of Krupp, a German steel corporation,[23] for the medium of film, what is lost in the techno-Hegelian media archaeology of the computer in comparison to Eisenstein's archaeology of cinema is precisely the consideration of film and cinematic specificity, but also the "*Jetztzeit*" dynamics of prefiguration and epiphany.

Maybe now that the Techno-Hegelian media archaeology of the computer has largely run its course and has come to its own end while film and media history continue to raise methodological challenges is a good time indeed to return to Eisenstein and to the archaeology of prefiguration and epiphany in order to find out how we should write the history of cinema going forward.

One of the challenges for a coming history of cinema, as well as for the history of film theory, is to account for the way in which facing history and becoming an art in Cavell's sense changes cinema. In the view of one of his contemporaries, Siegfried Kracauer, the effect of Eisenstein's archaeology of prefiguration and epiphany on his own cinema was paradoxical. "When Eisenstein the theoretician began to stress the similarities between the cinema and the traditional art media, identifying film as their ultimate fulfillment," Kracauer wrote in *Theory of Film*, "Eisenstein the artist, increasingly trespassed the boundaries that separate film from elaborate theatrical spectacles: think of his *Alexander Nevsky* and the operatic aspects of his *Ivan the Terrible*."[24] Kracauer, who had taken leave of the neo-Marxist philosophy of history at the end of the 1920s and whose thinking about film at the time he published *Theory of Film* owed more to Lessing than to Hegel (or Lukács), insisted that film could never fully become an art but that the aesthetic value of the "filmic" lay in the right balance between the "formative tendencies"

of art and the "realistic tendency" of the medium, a position that included a strong aversion to the theatrical mode in film. But by pointing to what he perceives to be a divergence between Eisenstein's artistic practice and his philosophy of art history, Kracauer not only highlights the underlying coherence of cinema as an object of theory and practice. He also insists on the need for cinema to affirm itself as an art in its own right, or rather, in his terms, as a medium with its own specificity. Or, to put it in other terms, in his *Theory of Film*, which was first published in 1960, i.e., at the moment when according to Cavell film became modern and an art in his sense of the term, Kracauer already assesses Eisenstein from a point of view that is actually more in line with a Godardian paleontology of cinema and treats Eisenstein's own Hegelian archaeology as an approach that is itself already an historical object.

However there is a tension not unlike the one that Kracauer sees in Eisenstein in the Godardian paleontology of film. Fritz Lang himself happily endorsed the paleontological template by calling himself "the last of the dinosaurs" in a well-known interview with Charles Higham and Joel Greenberg, which was published two years after the Godard interview.[25] Lang did not, however, endorse the "*nouvelle vague*" as such. In his view, the esthetic of the "*nouvelle vague*" was plagued with an excessive realism that actually amounted to an anti-aesthetic of cinema. "They want to shoot everything just as it is," Lang said in his interview with Higham and Greenberg. "My way of shooting is through disciplined selection. I'm therefore absolutely opposed in principle to what the *nouvelle vague* does. I think it is the death of art, which is primarily selection."

One could argue that Lang merely points out what may be also described as an underlying affinity between the "*nouvelle vague*" and Kracauer, a refusal to reduce film to the formative gesture, and a conception of cinema that ties aesthetic value to the redemption of physical reality: "to shoot everything just as is." Lang also echoes Eisenstein's critique of Vertov here, which may or may not be a coincidence. But Lang certainly has a point. His concern with the lack of selection appears to be echoed in a statement that Godard made not long after his comments on Griffith: "*On peut tout mettre dans un film, on doit tout mettre dans un film*" (You can put everything into a film, you have to put everything into a film). This statement has been read as a poetics of Godard's cinema: an application of Novalis's concept of the infinite novel to cinema and the transformation of cinema into a medium of reflection that encompasses and absorbs other all media and de- and reconstructs all other art forms, that is based on the potential selection of everything.[26]

In that sense cinema, once those who knew who Griffith was have taken over, may indeed be seen as both the completion and the death of art: a cinema that is thoroughly modern, oscillates between paleontology and archaeology, and provides an afterlife, a "*survivance*" not only to the other arts, but to cinema itself.

9. Point – Pathos – Totality

Mikhail Iampolski

According to Eisenstein, the general model of the history of cinema follows a dialectical formula. Everything begins with a certain primary nondismembered protophenomenon resembling Goethe's *Urphänomen* (which interested Eisenstein). In the process of development this protophenomenon is differentiated, becomes more complex, and loses its initial unity. A phase of fragmentation sets in, which indicates the decay of the primary organic form, but that same phase prepares the dialectical leap into a new integrity, on a higher level which restores the lost unity. This secondary wholeness is colored in utopian tones and produces a kind of *telos* out of itself. In social development this is a society without contradictions,[1] in art this is an aesthetic harmony, removing contradictions.

I will cite examples. Here is how Eisenstein schematizes the history of photography. At first we have a whole photograph, in which elements of disintegration are introduced. This is the "Painter Rejlander (1813-1875) – O.G. Rejlander, *The Two Ways of Life* from 30 negatives (the first combined from 3, 1851)." Next, Duchenne de Boulogne: "Photographs of G.-B.-A. Duchenne de Boulogne for the book *Mécanisme de la Physionomie Humaine, ou Analyse électro-physiologique de l'expression des passions.*"[2] What is referred to here are experiments in photographing the movement of isolated facial muscles which disrupt the organics of facial expressions. Afterward Eisenstein mentions illustrated newspapers which provide an even greater fragmentation of the world in photographs. The instantaneous photograph comes into existence, breaking away from the idea of duration and a newspaper *serialization* of images also takes place. After that, the disintegration intensifies and photomontage appears: "Montage by the means of the combination of the pictorial reproduction of photographs (Assembly of Scottish ministers by David Octavius Hill). Montage by the means of combined printing. [...] Montage by the means of combined shots."[3] In the end comes the chronophotography of Marey and Muybridge, in which phasing and fragmentation reach such force that the only thing possible beyond them is a dialectical leap in a new unity accomplishable by cinema. Cinema synthesizes anew a world fragmented to the limit into a certain whole, into an illusion of life.

But such a scheme is found in the evolution of painting. At a certain stage painting is integral: "Simultaneous pictures. Stringing together various phases

of an event (Memling, Botticelli's illustrations for the *Divina Commedia*). Simultaneous sets in Middle-Age and Renaissance theater." Subsequently a serialization occurs, a multiplication of points of view, as in photography: "Chain of pictures (Hogarth, Goya's *Robber Maragato*). The problem of a composition's dynamics." Further, the decomposition of the single point of view is found inside one figure which combines different points of view: "Various phases of the position of a figure (Tintoretto, Daumier)."[4]

The disintegration continues and goes parallel to the disintegration of social unity. Divisionism, Pointillism, and Cubism correspond to the imperialist stage. Before Eisenstein, Malevich, who believed that synthesis created Suprematism, suggested a similar scheme of the evolution of painting. Eisenstein believed that painting finds its lost unity in the cinematograph.

In a text with the expressive title "The Heir," Eisenstein proclaims cinema the heir of the old arts:

> **The historical place of cinema in the history of the arts**
> Its origins in the ruins of the "second baroque."[5]
> Other arts disintegrate to level zero.
> "-Isms." Each based on one particular feature.
> The collapse of bourgeois society.
> Cinema begins from level zero.
> Technical invention.
> The social structure (USSR), seeking a type of mass art *etc.*
> The social pre-condition *and [the] technical [one] coincide.**
> As a new totality, social and aesthetic.
> [...]
> **The removal of contradictions**
> Where has it ever been more so than in our case?
> Universal unity.
> [...]
> The idea of synthesis as a *revival** of syncretism.
> Hostility towards synthesis in periods of social breakdown.
> [...]
> **The Phenomenon of Cinema**
> (*History of the phenomenon**)
> "Frames" and *the method of cinema*.
> From the *mosaic* to *pointillism*.
> A dynamic juxtaposition instead of mixing together.[6]

It is worth it to carefully examine the mechanism of this disintegration of the whole and its subsequent assembly. The disintegration of unity in Eisenstein usually leads to a phenomenon he calls "multipointness" (*mnogotochechnost'*). On

December 24, 1947, he writes: "Multiple points of view. Don't forget van Eyck's *The Arnolfini Couple* with its a multi-point perspective."[7] The director discovers multipointness in *The Portrait of Maria Ermolova* by Valentin Serov, in Robert Delaunay, in Leonardo, in El Greco's *Storm over Toledo*, and even in ancient ornaments, where Eisenstein identifies "multipoint montage (projection)."[8]

But multipointness is not only the combination of a multiplicity of points of view in one image or the serialization of one object in a multitude of images. With regards to the Ghent Altarpiece, Eisenstein looks at the construction of the frame and the altar gates and finds the principle of "bricklaying" in the structure of the altar frames. Here, the points are not points of view, but segmentations of the general space of the altar by the joints of the frames of the different images of the lower and upper rows. Eisenstein identified that same "bricklaying" in Pushkin, where "points" were, for instance, moments of joining of the aural and the visual. Here, points become fully metaphorical. In Pushkin, the director finds segmentations of the text, corresponding to the principle of the golden section, when one part of the text is related to the other at a proportionality ratio of 0.618. Such a segmentation of the text is accomplished by the point. Thus, Eisenstein takes a fragment of Pushkin's "Poltava":

Он рану тяжкую свою
Забыл. Поникнув головою,
Он скачет, русскими гоним…
[His heavy wound
He forgot. His head dropping,
He gallops, pursued by the Russians...]

and indicates that segmentation occurs at the pause after the word "forgot," where Pushkin placed a point (a period): "The division of *the whole mass*, and also the division *within* the mass. And again cut off by full stops – periods, again single instances when the period is inside the line."[9] Here, the metaphorical point coincides with the point (period) as a punctuation sign: "this is the only line interrupted within by the mark of 'full punctuation' – the period."[10]

Of course, none of the points Eisenstein writes about exist in nature. Pushkin's text does not break into measurable parts with the help of points. These points are imaginary. But it was precisely such an operation in search of imaginary points that Malevich carried out in the twenties, believing that Futurist paintings are built around some invisible points.[11] Pavel Florensky devoted a special study to the point, in which he very justly indicated the imaginary nature of this phenomenon: "These points, being abstract, do not correspond to any reality, and the physical phenomenon takes place as if there were a real focus in a given point."[12] According to Florensky, the imaginary and negative nature of the point manifests itself particularly clearly in perspectival constructions, in such imagin-

ary concepts as point of convergence or point of view which are so essential to Eisenstein's "multipointness." Florensky wrote: "And, moving aside, it "the point" gathers with itself everything it meets on its way, sweeping space clean of any reality whatsoever. [...] Perspective, that is linear perspective, is a machine for the destruction of reality; in it, the point of convergence acts as an infernal all-consuming throat."[13]

The point – and this was well understood by Eisenstein and a whole line of Russian art theorists before him – particularly the point of view or the point of convergence of perspective – is a geometric imaginary, in which subjectivity manifests itself in the outside world. The point is the site of the joining together of the objective and subjective, and this joining turns out to be possible precisely due to the fact that the point, though found on the surface, does not belong to this world, but is a construct of the subject, it is assumed by the subject.

Wassily Kandinsky, whose work Eisenstein studied carefully, comes closest to Eisenstein's interpretation of the point. In his book *Point and Line to Plane*, Kandinsky defined the point as a strange intermediate formation: "The geometric point is an invisible thing. Therefore, it must be defined as an incorporeal thing. Considered in terms of substance it equals zero. Hidden in this zero, however, are various attributes which are 'human' in nature."[14] The thing is that, according to Kandinsky, the point (in the painter's eyes it means silence) is a sign by means of which the internal manifests itself in the outside world (this topic was examined in detail in his first book, *On the Spiritual in Art*) and internal tensions find visible expression. The appearance of this sign is accompanied by a certain internal *sound*, corresponding to these tensions:

> As we gradually fear the point out of its restricted sphere of customary influence, its inner attributes – which were silent until now – make themselves heard more and more. One after the other, these qualities – inner tensions – come out of the depths of its being and radiate their energy. Their effects and influence upon human beings overcome ever more easily the resistances they set up. In short, the dead point becomes a living thing.[15]

The point – the graphic element turns into sound. In Kandinsky, the sound is "audible" only to the subject himself – the manifestation of the internal experience; the vibration, capable of being called forth in the soul of the spectator by the visible form, in other words, the translation of the visible into pure affect, which takes the shape of sound. In the famous treatise *On the Spiritual in Art*, Kandinsky described the means by which "the impression of color" can "develop into an experience," which gives rise to that which the painter called "inner sound."[16] The different elements of the painting can call forth a whole number of internal sounds, which begin to reverberate, joining together in a mutual echo,

and give rise to a certain *common* internal sound of the work. At the same time, in Kandinsky's work colors, lines, and points all create their own sound.

The likening of internal impression to sound in Kandinsky goes back to the aesthetics of Schopenhauer, who saw derivativeness and illusion in the external representations of the world (including the visual ones) and in ideas. The philosopher considered music the only art reflecting the will (this unrepresentable source of the world) and directly expressing the essence of the world.[17] But will, according to Schopenhauer, is also expressed in desires which can never be fulfilled. Hence the theme of suffering, the pure pathos, so characteristic of music. In this way, music conveys the world through the will, which is the internal principle directly connected with affect and pathos.

Kandinsky adopts Schopenhauer's basic positions. Eisenstein draws elements of his own aesthetics from Kandinsky. This borrowing is facilitated by a solid knowledge of Schopenhauer, whom the future director studied particularly thoroughly in 1919. Eisenstein's "points" are doubtless akin to the "points" of Kandinsky; both systematically take part in the translation of the visual into aural, in the organization of the audio-aural synthesis. The visual point gives rise to "sound"; in it the visual can be converted into the aural. In his article "The Fourth Dimension in Cinema" the director wrote:

> Whereas *sound* and *visual* perceptions are not *reducible* to a single denominator. They are constants in different dimensions.
> But the visual overtone and the sound overtone are constant in a *single dimension*! Because, while a shot is a visual *perception* and a tone is a sound perception, *both visual and sound overtones are totally physiological sensations.*
> And, consequently, they are of *one and the same kind*, outside the sound of acoustic categories that serve merely as guides, paths to its achievement.
> For the musical overtones (a beat) the term "I hear" is no longer strictly appropriate.
> Nor "I see" for the visual.
> For both we introduce a new uniform formula: "I feel."[18]

The possibility of reducing the visual to the aural forces Eisenstein (and Kandinsky)[19] to, at some point, fully disregard the content of the image. He begins to differentiate the "irritant" and the internal sensation caused by it. Thus, he writes: "generally, we must take interest not in the irritant, but in that which it calls forth inside perception,"[20] in how different internal sounds are synthesized in one. In Kandinsky's opinion, the same happens in painting. For instance, Kandinsky writes that a point on a plane produces a "double sound": "As the double sound – point, plane – takes on the character of a *single sound*."[21] For Eisenstein this harmonization of a multitude of internal sounds into one domi-

nant sound (*dominante*) is the principle instant of its entire historical synthesis, which aspires toward the absorption of a huge diversity of material in a certain movement toward the *Single*, the absorption of *difference* into a final *Absolute.*

While working on *Nonindifferent Nature*, Eisenstein finds a convenient term to define this internal sensation – *pathos.* The points are merely the path to pathos, from the external, from the "irritant" to the internal sensation. Pathos describes the transition from the external, from the object-focused toward an internal tonality, in which any kind of objectness disappears. It is not by chance that Eisenstein introduced a chapter entitled "Sverkhpredmetnost' i sverkhtelesnost'" (Superobjectness and supercorporeality)[22] in the section of *Nonindifferent Nature* devoted to pathos, in which chapter Malevich's ideas are included along with religious ecstasy.

The classic description of pathos (of affect, passion) was provided by Aristotle in *Metaphysics*:

> Affection (pathos) means (1) a quality in virtue of which a thing can be altered; for example, whiteness and blackness, sweetness and bitterness, heaviness and lightness, and all other of this sorts of affections. (2) The actualities or alterations of these. (3) Of the latter, the alterations, or motions which are rather harmful and of these most of all those which are painful. (4) Also, misfortunes and pains of considerable magnitude are called "affections."[23]

Thereby *pathos* is the sensation, producible in us by the effect which a certain substance has over us. Something influences us, and we perceive this influence as pain or pleasure, but we can also perceive it as a quality – heaviness, lightness, warmth, cold. The peculiarity of pathos lies in the fact that, in pathos, a mixing of the internal and external takes place. The sensation of heaviness, for instance, is our sensation of a certain external object which we lift, but we transform this internal sensation into a quality of the object itself and say that the object is heavy. In other words, *pathos* has the tendency to be absorbed into the external substance, to disappear inside it. And this disappearance was perceived by the peripatetic tradition as something positive. Michel Meyer writes: "As such, passion is always a threat if it does not lead to its own suppression in the order of universal necessity."[24] For Aristotle, pathos's ability to be absorbed by the substance meant that the order of human perception of the world correlates with the external world, is harmonized with it and is not in opposition to it. However, such faith in the accord between the internal and external gradually ceases to be absolute. Meyer notes: "What was broken was the Aristotelian hope to have a human order which could be absorbed, with its pathos, into the universal order. Pathos remained free of all shackles, without any possibility of absorption, without the ultimate rationality required to contain and control it."[25] In Meyer's opin-

ion, the pathos unabsorbable by the substance turns into pure passion, which begins to be viewed as the path toward sinfulness. Hence the appeal for restraint of passion and for discipline.

In Eisenstein's writings, the work of art must turn into pure pathos, into the deep affect which accompanies the perception of film. In *Nonindifferent Nature*, Eisenstein, on principle, avoids clarifying the nature of pathos and limits himself to characterizing pathos only through a description of its "effects": "the effect of the pathos of a work consists in bringing the viewer to the point of ecstasy."[26] Ecstasy is characterized as "transport out of oneself," but not as "transport into nothing" – rather a "transition into something else." In essence, Eisenstein views pathos as an abrupt, leaps-and-bounds, ecstatic transition from one substance to another – from sound to image (or vice versa), from the internal to the external or from the external to the internal. And here the point plays the part of an imaginary positioning of such a transition.

An important analysis of Surikov's "Boyarina Morozova" is included in *Nonindifferent Nature*. In accordance with his usual methodology, Eisenstein finds on Surikov's canvas points of intersection of diagonals and verticals, wherein the division of the painting by the principle of the golden section is supposedly established. Eisenstein marks certain imaginary points of invisible intersections on the canvas, among which he singles one out and calls it "the highest point." Nevertheless, the positioning of this "highest point" is "unexpected":

> Actually section A1 B1, as it goes to 0,618... from the right edge of the picture, passes not through the hand, not even through the head or eyes of the boyarina, but appears somewhere in front of the boyarina's mouth! That is, in other words – it is a decisive dividing line, a means of attracting maximum attention, as if passing through the air, for no purpose, in front of the mouth. [...] The golden section cuts here at the main point. And the unexpectedness is only that *the very thing that is most important* – is unportrayable plastically. The golden section A1 B1 passes through the word that flies from Boyarina Morozova's mouth.[27]

This transition from the depictable into the nondepictable, "from a dimension to a dimension on the 'point of highest ascent'" is Eisenstein's pathos. The director accentuates that, "in this point" of pathos's affect the "undepicted sound is applied at this point."[28] The analysis of Surikov's painting is interesting not only because of the way in which Eisenstein conceives the pathetic transition from image to sound (auro-visual synthesis), but also because of how, in the point of the highest pathetic action ("he forces the viewer's attention to remain excitedly on this spot, for this spot is not a plastically depicted point of transversal of two decisive compositional divisions"),[29] a transition from the visible and the material to a transcendence which is in direct correlation with the high degree of the

internal affect takes place. Eisenstein writes that, by means of the pathos construction Surikov depicts not only the word, but "the flaming word of fanatic conviction."[30] The viewer's pathos coincides with the character's pathos and leads to a full deobjectivization of any depictable objectness. Objects disappear in the realm of a strange immanently transcendent void.

Approximately at the same time when Eisenstein was writing his treatise on the universal history of cinema, Georges Bataille, in his *Inner Experience* (1943), was also searching for the grounds of the absolute "inner" experience, pathos. Much of what interested Eisenstein was of interest to Bataille as well – Christian mysticism, the practice of ecstasy, St. Ignatius of Loyola's spiritual exercises, etc. In *Inner Experience*, Bataille includes a section entitled "First Digression Concerning Ecstasy before an Object: The Point." The point, "marked" by a subject submerged in the internal and excluding himself from the external world, replaces with itself the missing object. Bataille writes that this point is a projection of itself. But this is also a purely fictitious site of contact between "I" and the universal. "Starting from the felicity of movements, it is possible to fix a vertiginous point ostensibly containing inwardly all the fragmentation of the world, the continual slipping of everything into nothingness,"[31] writes Bataille. The point, as in Florensky,[32] turns out to be not only the expression of nothing, but, at the same time, the expression of totality, in which the "fracturedness world" is absorbed by a certain unity.

However, Bataille warned of the danger of the road which opens up toward the unified and the transcendent: "at the extreme of the possible, experience demands a renunciation: a renunciation of the desire to be everything,"[33] he observed. He called for not letting our own finiteness out of sight for even a minute. Pathos, transforming the whole experience of the external world into a homogenous abstraction of pure affect, easily converts the whole world into an abstraction of the universal. Of course, it is not accidental that pathos professionals – ascetics (about whom Bataille writes) and mystics – use pathos for the experience of dissolving into God, the Unified and the Universal.

Eisenstein is aware of pathos's nearly inevitable connection with the transcendent, or simply – with God. He writes that pathos is "ecstasy [which] is exactly like this in its final peaks: a transport out of understanding – a transport out of conceptualization – a transport out of imagery – a transport out of the sphere of any rudiments of consciousness whatever into the sphere of "pure" effect, feeling, sensation, 'state.'"[34] However, here he is forced to admit that "For the person having fallen (been brought) into this state – the uncommonness of it is connected with the image of the Lord God."[35] In Eisenstein, pathos often leads to God; in Kandinsky, as Michel Henry believes, it refers to *life* as a certain force which penetrates the human being. Henry thought that what Kandinsky did was precisely to "give an image of" life, wherein life is, in essence, the same abstraction and the same affect as God: "*How is life present in art?* Abstraction's response:

never as that which we see or we think we see in the painting, but as that which we feel within ourselves when such a vision is produced."[36] Both God and *life* are given to us in the form of pathos and affect which does not have a direct correlation with the objective world. Pathos (private human experience) refers to a certain endless abstract totality. And, as we will see, this ability to connect with such high abstractions plays an essential role in Eisenstein's aesthetics.

The separation of affect from the substance, which Meyer wrote about, is what allows for the expression of the transcendent to become apparent. The quality separates from the object and becomes pure sensation which only passes through the object and is expressed by it. Such expressivity makes any object convertible into another object – sound into image and vice versa. Pathos turns out to be the grounds ensuring the interconnection of everything with everything else and the universal circulation of objects and signs. Eisenstein wrote: "transport beyond the bounds of the concept image of an object, and on the other – of the ability to add its dynamic intensity to any image acting in connection with it. The sensation, 'first of being.' And 'then – God.'"[37]

All of this is directly related to the historical scheme of the development of the arts sketched out by Eisenstein. At first glance, in the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* we have an unusual variety of names and facts referring to completely different eras, combined outside of a distinct genealogy or chronology. However, what is in front of us is by no means a withdrawal from linear history or a constellation of images like those present in Walter Benjamin or Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne*. Eisenstein does not attempt to create a shocking collage of the heterogeneous, since *behind all of these heterogeneous elements* he detects *one and the same scheme* leading from the point (multipointness) or the lines toward pathos, in which heterogeneity disappears and gives way to homogeneity. One and the same "formula of ecstasy" manifests itself everywhere and Eisenstein declares that "a dynamic generality of 'the formula of ecstasy' also passes through ecstatic works of *pathos*, which are both extremely different in subject, aim, idea, theme, time, and place, and are from different countries and people appearing at times as a quite unexpected echo."[38]

The radical difference from the historicism of Benjamin and Warburg consists of, above all, Eisenstein's use of the dialectical method. Eisenstein often mentions dialectics. The majority of scholars (it seems to me) see in this simply a function of the time period, or simply the common USSR ritual of citing the classics of Marxism. However, it seems to me that the nature of Eisenstein's adoption of "dialectics" was far from ornamental. In early texts from the period of the "Montage of Attractions" the director was also interested in affects and described cinema as an affective machine, but there was no dialectics. Dialectics appears in Eisenstein's texts only in the second half of the 1920s and announces itself particularly loudly in a cycle of articles on montage from 1929. It is representative that Jay Leyda published one of the major articles of that time period in

English under the title "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form." The adoption of dialectics is very important for understanding Eisenstein's transition from short essays and articles (in the 1920s) to amorphous books without a beginning or end, endlessly growing and transitioning from one into the other (1930s-1940s). This transition, in my view, is partially related to the fact that dialectics allows one to conceive every phenomenon in the forms of its historical development and formation. Every phenomenon acquires a limitless dynamic genealogy, which is what leads to a change in the form of the texts and the creation of projects like the "general history of cinema," like a branching dialectical genealogy.

"The Dramaturgy of Film Form" (also known as "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form") begins with a declaration:

> *Thus*:
> The projection of the dialectic system of things
> into the brain
> *into creating abstractly*
> *into the process of thinking*
> yields: dialectic methods of thinking;
> dialectic materialism – PHILOSOPHY
> *And also*:
> The projection of the same system of things
> *while creating concretely*
> *while giving form*
> yields: ART.[39]

In this exceptionally important text Eisenstein formulates the main conflict of art as a conflict between "natural being and creative tendentiousness." At the same time, nature and natural being are proclaimed the bearers of the *passive principle of being*. Nature is passiveness and indifference. It is opposed by creative rationality and subjectivity which follow the "active principle of production." The dynamics of development and historicism appear as a result of the *penetration of the active subject into the passiveness of the external substance*. This position is so important for Eisenstein that he names one of his main works *Nonindifferent Nature*. But this is a central idea for Hegel as well. Thus, for instance, in the systematic criticism to which he subjected Spinoza, the German philosopher constantly underlined that Spinoza was incapable of going beyond the limits of the substance which was external to consciousness, passive, indifferent, and knew no internal principle of development besides degradation into attributes and *modi*. Hegel asserted that Spinoza was only familiar with the "rigid, unyielding substance."[40] He wrote: "As all differences and determinations of things and of consciousness simply go back into the One substance, one may say that in the system of Spinoza all things are merely cast down into this abyss of annihilation. [...] [It] comes to no vitality,

spirituality or activity. His philosophy has only a rigid and unyielding substance, and not yet spirit; in it we are not at home with ourselves."[41] Hegel believed that the absolute notion of substance must become the object of the living consciousness. It is only through self-accomplishment of this notion by the spirit which carries negation in itself that the notion that it can acquire the dynamic of life. It is a question of seeing the thought as identical with the conceivable object, the elimination of the Kantian "thing-in-itself." Spinoza's substance is even more external to the consciousness which must become part of the self-movement of the notion of substance itself.[42]

But that is precisely what we find in Eisenstein's discussion of nature and the principle of creative production, the principle of consciousness which must be introduced into the indifferent passiveness of nature. However, from such a point of view, it is absolutely necessary (as in Hegel) to not only suppose that knowledge and the world (nature) are identical, but also to postulate their difference (one enters into a relationship of negation with the other). Of course, Eisenstein does not lay claim to "the projection of the dialectic system of things into the brain, *into creating abstractly, into the process of thinking.*"[43] That, as we remember, is the destiny of philosophy. It is a question of the projection of the system of objects into images which Eisenstein begins to associate with pathos at a certain moment. I will remind the reader that the director maintained that pathos supposedly ensures "going beyond the limits of the representation-image of the object and, on the other hand – the ability to impart its dynamic intensity to any image entering into a relation with it." It is a question precisely of the *dynamization of the external passive substance at the expense of the injection of a pathetic consciousness in it.* In "The Dramaturgy of Film Form" ("A Dialectic Approach to Film Form"), this is discussed in the following terms: "To form equitable views by stirring up contradictions within the spectator's mind, and to forge accurate intellectual concepts from the dynamic clash of opposing passions."[44] Here, the recent orientation toward intellectual cinema is still felt: the notion itself must arise, following the Hegelian model, through self-movement of the consciousness in the forms of dialectical negation.

Thus, Eisenstein begins his path in aesthetics with affect, which, for him, is related to the "attraction" ("any element that subjects the audience to emotional or psychological influence"[45]). Attractions are not at all connected among themselves, but are pointedly heterogeneous:

> The instrument of this process consists of all the parts that constitute the apparatus of theatre (Ostuzhev's "chatter" no more than the colour of the prima donna's tights, a roll on the drums just as much as Romeo's soliloquy, the cricket on the hearth no less than a salvo under the seats of the auditorium) because, despite their differences, they all lead to one thing – which their presence legitimates – to their common quality of *attraction.*[46]

Moreover, it is precisely the heterogeneity of elements that allows every one of them to preserve its shock value and produce affect. As is known, at the basis of the montage of attractions lies conflict which, at first, is not subjected to any dialectization (*conflict* does not become dialectical *contradiction*). In this early period affect is described in terms of expressivity. Expressivity is understood as a conflicting movement of a body (or bodies) which is capable of provoking the corresponding strong affect in the viewer. An early text devoted to expressive movement states that expressive movements are the ones "in which are present a conflict between reflexive movement and the voluntary impulse restraining it [...] restraint is most characteristic for expressive movement. And it is that collision of two motor movements which gives that muscular distortion which characterizes 'expresiveness' (mime, gesture)."[47]

In my view, Eisenstein's discovery of *phaseness*, concealed behind the assemblage of conflicting components restricted to one another turns out to be a turning point. He finds this phaseness above all in the figures of Daumier and Tintoretto. In the latter, the different parts of the body are not simply united in conflict, but also reflect the different phases of one and the same movement: "Thus the foot is in position A, the knee already in stage A+a, the torso in stage A+2a, the neck in A+3a, the raised arm in A+4a, the head in A+5a, and so on."[48] In this way, the assemblage of elements turns out to be unified as stages in the development of a single movement. The "multipointness" which arises in this way gradually acquires a wider historical temporality, becoming a general scheme of the development of art – from one point of view toward the combination of different phases and toward the final removal of multipointness in the final synthesis (that is – in cinema).

I consider the discovery of phaseness an extremely crucial moment allowing the transition from the matter of expressivity to the matter of the internal movement of the subject. During this transition, pathos and affect begin to play an essentially different role. At that time, the role assigned to affect is not so much that of reaction to the impact of conflicting assemblage but rather that of the source of the unifying movement of the spirit within indifferent matter. This is the movement which Eisenstein calls pathos. Pathos begins to play a *dialectical* role. Of course, Eisenstein is far from having the spirit in his writings to search for a coincidence of the object with the concept (this is philosophy's concern), but the concept with inevitability arises in Eisenstein's speculations concerning *Metod* or *Grundproblem*, where the movement of affect is transformed into the movement of consciousness between the abstraction of the concept and the concreteness of the sensual perception, i.e., precisely the Hegelian movement par excellence.[49] Thus the "negative movement," which, at some point, was understood by Eisenstein as a conflicting and therefore an *expressive* union of impulse and inhibition, is now understood as a scheme of the dialectical process. The negative movement is a "the replacement of a simple statement through... the

developed negation of a negation. And the replacement of an accomplished result through the process of becoming."[50] The expressive gesture, as Eisenstein indicates, "needs to follow the developed formula of dialectics."[51]

In his study entitled "Even-Odd: The Bifurcation of the Unified," Eisenstein explains how the dialectization of expressive movement takes place. He calls this transformation "the transition of the process from a two-point scheme into a *three-point* one! This is precisely not a transition into a 'logical' pair: initial point and the target point, but into a dynamic triad: point of intention, point of its negation and its removal by new negations on the road towards the point of accomplishment."[52] For Eisenstein, an example of this is the hammer's strike on the anvil, which is impossible without the "preliminary swing," that is, the "negative" movement to the side opposite to the target. Eisenstein illustrates his example with a graphic scheme. On a straight line he indicates the point where movement begins – the point of intention – which at first goes back toward the "point of negation" and then throws itself far forward toward the "point of accomplishment." He explains the necessity for this dialectical scheme in the following manner: "otherwise the action will not be read by the viewer's perception, exactly as it is impossible for the viewer to capture the all-smashing fortissimo in its fullness if it is not preceded by a turn 'to the opposite side of loudness' – to silence."[53]

Dialectization begins in the rethinking of the ontology of the point which, as we know, is an index of affect and pathos. The affect is the experience of a certain outside influence, and in that sense it possesses its own completeness. Kandinsky, and Eisenstein after him, likened it to internal sound. At the same time, the perception of this sound absolutely did not need its opposite, for instance, silence. But now this once self-sufficient point begins to be described as "incomplete," this is only a "point of intention" which can be perceived only to the extent to which it will be correlated with the point of negation and the point of accomplishment. Without such a correlation, as Eisenstein writes, it will simply "not be read by the viewer's perception."

As Charles Taylor observed in relation to Hegelian dialectics, material objects are simply given to us; for us to be able to see a contradiction in them, we have to look at them as posited.[54] As soon as we begin to understand the object as posited by the spirit, it ceases to be an object "given" to us, but begins to correlate with the spirit that posits it and, in this way, it is transformed into a particular, inadequate *reflection* of the object which, in order to achieve adequacy, must first be subjected to negation. The dialectical contradiction is brought into the object through its correlation with the totality of the spirit which posits it. But that is precisely what we have in Eisenstein, who takes the point as an index of affect and turns it into a "point of intention" acquiring general meaning only through correlation with the postulated target of a certain process of movement, through correlation with the point of negation and point of accomplishment. The contra-

diction penetrates into the affect as soon as it becomes a part of the whole precisely because this is a part which cannot be adequately presented by that part.

As a result, in Eisenstein the figure *pars pro toto*, which turns out to be the necessary link of the affirmation of dialectics, comes to the foreground. Any given must be understood as a *pars* of a certain unknown *toto*. At the same time, the act of thinking in *pars* categories is proclaimed by him to be *prologue-ical sensual thinking*; *pars* certainly correlates with *toto*, i.e., with the whole of the Hegelian spirit and ipso facto becomes an element of abstract-logical thinking. Dialectics turns out to be not only a scheme of the process, but also a scheme of the transition from the concrete-sensual (the primordial) to the logical-rational (let me remind the reader that Eisenstein calls the leap from the sensual to the abstract "pathos"). As a matter of fact, this is the Hegelian scheme of self-movement of the spirit.[55] For it to begin moving, the "point" must initially be transformed from an adequate to an inadequate one. Jacques Rivelaygue writes about the necessity, in Hegel, to understand everything referring to the finite consciousness as untrue (*pas vrai*).[56] It is this feeling of inadequacy and falsity which creates a contradiction between the private given and the totality of meaning which sets the whole process in motion. Here, the dialectical movement itself depends on the detection of this inadequacy, "the differences" inside the given. In the notes to *Metod*, Eisenstein writes of the necessity to take a "step forward from the pointedness"[57] and indicates that this step is possible only through the "sensual discernment [differentiation] which precedes the intellectual (the initial-'logical')."[58] In other words, we must find the inadequacy, the absence of identity (difference) in the affect itself, connected to the "point," coming out of which is impossible without the ascertainment of this difference, representable in categories of partialness, incompleteness. This difference, according to Eisenstein, cannot belong to the affect itself or to the object which provokes it. It is introduced only by means of the postulation of the point as a part of the whole, i.e., exclusively by means of correlation with the subject, or, more broadly, with that spirit which in the process of historical movement gives rise to the history of culture.

Eisenstein leaves no doubt on this account. In his opinion, the first stage of dialectical movement is the stage "where any random part is considered and read (and represented) by the author as the whole."[59] In other words, this is an instant of self-sufficiency of the "point," of affect. But, in Eisenstein's later writings, the phenomenological "given" is always only a "partial" whose relation to the whole is dislodged from the consciousness. This is always a *false whole*: "The first act of the *pars pro toto* stage (of the early one on the path toward abstracting (*pars pro toto*, 'the only one') – this is the *breaking off* of a part from the whole."[60] In this way, the whole always precedes the part which naturally is postulated only with respect to the whole. Here, Eisenstein runs into the dead end from which dialectics never managed to find a way out. It is precisely this dead end which forced

contemporary philosophers (for instance, Deleuze) to search for difference in the given itself rather than in its relation to the false whole. That same "dialectical position" explains why Hegel did not accept the Spinozian substance as external and self-sufficient.[61] The substance did not contain the partialness and differences which would allow it to be integrated into the thought process.

The aesthetics of Eisenstein's late writing turns out to be largely based on the postulation of imaginary points correlatable with imaginary totalities. The structure of these imaginary points allows for the start of a "process," a dialectical movement which can be amplified and turned into a general movement of culture spanning millennia. It is precisely this construction of the imaginary which allowed Eisenstein to "construct" an extravagant mechanism of cultural evolution based on a dialectical movement of points which restore the synthesis of unpredictable totalities. The question of the extent to which all our constructions of the historical process follow a similar scheme remains open.

10. Distant Echoes[1]

Arun Khopkar

> "There is nothing new under the sun but there are lots of old things we don't now."
>
> – Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*

Curtain Raiser

Eisenstein's encounters with civilizations other than European enriched him and his observations brought out unsuspected aspects of them. Dealing with Japan, he enriched the language of cinema by formulating the basic concepts of montage and also deepened our understanding of Japanese culture. He brought his insights into it to bear upon the aesthetics of sound cinema by the concept of monistic ensemble. He used an Archimedean point outside his time and culture to upturn the established ideas of cinema and other arts; it was provided first by Japan, then China and then Mexico.

Eisenstein's thoughts have made me look at my own civilization in a different light. He shares a great deal with great Indian thinkers like the aestheticians Anandavardhan[2] and Abhinavagupta.[3] They all have intellects that reach to the deepest layers of our being so that each of their thoughts sets all layers vibrating, like sympathetic strings, and it emerges, full-bodied, rich in overtones and subtle with microtones. You don't read their writings; their writings read you. They question you, make you search within and without yourself.

Unfortunately, there are layers and layers of dust on the best in my culture. When one encounters a storm like Eisenstein, many layers are swept away and the gold nuggets start gleaming. It is up to us to pan the gold dust.

Eisenstein's thoughts have a centrifugal force that diffuses the Eurocentrism and anthropocentrism of many Western thinkers. They also have the centripetal force that seeks universals that provide a solid core to his thinking, without surrendering to the valueless relativity of unhistorical thinking.

Eisenstein speaks of his interests in the "invisible" aspect of our being:

> My interest in the pre-natal stage of being has always been very strong. It quickly extended to the invisible aspect of being. I became interested in the stages of biological development that preceded the stage of man!
> More than that, my range of interests took in early forms of social relations; pre-class, primitive society and the forms of behaviour and thought peculiar to it. It was because they repeated the surviving fragments of all the stages in our consciousness, thought and behaviour that I found these areas so rewarding.[4]

Indian culture is extremely complex, with a continuity and coexistence of several stages of civilization. Almost all that Eisenstein mentions in the quote above, exists in India, not as recorded history but as a living present. Atomic reactors and nuclear physics coexist side by side with food-gathering tribes, with their beliefs and practices. It is a perfect laboratory for testing some of Eisenstein's ideas. I hope that this article, in a tiny measure, will contribute in showing the relevance of his thoughts to my culture, and of both, to world culture.

Montage of Attractions

It was a visceral experience of "attraction"[5] – much before I had even heard the term. It happened during a performance of a Kathakali[6] play, when I was in my early twenties.

Here is a description of an "attraction," like the one that I had experienced, which describes a scene of a Kathakali presentation of an episode from the epic *Ramayana*.[7]

> Much more eerie and gruesome to behold is the scene of Surpanakha's tragedy. This ogress, in the guise of a charming damsel, makes love to Laksmana and having failed to impress the prince, she tries to abduct him, whereupon, [...] he chops off her nose and ears. The succeeding scene [...] is *neenam* (blood display).[8] We see a loathsome *rakshasi* (ogress), all black, streaming with blood, howling in pain and rage, emerging from the darkness of night (she approaches from the opposite end of the auditorium, making her way through the audience) like the very spirit of evil let loose, and preceded by the lurid glow of torches which, fed with resin powder, shoot out angry tongues of flame.
> The effect is accentuated by the monstrous, insistent drumming. We are terror struck to the marrow of our bones and disgust, utter disgust, for the weird spectacle seizes us. But then a strange unearthly power keeps us riveted to our seat and our mind and eyes remain glued to the scene. *Bhayanaka* (utter fear) and *Bibhatsa* (utter disgust) are graphically depicted and produce an abiding impression. Such blood-displays are announced beforehand and

children, the craven-hearted and pregnant women are dissuaded from witnessing such frightful scenes.[9]

The passage is important, as an illustration of a theatrical "attraction" as well as an example suitable for Eisenstein's "history of close-up." For, over and above the gruesomeness of the event described here, we need to look at the manner in which this effect is intensified and carried to its utmost.

A Kathakali stage has a single source of light, a huge oil lamp placed on the stage. It casts a circle of light in which the characters act out the scene, with the audience remaining in semidarkness or darkness. The space behind the audience is almost in total darkness; this is used with telling effect for certain scenes. In the scene described, the ogress, with her bleeding nose and ears, enters through this darkness and uttering terrible screams, *makes her way through the audience.*

So, there is no safe distance between the spectator and the spectacle, no proscenium arch. The spectacle tumbles into the spectator. The ogress comes very close to you. With the audience sitting on the floor, it gives a low-angled, larger than life view of her and the blood oozing out. It is a red pigment soaked in oil, which shines in the flickering flames. This, combined with the smoke of the lamp, the monstrous drumming and the cries produces an effect that has been known to lead a vulnerable spectator into an emotional paroxysm with serious consequences. It is a very effective use of "an attraction" as well as a "close-up" or even as an example of stereoscopic precinema as defined by Eisenstein.[10]

This theatrical form, though highly stylized, depends heavily on the observation of nature in its acting style. It uses no settings or dialogue and the entire narration is the accompanying music linked with superb miming by the actors. When an actor wants to narrate something about a bee, then his fingers convey its movement in all its complexity. When he wants to depict an elephant, his gait makes it clear to you that it is an elephant that he is describing. An actor has to watch animals, plants, and insects as a part of his training and internalize the essence of their form and movement.[11]

Animal metaphors are common to Kathakali.[12] Eisenstein, too, used them right from his film *Strike.* In his staging of *Ivan the Terrible,* he uses an eagle for Ivan, a snake for Ephrosinia, a dog for Malyuta, and so on. He created their imagery through careful mise-en-scène, *mise-en-décor*, and *mise-en-geste*, so that his audience could "feel" the specific animal depicted. Ephrosinia, many times, comes into the frame from below like a snake and Ivan has winglike sleeves and *swoops down* like a predatory bird.

Eisenstein has analyzed theatrical traditions like commedia dell'arte, pantomime and Beijing Opera, Kabuki, etc.[13] Without straining, he easily came close to the spirit of Kathakali and other theatrical forms like Balinese theater, which had influenced Antonin Artaud.[14]

Interconnectedness of All Arts

Let me flash back to *Vishnudharmottarapurana*, a key text about Indian art practices.[15] One of its famous passages dealing with the interrelationship of art forms is a dialogue between the sage Markandeya and the king Vajra.[16]

> King Vajra requests the sage to accept him as his disciple and teach him the art of icon-making, so that he may worship the deities in their proper forms. The sage replies that one cannot understand the principles of image making without a knowledge of painting. The King wishes for instruction in this art and is told that unless he is accomplished as a dancer, he cannot grasp even the rudiments of painting. The King requests that he be taught dancing, whereupon the sage replies that, without a keen sense of rhythm or knowledge of instrumental music, proficiency in dance is impossible. Once again the king requests that he be taught these subjects; to which the sage replies that a mastery of vocal music is necessary before one can be proficient in instrumental music; and so finally the sage takes the king through all stages before he is taught the art of iconography.[17]

I would like to juxtapose this passage with a text of Eisenstein,

> In reality, in the material that the artist uses, nothing is secondary. He is not only a painter, or only a poet or musician but also all these together. In his soul lives a painter, a poet and also a musician. His creativity is basic in bringing them together.
> From the moment artistic impulse realizes itself in a specific language, it becomes complex. Neither painting, nor music, nor poetry should be considered as an absolute art, example (or model) for other arts, which are to be considered as less true. In each artist lives another, who feels for his art. Art by itself is neither painting, nor poetry, nor music, but creativity in which all arts are united.[18]

Whereas many of the early thinkers who wrote about cinema or even some recent thinkers were interested in showing its *difference* from other art forms, Eisenstein was one of the first thinkers who worked in two directions; he analyzed its specificity as an art form and also its commonality with the other art forms. His emphasis on the interconnectedness and interdependence of all art forms, with his analysis of various concrete examples, is integral to his thinking, writing, and practice. It is precisely this aspect that leads to his formulation of the conceptual framework of his writings for the books entitled *Montage*, *Metod*, and *Nonindifferent Nature*.

Nonanthropocentric View of the World

> And God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.[19]

Following this, the religions of the Book have *Man* at the center of the universe. This view, curiously, has given rise to many ideologies, philosophies, and religious and profane practices where the earth is to be exploited for the benefit of man and for man alone. It has resulted into anthropocentric views of the world, morality and aesthetics. With the technological power in the hands of a few, it is now a serious threat to our environment and to the very existence of life on earth.

Eisenstein was one of those rare Western thinkers who realized early on the limitations of this view of life and art. Though he did not develop his views on it systematically, his notes on Disney contain one of the most profound and moving statements on how intimately human life is connected with all other forms of life. He not only wrote about Disney, he also passionately defended a nonanthropocentric and nonmechanical view of the world.[20]

Eisenstein sees Disney as a torchbearer of a long tradition of artists, going back to prehistoric times, which have given free vent to their imagination and created a truly "animated" world in their art. Here he speaks about the rise of this "animation" mentality:

> It is interesting to note that the same kind of "flight" into an animal skin and the humanisation of animals is apparently characteristic for many ages, and is especially sharply expressed as a lack of humaneness in systems of social government whether in the age of American mechanisation in the realm of life, welfare and morals or the age [...] of mathematical abstraction and metaphysics in philosophy.[21]

And a little further:

> Animism, in which there wander vague ideas and sensations of the interconnections of all elements and kingdoms of nature, long before science guessed the configuration of the connection in sequence and stages.
> Before this, man had known no other way than the supplying of the environment with its own soul and judgement by analogy with himself.[22]

Just as he sees Disney as a reaction to the mechanization of life in America,[23] he sees La Fontaine and his fables about "humanized" animals as a reaction to the

mechanistic philosophies of the seventeenth-century metaphysicians: "The heartless geometrisizing and metaphysics here give rise to a kind of antithesis, an unexpected rebirth of universal animism."[24] A little further he quotes Taine, who says about La Fontaine,

> He defended his animals from Descartes, who made machines of them. He does not dare to philosophize like the doctors, he asks permission; he hazards his idea as a timid supposition, he attempts to invent a soul for the use of rats and rabbits.

Moreover:

> Like Virgil, he too felt sorry for trees; he did not exclude them from life. "Plants breathe," he said. At the same time that an artificial civilization was clipping the yews and hornbeam of Versailles into cones and geometrical figures, he wanted to preserve the freedom of their branches and foliage.[25]

We learn from La Fontaine: "This is a second book of fables that I present to the public. [...] I have to acknowledge that the greatest part is inspired from Pilpay, an Indian Sage."[26]

The work of the "Sage" was *Panchatantra*.[27] But the source of *Panchatantra* is largely the Jataka tales in Pali. It is one of the largest collections of stories and constitutes a class of Buddhist religious literature about the previous births of Buddha.[28] The Buddhist view of the world is not anthropocentric. In his previous births, Buddha appears in the form of various creatures. As man is not seen as created in the image of God, there is a great empathy in Indian literature and art with other forms of life.[29]

The doctrine of nonviolence, which forms a major part of the Jainist and Buddhist creeds, is based on the idea that all creatures are interconnected, through the life that they carry within them. It was propagated at a time when animal sacrifices and their ritualistic slaughter by Aryans had reached immense proportions. Just as in times of La Fontaine, Buddha's parables and the tales about his birth showed the links between man and nature. Buddhist art shows us some of the most loving depictions of animal and plant life. It is the beginning of the figurative sculpture in Indian art. Earlier Buddhist art does not even depict the human figure of Buddha but he is represented by signs associated with him, like a royal umbrella, footprints, the Bodhi Tree, etc. His image with his beatific smile after attaining the universal wisdom came much later.

Unlike many Occidental cultures, in which each historic period, like feudalism, capitalism, etc., eventually made a sharp break with the previous one, in India ancient beliefs like animism still prevail. These are not restricted to endowing other organisms with soul but they also extend to inanimate objects, like a

workman's tools, etc. One of the most moving films to come out of India was Ritwik Ghatak's *Ajantrik*,[30] which has as a protagonist, a taxi driver who loves his taxi like a companion. He talks to her, loves her and even gets angry with her. As this old taxi gives up the ghost, he practically goes mad. The scene of the death of his taxi, like the death of HAL in Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*, is one of the most poignant depictions of the "death" of a machine in world cinema. Both directors have made superb use of sound in these scenes.

Landscape of Music

Audiovisual correspondence – including its very existence – is one of the problems about which Eisenstein started writing about, even before he had any actual experience of sound in cinema.[31] In his writings, he sees a strong relationship between such correspondences and synesthesia.[32]

I would like to describe here – and not propose – a different path to a correspondence, not so much as a point-wise (*ponctuel*) correspondence as discussed by Eisenstein, but a more global relationship between musical and visual structures, as suggested by the North Indian art music.

Over five millennia, interacting with various musical cultures and systems, Indian music has evolved into one of the most complex systems, the North Indian art music called *khayal*.[33] In it, the surrounding landscape is perceived in terms of levels of solar energy, a very different kind of relationship between the audio and visual. There are no specific references to the graphics of the landscape, but only to solar energy surrounding us and the response to it, through the activity of humans, animals, and plants.[34]

The basis of rendering a *khayal* is a specific composition, a *bandish*, embedded in a larger structure of a raga. It is developed according to certain norms and also improvised. Once certain rules are observed, then improvisation depends upon the imagination of the musician.

These ragas relate to solar cycles, both diurnal and annual. Twenty-four hours of the day are divided into eight sections in following the diurnal cycle. Each eightfold division of the day has its corresponding ragas, which must be sung at specific times of the day.

In the annual cycle of seasons, the high points are spring and monsoon, two most important seasons for the Indians. Various ragas with *bandishes* that describe specific seasons are sung only in those seasons. A raga like "Miyan Ki Malhar," expounded in three octaves, employs deep bass notes reminiscent of the sounds emitted by the frogs; its fast-moving *taan* patterns in the higher octave suggest the jagged curves of lightning and the bass percussion reminds you of thunder claps. But there is no direct imitation; the aesthetic experience is based on coding and suggestion.

The deployment of sharp and flat notes, of various scales like pentatonic, hexatonic, the minor and major scales combined with varied percussion cyclic patterns creates correspondences between ambient life and music. Here it is the music that also blends into the landscape. As the raga is developed, the elaboration can respond to the change in mood due to the change in light. This is most important in the ragas that are played in the time zones that join light and darkness, the *sandhikal*, which is dawn and dusk. The former group depicts a gentle, quiet rise of energy and a sense of awakening, while the latter aims at creating pining, melancholy, and a sense of emotional restlessness.[35]

In addition to audiovisual correspondence, *khayal* obliquely relates to the concept of "nonindifferent nature." Instead of making nature reverberate with human emotions, the musical system aims to create a correspondence, in which music echoes the moods of nature. Therein lies its acceptance that artistic creation is in tune with nature, gently bringing man in unison with it.

Prenatal Experience and the Rite of Birth

Sangeeta Ratnakara, attributed to Sarangadeva, is arguably one of the most important texts of Indian musicology.[36] Curiously, its very first chapter describes the growth of the human body from the conception to its birth, because sound is produced by human body – thereby also stressing the importance of vocal music in all Indian musical traditions – and its thorough understanding is essential for excellence of music. Here are a few excerpts from its translation from Sanskrit into English and the editor's commentary

> Our author is suggesting that the embryo is capable of mental states such as valour and timidity. [...] [I]t is the fourth month that endows the embryo with consciousness and craving for experience.
> The heart of the embryo is fashioned after the heart of the mother. [...] The word heart is symbolic of the faculty of conation, of feeling and will, of emotion and desire. [...] [T]he heart of the embryo as well as that of the mother beat in unison; they form a unity, analogous to that of the twins. So that enceinte is named two-hearted, [...] *Dohada* means an enceinte and her wishes are also called *Dohada-s*. [...]
> Therefore the wishes of the expectant mother should be respected for the growth of the foetus [...] The unfulfilled desires of the pregnant woman are likely not only to cause mental complications in her mind, but those complexes react on the consciousness of the embryo, so much so that a nongratification of any desire for a particular sensation during gestation tends to adversely affect that particular sense organ.[37]

Juxtapose this passage against Eisenstein's prenatal experience:

Everyone had drunk far too much that evening. A fight broke out and someone was killed.
Papa grabbed his revolver and dashed across Morskaya Street to restore order.
Mama, who was pregnant with me, was scared to death and almost gave birth prematurely.
A few days passed in the fear of possible *fausses couches.*
But that did not happen.
I made my entrance into this world at the allotted hour, albeit three whole weeks early.
And my haste and my love of gunshots and orchestras have remained with me ever since.
Not one of my films goes by without a murder.
It is of course hard to imagine that this episode would have left any impression on me *avant la lettre.*
But a fact is a fact.
My interest in the pre-natal stage of being has always been very strong.[38]

So, important is the prenatal experience for the Indian civilization that the sanctum in a temple is called *garbhagriha,* literally the abode of the embryo. Some temples have a passage which is so narrow that you have to crawl on all fours. A devotee has to pass through it and subject himself to total darkness and crossing of the claustrum. This experience, in a concise form, replicates the process of birth.[39]

But all this is history.

I would now like to speak about an artist of Indian origin, Anish Kapoor, who has deep links with his own culture and his unconscious. In recent years he has brought something of the monumentality of Indian sculptures and cave temples to his work, but without any kind of pastiche or imitation. He has transformed this monumentality into something that makes him a contemporary artist with the most universal appeal. As I was working on this article, I saw *Leviathan,* a sculpture by Anish Kapoor in the Grand Palais, in Paris.[40]

You enter this work through a dark passage. Then you see dim light filtering through an immense membranelike surface that looks like it is a subtle net of blood vessels. It has three pods with smooth and well-rounded curves with orifices that suck you in. One in front and two on either side. And you, a nascent embryo, half organism and half human, are able to see light only through the body of the Great Mother.

As you come out and see the work from outside, the devouring concave space turns convex now and becomes mountainous. You are like a Lilliputian newborn, looking at the nourishing, comforting but also awe-inspiring curves of the body of Mother that appears now as a giantess. You can play hide and seek with it, go underneath it to feel a small space just good enough for you, then come out into

vastness and look up, up and up, at the large convexities that keep on changing their appearance as you move around.

In his essay, "Rodin et Rilke," Eisenstein speaks about the simultaneity and complementarity of the convex and concave spaces:

> It is a question of the mirror-unity of form and counter-form, of relief and counter-relief. In a general way of speaking, it would seem that the fact of the unity of concave and convex form has made incarnate and materialised two modes of knowing the essence of the phenomenon, seizing it from without and knowing it from within. Certainly, in an ideal case, the two ways would fuse into one.[41]

The hand that cups the breast is concave but assumes its convex curve. Picasso's concave Cubist paintings of women correspond in time to their counterpart, his paintings of gigantic voluptuous bathers.

In his *Leviathan,* Anish Kapoor has succeeded in giving us the experience of two non-Euclidean worlds, the inside and outside of the body of the Great Mother, in a single work.

Ecstasy

Many pages of writing, sketches, drawings, stills, and film footage of Eisenstein's work are given to the topos that he likes to spell as "ex-stasis." It is a recurring theme that occurs in diverse contexts, from the milk separator scene in the *Old and the New*, to his essay "El Greco and the Cinema." He is interested in the ecstatic experience as a sexual experience, as an experience under the influence of psychedelic drugs as well as a mystical experience. He is interested in its effects from contorting bodies to changing the depth of field of human vision giving it an ability to have Pan-focus.

I had begun this article by referring to two of the great thinkers of aesthetics, e.g., Anandavardhan and Abhinavagupta. They are both worshippers of Shiva and believers in Tantra.[42]

> Aesthetic speculation, which was born and grew up on the edge of metaphysical thought, did not omit, therefore, to enquire into the relations and differences existing between it and religious experience. [...] Aesthetic experience, being characterised by the immersion of the subject in the aesthetic object, to the exclusion of all else and therefore by a momentary interruption of his everyday life is akin to the beatitude of ecstasy or the experience of *brahman.*[43]

Whether it is a sexual ecstasy, an aesthetic experience or a mystical experience, there is a complete surrender in which the subject loses himself.

> The spectator is without any pragmatic requirement, any of the interests (desire for gain, etc.), by which ordinary life is characterized. He is immersed in the aesthetic experience to the exclusion of everything else; the task of generalization carried out by the poetic expression breaks the barrier of the limited "I" and eliminates in this way the interests, demands and aims associated with it.[44]

Though this might seem a far cry from the point of departure of Eisenstein's thinking about the "work of art as a machine to produce specific emotion in the mind of the spectator," it is exactly the direction in which Eisenstein has developed his key concepts of nonindifferent nature, method, and montage, toward a universalization of the aesthetic experience.

On account of his earliest writing associated with agitprop, Eisenstein has often been accused of looking at art as an instrument of manipulation. Nothing could be further from the truth. The relationship between the artist and the connoisseur, who savors its flavor, is seen as an equal relationship by Eisenstein as well as by Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. They see the ideal reader of poetry as a *sahridayin*:

> Abhinava defines *sahridayata* as the faculty of entering into identity with the heart of the poet [...] and *sahridaya* denotes persons capable of identifying with the subject, as the mirror of their hearts has been polished by constant study and practice of poetry.[45]

And here is Eisenstein:

> A certain image hovers in front of the author's inward eye, an image which for him is an emotional embodiment of the theme of this work. He is then faced with the task of turning that image into two or three *partial depictions*, which in combination and juxtaposition will evoke in the mind and emotions of their perceiver precisely that initial generalised image which the author saw with his mind's eye. [...] The strength of montage lies in the fact that it involves the spectator's emotions and reason. The spectator is forced to follow the same creative path that the author followed when creating the image.[46]

When the point of departure of an artwork and its point of arrival meet, and we have come a full circle. It is time to rest my case.

11. "Synthesis" of the Arts or "Friendly Cooperation" between the Arts? The *General History of Cinema* According to Eisenstein

Pietro Montani

I.

In his incessant theoretical reflection, Eisenstein lingers more than once over the historiographic question of where to locate cinema within the modern system of the arts. His well-known thesis is that cinema meets all the requirements necessary to occupy the very top of this system. Though the thesis remained constant throughout the years, one cannot say the same for the argumentations used to expound and justify it. Two different formulations of this thesis merit particular attention. According to the first, widely diffused throughout the whole of Eisenstein's theoretical writings, cinema would perform a "synthesis" of the arts preceding it. The word "synthesis" entails some presuppositions that are anything but innocent, of which Eisenstein is well aware; I will examine them in the first part of this text. The second formulation of the thesis on the primacy of cinema is less structured and therefore more plastic, more open to reconsideration and significant reformulations. One of these reformulations can be found precisely in the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* published in this volume, the vast historiographical project on which Eisenstein worked between 1946 and 1948, during a period of forced inactivity following his first heart attack. Here, Eisenstein speaks of cinema as "the heir of all artistic cultures";[1] and, in a paragraph entitled "A Synthesis of the Arts" (*sintez iskusstv*), he uses the expression "friendly cooperation" (*sodruzhestvo iskusstv*) with great emphasis (he places an exclamation

mark next to it): "A friendly cooperation of nations *as basis for* a friendly cooperation of the arts!"[2]

In the second part of my text, I will examine this remarkable formulation, which presents cinema as a space for a "friendly cooperation" of the arts that can be realized only within a political community that has been able to overcome divisions between peoples (a utopian formulation). For the moment, I would like to recall the strong emphasis borne by the exclamation Eisenstein scrawled at the end of his note as worthy of further consideration. Noting down his thoughts about the perspective according to which "the history of cinema must be established" – the fact that "cinema is the art of the USSR *par excellence*,⋆ and it is so in a natural and organic way"[3] – it suddenly occurred to him that the concept of "synthesis of the arts" entailed a theoretical profile oriented more toward the confrontation between the arts than their hierarchical ordering. Therefore, cinema provides the conditions for a high differentiation between the arts ("each [art] is embedded in a qualitatively new way") rather than a unifying synthesis ("a mechanical copresence in pure form"). It also makes it possible to analyze "the fate of each art and of its new quality *within* the synthesis."[4]

By noting such a remarkable thought (though one not really new to him), Eisenstein grasps in a new way – precisely as a disturbance effect – its political implications at an international level (he wrote "workers of the world..." just two lines above). Indeed, a menacing thought loomed up within the idea of cinema as a "friendly cooperation" between the arts, parallel to a friendly cooperation between peoples: that the "Soviet" character of the synthesis of the arts, realized, one might say, "in just one country," would have been stripped of any exemplariness. The *historiographical principle* solemnly stated at the beginning of the note would consequently have been questioned, too – hence, supposedly, his dismissal of the internationalist version of the synthesis and the return to safer ground. Nevertheless, a political implication – to which I will return later – remains noticeable in the cooperative and friendly formulation of the synthesis of the arts, which shall not be confused with their hierarchical ordering culminating in the (Soviet) cinema.

II.

As I have already said, the concept of "synthesis" does not lack binding philosophical assumptions. The same can be said, I must add now, for the concept of "organicity." In the last decade of his theoretical reflection, Eisenstein made use of both concepts advisedly, and not without some significant discrepancies from his previous thesis and formulations. I will clarify the nature of such philosophical assumptions with the aid of two examples, respectively from *Montage* and *Nonindifferent Nature*.

The great work on montage is overtly articulated around a dialectic tripartition which serves at once as historiographical principle and criterion for a systematic comprehension. Eisenstein draws the interaction between the historiographical and systematic levels from a materialistic interpretation of the Hegelian dialectic, which, considering the times (1937), provides him the safe-conduct he needs in light of the specific version he is about to offer. His version, indeed, aims to secure the rights of form against the precepts taught by Socialist Realism, in essence oriented toward the primacy of content. Here is Eisenstein's thesis: cinematographic montage had already made its debut at the stage of the "single set-up cinema" as "plastic composition" (that is, as montage within the individual fixed frame). Such a "stage" is dialectically negated by the following one, "multiple set-up cinema," when montage is a sequential composition, or the juxtaposition of shots marked by perceptible breaks. Lastly, the third "stage" will bear, as synthesis or negation of the negation, a leap in the quality of montage, presented now as "musical composition," or "sound-film montage" ("vertical montage," according to Eisenstein's later definition).[5] Thus, the "synthetic" figure "takes over" the two previous ones, transmuting them into a more articulated form, a compositional principle that keeps laboring the shot from within (first stage), without renouncing the introduction therein (second stage) of sequential articulations (for example, contrasts and repetitions, harmonious and disharmonious effects, and so on) coordinated by the audiovisual relation. Put differently, montage composition will no longer depend, in a primitive and material fashion, on the perceptibility of the breaks, rather it will settle within the audiovisual flux, therein realizing a polyphonic synthesis ("multimedia," as it could be called nowadays) to which the most various expressive elements could contribute (color, for example, as Eisenstein will later theorize in the essays on this topic, and masterfully experimented with in the great sequence concluding the second part of *Ivan the Terrible*).

In the dialectical scheme just elaborated, the concept of "synthesis" is used in a rigorous way: it means the form that "takes over" the previous ones and brings them to the highest degree of reflective self-awareness and most original expressive power. It is the Eisensteinian version of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the summit of the modern system of the arts. Although he shared with Wagner the idea that the system of the arts has a hierarchical structure, Eisenstein regarded the audiovisual *Gesamtkunstwerk* in a completely different way. The reason for this, as I am about to explain, depends on the formal organization of the synthesis Eisenstein fashions.

In order to clarify the differences between Eisenstein and Wagner's conceptions of synthesis, we need to consider the concept of "organic unity" (*organichnost'*). In *Nonindifferent Nature*, Eisenstein clarifies that the organic character of the cinematographic work must be understood as a dynamic one (the organism as an unstable system, ex-static, capable of growing and reorganizing itself) rather

than a static one (the organism as a harmonious whole, whose unity transcends the sum of its parts). In this regard, the organic unity of the film is nothing other than its own capacity to govern the ex-static turbulence of the expressive forces running through it, which the work literally contains. The form dominates the forces as it is itself a force superior in rank. Such a remarkable conception of "organic unity"[6] approaches the very same concept of "great style" that Nietzsche contrasted to the drift toward "informality" followed by the Wagnerian drama.[7]

So much for the substantial difference between Eisenstein and Wagner's takes on the technical-formal nature of the synthesis of the arts. We need now to go back to their convergence on the (political?) idea of a hierarchical system of the arts, regarded by Eisenstein as a *historiographical principle*. More precisely, we need to question: (1) the reliability of the hypothesis that the arts evolve toward forms of multimedia unification, and (2) test Eisenstein's prediction that cinema develops in conformity to the principle of the *synthesis* discussed before. Such a principle might turn out to diverge from the idea of a "friendly cooperation" between the arts.

III.

Eisenstein's final thesis, that the arts evolve toward forms of multimedia unification, can be easily supported by a large apparatus of quotations from his theoretical writings. But at least two of the assumptions this thesis relies upon are not self-evident at all. The first assumption is that art is an anthropological constant, a structural element of human culture in general, and the second, that art follows an evolutionary path driven by rules and *teleologically* oriented (in this specific case toward unification rather than differentiation). Eisenstein was not only fully aware of the assumptions behind his thesis, but was also convinced that they should integrate with each other. In other words, art evolves toward forms of unification precisely because it is a structural element of the anthropogenesis. Thus, the synthesis of the arts does anything but bring the complex synesthesia of our perceptual system to its full unfolding. It is a great theme, a humanistic and materialistic idea, which runs through all Eisenstein's major works, from *Montage* to *Metod*, from the *Problems of Film Direction* to *Nonindifferent Nature*. I have had the occasion elsewhere[8] to underline the powerful, as well as uncanny, amount of negativity (destruction of preexistent forms of unity is required so that new and more powerful ones can be constructed) and the disharmonious elements (single parts of the work might resist *full* integration within the synthetic movement) inherent in such an idea: here, though, my concern is to point out the *ambiguity* of its political implications, together with the rather modest predictiveness it can guarantee from an historiographical point of view.

In the last fifty years, nothing like a synthesis has been realized in the field of the "arts," which instead demonstrated an intensely centrifugal movement, and

such evident pulverization that someone felt compelled to speak of a posthistorical condition[9] stripping any meaning from the concept of a "system of the arts." Despite this, it is true that the new technologies of audiovisual image production generated remarkable forms of multimedia unification, especially in cinema. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether these forms headed toward the synthesis of the arts and the full enfoldment of synesthesia that Eisenstein had in mind, or whether they took a different and maybe opposite direction, oriented toward the impoverishment of a fully channeled sensitivity rather than its expansion and refinement. As I have discussed such a thesis at length on more than one occasion,[10] I will only point out here that the contemporary and hypertechnological version of the multimedia synthesis requires the viewers to use all their sensorial resources (possibly aided by prosthesis, such as 3D glasses) in an immersive environment within which the range of their optional stimulus responses is reduced to about zero. In a word, a "spectator" fully directed by the "spectacle" he or she is attending. What we are thus presented is a situation similar to the one depicted by Eisenstein at the beginning of his notorious text-manifesto "The Montage of Attractions," in which he wrote: "The moulding of the audience in a desired direction (or mood) is the task of every utilitarian theatre."[11] *Yes, more or less*. Such an analogy, which seems to me only partially legitimate, leads us straight to the political implications of the synthesis, to whose *ambiguity* I will devote my final observations.

IV.

I spoke intentionally of ambiguity, to finally reconnect my remarks to the pair "synthesis *of the* arts"/"friendly cooperation *of the* arts" I opened my note with. It merits interest that both these conceptual determinations, between which Eisenstein oscillates, can be traced, even if only implicitly, to an unreconciled dialectical opposition within the concept of "montage of attractions,"[12] as well as to the related creative practice (especially in *Strike*). The opposition itself oscillates between two incongruous, and ultimately truly irreconcilable levels. On the one hand, Eisenstein acknowledges the right of the (theatrical) show to admit an unparalleled amount of heterogeneity: no element shall be excluded from the mise-en-scène, neither the noblest ("Romeo's soliloquy") nor the most trivial ("a salvo under the seats of the auditorium"), neither the most traditional ("Ostuzhev's chatter") nor the most innovative (the short film insert *Glumov's Diary* showed in two parts during the stage performance of *Enough Stupidity in Every Wise Man*, which is the theatrical production Eisenstein's manifesto refers to). On the other hand, he demands each of these "attractions" to be linked to "specific emotional shocks" that, once unified, will ultimately converge in "the final ideological conclusion" drawn by the audience who has been "moulded" by the show.

It would be legitimate to recognize in such a demand the germs of the propagandistic perversion of the politicization of the arts that will lead in ten years' time to the Stalinist "engineering of human souls," formalized by Zhdanov in his speech at the First Soviet Writers' Congress.[13] It would be legitimate, however, only if Eisenstein's demand had not joined surreptitiously (and verbosely, for at bottom it was delivered as a proclamation) the two incongruous levels of the show's fragmentary form and the audience's unifying response. By doing so, he made noticeable the essential and well-grounded ambiguity of such a demand. The Eisensteinian idea of montage seems, therefore, affected from the very beginning by a twofold movement, heading at once toward a synthesis and a more complex and problematic kind of "unity" – perhaps, the same unity that could be established on the basis of a "cooperation," rather than a "fusion," which led Eisenstein to seal the expression "friendly cooperation of the arts" with an exclamation mark (a sort of "why didn't I think of that?") in the final notes on the history of cinema.

The second text on the "montage of attractions," the one dedicated to cinema, confirms such a divergence, endowing it with some further, and less verbose, theoretical argumentations. The synthesis of the heterogeneous materials borne by the film (in this case *Strike*, on which the essay is focused) is no longer carried out by the audience's mysterious capacity to perform an emotional unification, but rather has to be ascribed to *a truly constructive principle*, a precise compositional rule of the text. But what shall this rule be? According to Eisenstein's truly remarkable intuition, it shall be a *political rather than an aesthetic one*. Hence, *Strike*, which is presented as an experiment that, without resorting to a classical narrative framework, aims at finding its own overall dramatic configuration – its own constructive principle – within the structure of a typical phenomenon of modernity: the strike as form of class struggle. How remarkable that intuition was – but perhaps a stronger adjective should be used – is showed by the fact that Eisenstein unleashed the compositional unification in one stroke from the inheritance of a *synthesis* conceived in a rigorous sense, by denying it to be an aesthetic issue and leading it toward a very different relationship between the heterogeneous elements coordinated by the film. Indeed, *Strike* is a work lacking stylistic unity altogether, switching from one style to another according to the demands of the new political *and* attractional dramaturgy, mixing canonized genres[14] (crime, action) with real footage (the extraordinary mass scenes: the arson, the invasion of a working-class neighborhood, the final massacre), and freely inventing new narrative procedures (the introduction of the spies, the recruitment of the *provocateurs*, and so on). Such a mix is possible and meaningful because the principle of coordinating the materials *is not aesthetic but political*. What such a principle aims to guarantee is not a synthesis, but rather something like a "friendly cooperation," an interactive engagement, so to speak, between the forms that cooperate with each other *in full autonomy*, and without aspiring *to merge* into a superior

unity. Although Eisenstein did not renounce the polyphonic richness of the film, he stands here at the antipodes of the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Contrarily to the Wagnerian melodrama, every single voice must here remain recognizable, without merging in the indistinct unity of a more powerful emotional involvement. Yet, the consistent oscillation between the "synthesis of the arts" and "friendly cooperation of the arts" remains undoubtedly a main characteristic of Eisenstein's theoretical thought, and as such it should not just be acknowledged but also systematically investigated.

I would like to conclude here with two remarks. First, the regressive political drift imputable to the synthesis in the Wagnerian sense could not subsist within the framework set up by "friendly cooperation." Second, the modest predictiveness I previously ascribed to the Eisensteinian thesis about the development of the arts could even turn into its opposite, should the historiographical principle actually selected conform to the concept of "friendly cooperation" instead of "synthesis." The best contemporary cinema, in fact tends to contrast with the phenomenon of multimedia unification I referred to earlier, following an "intermedia" trajectory oriented toward the comparison and the critical cooperation between autonomous expressive forms and media rather than their synergetic fusion.[15]

12. Eisenstein's Mummy Complex: Temporality, Trauma, and a Distinction in Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*

Philip Rosen

There are many fascinating aspects to Eisenstein's extraordinary manuscript, *Notes for a General History of Cinema*. Among them are sketches and lists for chronologies or genealogical successions of artistic forms, strategies, and technologies; evocative and provocative suggestions about montage; and a variety of excursions into Eisenstein's lifelong theoretical concern, the impact and roots of form in all the arts, including some close analyses. In this paper, I will focus on one specific element of this relatively compact but intellectually sprawling text: the distinction between "reenactment" and "mummification," which is introduced in the section of the *Notes* entitled "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema."[1] It seems to be formulated as part of a schema of first principles for the overall project of a general history of cinema. I will limit my references to just a few passages where this distinction is explicitly discussed, but I will also make some suggestions about the relation of this distinction to one or two issues in Eisenstein's theoretical work and canonical classical film theory.

Many of the entries of this text have a fragmentary and sketchy character, as opposed to a formally elaborated, continuous exposition. Nevertheless, the intensity, the conceptual range, and scale of the *Notes* make it almost impossible to avoid referring them to Eisenstein's theoretical *corpus*, especially his extensive

later work, much of which was unpublished in his own lifetime. Considered as general aesthetic theory, Eisenstein's more developed writings often seem to loot the entire history of arts and cultures in order to discover basic cinematic principles in all cultures at all times. Considered as film theory, these same writings also appear to operate in a reverse but complementary direction: they examine films and cinema as such, but they there discover foundational principles of art, culture, and human mentality. He encapsulated this back-and-forth approach in the 1930s with the following sentence: "Thus, we can see that the *principle of cinema* is not something which dropped upon mankind from the heavens, but it is something that has grown out of the very depths of human culture."[2] This same attitude underpins the *Notes for a General History of Film*. Indeed, based on this text, a visitor from another planet might have the impression that most of the history of cinema occurred in the centuries and millennia *before* the 1890s.

From one angle, then, Eisenstein's approach to film history, along with his theoretical formulations, can appear paradoxically ahistorical: As a principle, the cinematic exists universally, in all the arts, so the history of cinema encompasses all of human history. On the other hand, his approach may appear radically historical, for even the most contemporary art form and instances of it – cinema and films – become thinkable only with reference to a multiplicity of historical antecedents, parallels, connections, and instantiations stretching back to antiquity and even preantiquity. Yet, there may be a something vaguely comparable to this dizzying mixture of past and present in early-twenty-first-century theoretical discussions about film, media, and historicity. In our own time, there has been a heightened interest in mixed temporalities; just one pertinent reference might be the discourses of so-called media archaeology. So we may now be situated to recognize the interest as well as the difficulties and problems of such interplays of past and present, in their discontinuities and jumps as well as their continuities and homogeneities.

Woven into the *Notes* is a central aspect of such interplay, namely the relation of the lasting on the one hand, and the unique instant on the other. It is thematized at the start of the earliest entry of the section entitled "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," dated December 2, 1946. Eisenstein cites a famous line from Goethe's *Faust*, when the protagonist imagines a moment of absolute perfection: "*Verweile doch, du bist so schön*" (Stay, you are so beautiful.)[3] With these words, Faust envisions suspending time forever at an instant of supreme fulfillment, in order to sustain the experience of incomparable satisfaction as everlasting rather than ephemeral. He imagines the benefits of being able to make the evanescent into the enduring, and he considers whether the capacity to do so is worth the price of his soul.

Why would this be the first note, the springboard, for a general history of cinema? Faust's temptation is framed within a supernatural, religious context, but it correlates with a secular experience and problem specific to Western mod-

ernity. One of the pillars of this modernity is a temporality always pregnant with the possibility of the new, therefore the unprecedented, therefore the unique. This generates a fundamental question: Can there can be any stability in the never-ending flux of time? Faust desires to make an instant of perfect fulfillment timeless, but the universe is time-filled.[4]

This initial citation in the *Notes on a General History of Cinema* suggests that there may be profound methodological and substantive manifestations of this antinomy in Eisenstein's own theoretical work. If so, it would be implicated with the modernity of his theoretical *corpus*, even – or rather especially – when his writings appeal to the persistence of a primitive or primal layer underlying modern cultural and psychological dynamics. For as in much modernist thought, Eisenstein defines this layer as primitive or primal from the standpoint of modern practices of knowledge. Here the interplay between past and present would be understood as an interplay between a prior, primal layer of human history and experience with modern experience. As I already suggested, Eisenstein himself seeks underlying universal principles for all of human culture and mentality, even when examining the most current and specific instances of film form and cinema. Thus, while the *Faust* citation may be read as reflexive of Eisenstein's metatheoretical framework, it is also metahistorical. For it introduces the problem faced by any modern historiographic enterprise: the relationship of event and law, instance and structure, the singular conjunction and the durable, the momentary and the lasting.

Yet, the *Notes* veer in a somewhat different direction. Instead of moving from the *Faust* citation to a consideration of methods for his own *history* of cinema, Eisenstein immediately attributes the desire for lastingness to cultural practices themselves, including ritual, myth, the arts cinema and even (in 1947!) television.[5] That is, this temporal antinomy is described less as a methodological problem for the historian and more as a generative impulsion or fundamental property *within* the objects and histories being studied.[6]

Art, Eisenstein writes, is "*Auswuchs dieses Triebes*" – an outlet or discharge for a motive force or drive, which originates outside of art. This is explained based on the following principle: "Man is eternally subject to the power of creation and destruction, just as are nature, history, and society."[7] This is a modern understanding of temporality. In the face of perpetual change, humanity is driven to seek stability, hence eternity. But given that change and transformation are themselves always already eternal, there can never be a perfect end to this pursuit. Such stability is therefore always already and fatally impossible, flawed, or lost.

In fact, Eisenstein associates this drive with "trauma." In the *Notes*, the trauma seems to work as follows. The human response in discharging the drive for the stable or eternal is a counteraction against the impossibility of its realization: there is a constant reflux of social, and historically inflected practices or forms, which are the outlets impelled by the drive. These aspire to the value of the eter-

nal expressed in the trauma, but it is a value impossible of fulfillment. Culture is filled with such outlets, and some develop as art.

As happens at a number of points in the *Notes*, Eisenstein quickly scribbles some examples: "physical immortality (VIEM),[8] immortality through children, eternal life through metempsychosis, by going to paradise, through the creation of enduring things of value, in the hearts of the people, etc. (The American's longing for '*security*.'*")" These examples are indicative of major tendencies in the imagined overcoming of temporal transitoriness. As the emphasis on immortality suggests, Eisenstein heavily associates the trauma to be overcome with death. But of course, this only underscores the problem posed by this temporality, namely that these discharges of the motive force can never be fully successful on a logical and material level. The very process of seeking to resolve the problem of imperishability evinces the problem.

In the 1930s, Eisenstein had invested heavily in developing a concept of prelogical or sensual thinking as a structuring force in human mentality, based partly on his own mix of available anthropology and psychology. For him, this is an underlying emotional level of mind and signification, with its own specific syntactic structures and regularities. It has basic psychological force but also transcends the individual and is a determinative pressure for cultural and artistic forms.[9] In the *Notes*, the traumatic quest for the enduring must find a resource in prelogical, sensual thinking. Culture affirms endurance through the repetition or revivification of entities from the past: persons now dead, but also events which have already occurred. This is where the kinds of connections and associations given emotive force by prelogical or sensual thinking are crucial. If cultural, social and aesthetic forms respond to death as embodying the trauma, they seek to overcome that death and therefore must deny any absolute ending. If we shift registers and consider the conception of temporality at work, this is to denegate punctuality itself.

Death is thus most important here as a figuration of the unceasing passage of time, which generates the impulse to counter it; as a corollary, death also appears in the *Notes* as a generator of a fundamental human activity, namely commemoration (as it is in religion and in *Faust*). Commemoration not only including tributes to ancestors, but also to societal heroes and mythifications. One has the impression that this text makes commemoration, rather than imitation or mimesis, an originary operation on the history of the arts. In the many examples and chronological lists of the *Notes*, commemoration is a reference point for so many of Eisenstein's crucial examples, that it actually seems to underpin mimesis itself.

What, then, is the nature of the cultural outlets springing from this generative drive which compels commemoration? Still early in the *Notes*, Eisenstein provides three categories of cultural-aesthetic modes discharging the force underlying the trauma, but he seems most concerned with the first two and the distinction be-

tween them. The first category is dynamic reproduction or *reenactment* of that which has previously occurred. The second category is *mummification* or preservation of that which is dead or lost in time. The third category, added as a seeming afterthought and with significantly and oddly sparse elaboration, is *symbolization*.[10]

Reenactment is exemplified more than once in the *Notes* by the ancient Greek dithyramb, which was both an aesthetic (verse) form and also the reenactment of actions of the god Dionysus. Those present participated in this orgiastic performance, and it seems worth pointing out that Eisenstein's lifelong concern with relating aesthetic form to spectatorial emotional engagement is in evidence in his account of this particular ritual as exemplifying an origin of art. Eisenstein traces theater itself not to an Aristotelian configuration of plot logic which imitates a causal order, but to the participatory reenactment of the dithyramb.

As often happens in the *Notes*, there are a string of further examples that follow from this earliest one. Such strings suggest preliminary or partial schemas for lines of succession, and the possibility of developmental chronologies to be filled in later. The line following from the dithyramb includes religious pilgrimages such as retracing the passion of Christ, which is a reminder of the interest in religious emotion in several of Eisenstein's writings and films. But the same line also includes Shakespeare's "historical chronicles."[11] And, as the lineage continues, this putative root ("cradle") of theater leads to cinema. (A thought: Does this phylogenetic history retrace the specific ontogeny of the young Eisenstein's migration from theater to cinema?) He also connects newsreels and certain of his own films to this line, with the Odessa steps sequence of *Potëmkin* and the Winter Palace settings of *October* mentioned as commemorative reenactments. Even the new medium of television is attached to this line. Perhaps, one speculates, this is because of television's potential for engaging a spectator with a contemporary history in which s/he participates, which would tie it to the newsreel. For the line stemming from the dithyramb is characterized by commemorative reenactment, but it is also a reenactment associated with emotional participation via aesthetic form.

The second category or mode for discharging the motive force/trauma is the mummification or literal preservation of material elements of a person or event. Even more obviously than the first category, this mummification category necessarily appears as a commemorative operation. Inevitably, ancient Egypt is a privileged example, and serves as counterpart to the dithyramb as originary instance in the reenactment line. But as with the reenactment line, this mummification mode is also said to remain fundamental throughout history: "The *mummification* of the hero – for the eternal preservation of his physical being (that is, again in accordance with primary logic, of the hero himself) from Egypt to this day."[12] And once again, there are strings of additional examples following historically and formally from a privileged ancient practice.

At first the distinction between the reenactment and mummification seems straightforward, but the strings of examples in the latter category soon makes the distinction less absolute. This is because many of those examples are not actual or literal mummification/preservation of the remembered body or object. That is, the mummification line seems to develop *away* from material identity or contact with the privileged referent. How could this be, when it is the presence of the referent (the body of the dead) which defines the practice of mummification? In one of the most indicative of such chronological strings, mummies are succeeded by the death mask, and then sculpture.[13] Now, the death mask still involves contact with the actual corpse, but there is already a difference implying some subtleties: Unlike the mummy, it is *separable* from the corpse even though it reproduces the appearance of the deceased still based on physical contact with the face of the deceased. But then, Eisenstein adds successors to the death mask in this line. And *these* derivative forms are not only separable, but also need not be produced from contact with the actual corpse. He mentions artifacts such as Roman "images of ancestors" and commemorative sculpture.[14]

But statuaries of noble family members are not mummification, nor are other of Eisenstein's examples of commemorative art in this line, such as the massive heads of US presidents sculpted from Mount Rushmore. Rather than starting from the materiality of the physical body of the commemorated ancestor or social hero, they are at best a prosthesis for memory via depiction of the *likeness* of the ancestor. In that sense, it seems to be more like the Dionysian dithyramb, for the participants act *like* the god, but are not themselves literally gods. Yet, for Eisenstein, it seems to be enough that such sculpture mimes the form of the death mask or other kinds of castings. This positions them in this line. He postulates that the origins of statuary as a form lie in the death mask as a model, that is, a kind of mimicry of the death mask.

He attributes such mimicry to a certain development from an originary outlet for the traumatic motivating drive. This lineage would then have its effectivity through associations at the level of prelogical or sensual thinking revivifying the mummifying impulse itself, in something like a metacommemoration. The prelogical transforms associations into absolute identities at an emotional level; hence it is possible on an emotional rather than rational level to conflate statue and body, as may happen with any artwork and the object it depicts. This means – to use a different terminology from a later kind of film theory – the mummification line includes not only literal mummies, but entities that are commemorative objects or operations because they address what can be called subjectivities as subliminally connected to the dead or past event. These subjectivities engage with the sculpture as if it *were* made from the presence of the actual body of the remembered one. Eisenstein's lineages suggest that the history of the arts and cinema is a history of subjectivities or mentalities as much as they are histories of forms and technologies.

A pivot point in this conception, then, is the relation of mummification and separation. The death mask thus becomes a kind of transitional practice between literal preservation and a more materially autonomous construction of likeness. But once that relative autonomy is achieved, the special effectivity work does not depend on actual physical contact with the deceased, but rather a kind of memory that such contact once existed. Yet, this must have a peculiar consequence for the logic of Eisenstein's conception. As the mummification line develops, a separable, independently produced likeness, it must move toward something that seems closer to reenactment than one might first expect. And of course, both lines are generated by the need to commemorate, that is, to make something last despite the fact that its existence is restricted in time. Therefore, while there is a formal or logical distinction between the "dynamic reproduction" characterizing the reenactment line and the preservative impulse characterizing the mummification line in the arts, it would seem difficult to sustain that distinction as absolute.

In a passage of the *Notes* apparently written a year later, Eisenstein briefly returns to the distinction between reenactment and mummification, and evokes it in a typically summary way:

> Static stage
> Dynamic stage
> Roots of reproduction – as reproduction of one's own copy
> Reflections and reproduction.
> The very first – dynamic wing: commemorative action; it is also audio-visual; the reflection happens "into itself" – in *impersonization** (the actor "plays" – becomes Dionysus). Reproduction only for the duration of the action.
> Further:
> the first stage is not reflection, rather it preserves the object itself (mummification), but for eternity;
> the second stage is the factual physical mold (the commemorative death mask is the proper beginning. Egypt, Rome). [15]

This passage supplements the earlier ideas. The distinction between reenactment and mummification is now summarized as a relation of "reproduction" to its endurance: On the one hand, there is the limited duration of dithyrambic (theatrical) commemoration, now also characterized as reproduction. It is initiated "in itself" and does not last beyond its live performance. This is opposed to mummification's "for all time." Intriguingly enough, the distinction between reenactment and mummification is now grounded in the very opposition between the time-filled and the timeless, the short-lived and the durable. It is as if the distinction between two modes of commemoration is based on the same temporal antinomy that generates commemoration in the first place.

The distinction is also now abetted by some previously absent terms. For one thing, the language of "reproduction" as well as commemoration is applied to both lines. (It is conceivable that the addition of "reproduction" into the problem was inflected by the several intervening considerations and lineages of photography within the *Notes*, especially nineteenth-century photography in relation to both painting and cinema.) Also now added to the terminological mix is reflection. The term dynamic was always valued in Eisenstein's aesthetic and psychological theories, and it is indicative that a year earlier, Eisenstein had defined the reenactment line as "dynamic reproduction." In the later entry, the term dynamic is associated with reflection.

Reflection therefore denotes a positive cognitive outcome as opposed to mere reproduction. It seems to me that there is an important and revelatory parallel with an opposition crucial in other later Eisenstein writings: between the dynamism of *obraz* (generalized or global image) and mere depiction. However, if this later entry opposes reproduction to reflection, this opposition is presented as internal to *both* lines – reenactment as well as mummification. This implicitly reinforces something I already observed about the mummification line. Insofar as it leads to separability away from the depicted objects – and therefore toward developed art forms – it must become something more than mere preservation or, here, reproduction. The name for this "something more" in these sections of the *Notes* is reflection, much as the name for it in other writings is *obraz*/global image. In this later entry, the importance of the transition from death mask to sculpture is also present and is, if anything, more elaborated: "the first stage is not reflection, rather it *preserves the object itself* (mummification), but *for eternity*; the second stage is the factual physical mold (commemorative death mask is the proper beginning. Egypt, Rome)."[16] "Egypt, Rome," is clearly shorthand for the sculptural forms invoked earlier and completion of the transition through which the preservation line leads to art.

It is physical separability from the corpse that makes the death mask "the proper beginning," as this later fragment puts it. But the beginning of what? It cannot be the arts *tout court*, because we know from the dithyramb and reenactment that there are arts which start without preservation, "in themselves"; in a sense, the arts stemming from reenactment are physically "separated" in their very constitution from the remembered person or reproduced actions or events. Perhaps, then, this is "properly the beginning" of cinema?

This seems confirmed by one of Eisenstein's chronological strings in the mummification line. This string moves from the removal of the death mask, to castings, then photography, and finally to cinema as "cine-chronicle" (*kino-khronika*). "NB. *Probably, for the history of cinema. Chronicle* [*Khronika*] *as cradle.*"[17] Crucially, however, this end point does not distinguish the mummification line from the reenactment line, for he had previously written of the reenactment line that it leads to cinema through the chronicle. It appears that Eisenstein, with the term

"cine-chronicle" is thinking of the newsreel, with its production/reproduction of socially valued persons and events, as a kind of originary mode in the history of cinema. But this is something that conjoins *both* lines as leading to cinema. It is almost as if the newsreel completes a process begun with the death mask, for it is the moment of transitional convergence of both lines. The reenactment and mummification lines are dialectically combined into cinema.

Yet, this is not to collapse completely the distinction between reenactment and mummification. Even if an art in the mummification line is separated from literal connection with the remembered person or event, for Eisenstein the originary appeal of preservation through prelogical thought on the model of the death mask can endure. This affects the aspirations and formal qualities of a pertinent art or work. So the overall situation might possibly be summarized as follows: The stronger the separation from pure preservation of the original body, event, or object being reproduced, then the more room there is for aesthetic form and artistry. Indeed, in order for the commemoration or reproduction to be dynamic and reflective, literal mummification or preservation would have to be supplemented or sublated – something which requires separation.

Inversely, however, this also implies that the originary commemorative/reproductive impulses, insofar as they persist, do continue to place necessarily limits on aesthetic form, both in the reenactment line but even more so for the more material and literal preservational impulse originating in the mummification line. If cinema is a dialectical combination of the two lines, whose originary unification lies in the "cradle" of the newsreel, it must sustain some of the drive for contact and preservation This may help explain his remark in a 1934 article: "The shot, considered as material for the purpose of composition, is more resistant than granite. This resistance is specific to it. The shot's tendency toward complete factual immutability is rooted in its nature."[18]

Within the *Notes*, it is telling in this regard that Eisenstein calls Egyptian sculpture naturalistic, based on its derivation from the death mask; he also calls Roman portraits realistic because of their commemorative origins. Even in the mummification line, separation from the commemorated object does not eliminate the originary psychological and social *appeal* of preservation implanted in its origins with the help of prelogical thinking. This appeal, this overriding "*Auswuchs dieses Triebes*"[19] endures in the arts, and is materially integrated into the technology and art form of cinema, as a continuing human response to the flux of time.

At this point, however, for the sake of completeness, we need to recall that Eisenstein's *Notes* also mention a third category for discharging the trauma of temporality, although this third category receives significantly less attention. This third category is symbolization. His first examples include a pyramid, a gravestone, or writing on a cross in a cemetery.[20] These examples are all still commemorative, and have to do with death. But what seems to distinguish this

third category from the first two is a certain conventionality of representational materials and/or forms. In symbolization, commemoration occurs without likeness, reenactment or mimesis (as in dithyramb and theater), and without preservation or contact (as with mummies and the death mask that leads to sculpture). Instead, symbolization consists in seemingly artificial constructions of equivalence between a sign and the dead object or past event it evokes. We can characterize that relation as arbitrary, if we want to use a theoretically loaded term. Nevertheless, since Eisenstein's examples of symbolization are commemorative, it seems that symbolization is likewise yoked to the impulse to discharge the traumatic motivating drive provoked by the flux of temporality, by countering it through the everlasting. How he might think symbolization is related to reproduction and reflection is not settled in the *Notes*, though some minimum of reflection must be involved insofar as commemoration is involved. Here, it would seem, commemoration must bridge the greatest amount of difference between a depiction or reproduction and the past person or event. But symbolization thus defined surely has major noncommemorative functions, or would Eisenstein assert that, like reenactment and mummification, all symbolization has its origins in commemoration? It is possible that this issue may point to some problems with the other two categories (for example, is all "dynamic reproduction" necessarily commemorative?) An elaboration is lacking in the *Notes*.

However, transforming the binary, dialectical distinction between reenactment and mummification into a trinary classification among reenactment, mummification, and symbolization leads to a rather astonishing correspondence with later film theory. It parallels Peirce's second trichotomy of signs, which was injected into film theory following Peter Wollen's 1969 critique of Saussurian semiology.[21] Peirce's trichotomy is defined according to sign-object relations, and the variants are called *icon* (similarity relation), *index* (existential relation) and *symbol* (lawful or conventional relation.) In thinking of grounding principles for a general history of cinema, Eisenstein has derived a parallel distinction: reenactment (similarity/icon), mummification (preservation/index), symbolization (conventionality/symbol). This surprising correspondence might lead to new and interesting readings of Eisenstein's theories and, perhaps even films.

But here I will only point out that it is related to another, perhaps more obvious parallel, which will have already struck anyone familiar with the history of film theory. Wollen's introduction of Peirce into film theory included a reading of theories of André Bazin, in order to argue that Bazin's virtue was to highlight the indexical character of cinema, and his weakness was to overemphasize that characteristic. If we return to Eisenstein's notion of the culturally generative trauma associated with the origin of the arts leading to cinema, there are ways in which Eisenstein's ideas converge with some of Bazin's fundamental theses. Bazin found origins of the arts, photography, and cinema in the special appeal of preservation, as a way of responding to the fatal and problematic nature of tempor-

ality for humanity and its subjectivity. This was concisely formulated in Bazin's now canonical essay, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," first published in a book on art in 1945.[22] This was just one year before Eisenstein scribbled his opening distinction between mummification and reenactment. Bazin's much-noted trope of the mummy complex, which crystallizes this temporal constellation, involves formulations not necessarily identical but overlapping with Eisenstein's *Notes*: a human subjectivity confronting time as a threat figured as death, and an obsessive psychological drive to counter this threat through preservation, is analogous to Eisenstein's temporal trauma; the Egyptian mummies are privileged as an origin of Western representational art, an origin which may possibly be more figurative in Bazin and literal yet generalizing in Eisenstein; the problem of likeness in the arts is a psychological goal which places limitations on the aesthetic, which seems analogous to the issue of separability in Eisenstein's mummification line; and photography and cinema are given a special place in sustaining contact with the past existents being depicted, but not absolutely enough to resolve the problem, such that form and aesthetics remains components of their realism. It is startling to pick certain sentences out of Bazin's foundational essay with Eisenstein's *Notes* in mind. There is, for example, a footnote in which Bazin suggests photography should be compared to the death mask, Eisenstein's great transitional object in the mummification line. And then there is Bazin's opening characterization of the origin of the arts in the mummy complex, which seems so consonant with Eisenstein's notion of trauma and temporality: "by providing a defense against the passage of time it satisfied a basic psychological need in man for death is but the victory of time."[23]

Wollen criticized Bazin for overemphasizing the indexical aspect of cinema, and thus obscuring the status of cinema as a hybrid mixture of indexical, iconic, and symbolic signification. Wollen also notes that Eisenstein was often associated with the symbolic potential of cinema. However, at least in the *Notes*, while Eisenstein acknowledges symbolization it is not much discussed as such. Because of the unfinished, fragmentary nature of the *Notes*, we cannot be sure if he would have developed this category, or, on the other hand, if this was a principled deemphasis on his part. However, the elaboration of iconicity in the reenactment line and preservation in the mummification line opens up the possibility that there may be something wrong with Wollen's reading.

But the lacunae around symbolization in the *Notes* only makes the overlap with Bazin more intriguing. What is the status of a coincidence that has the two most remarkable of all classical film theorists, who have so often been placed in hoary opposition to one another, both thinking of Egyptian mummies as distant origin of cinema in the 1940s? It is just possible, if barely so, that they might have been reading a few of the same works of art history or criticism (Malraux, for example?). And it is within the realm of possibility, though barely so, that Eisenstein could have seen the 1945 Bazin essay before writing his late 1946 notations. Per-

haps archival information on this may emerge in the future, though it is not at all certain.

But what is most important is thinking about the conceptual or theoretical roots of this overlap between Bazin and Eisenstein. This begins from the idea of time as radically problematic, which is registered as trauma in Eisenstein and threat to subjectivity in Bazin. In both this menace is said to be fundamentally generative of culture and art, and to be behind any special status attributed to cinema: as conjunction of the reenactment and mummification lines for discharging the trauma in Eisenstein, and as privileged medium for preserving not only objects but duration itself in Bazin.

The distinction between reenactment and mummification in the *Notes on a General History of Cinema* thus also suggests the centrality of configuring temporality for Eisenstein. Of course, this is implicit in the value he places on terms like *dynamic* and *transformation* in so many of his other writings. These are concepts that his theoretical work explores most intensively not with respect to history, but with respect to aesthetic composition and its relation to spectatorial experience. Earlier I pointed out that the opposition between reproduction and reflection in the *Notes* would exist within both the reenactment and the mummification lines, though in different valences. I also briefly compared it to the crucial opposition in his other later writings between depiction and *obraz*/global or generalized image.

Obraz was a term widely utilized in a variety of Russian aesthetic thought. In Eisenstein's work, it is associated with the dynamic, transformative aspect of the work. In his reading of Eisenstein's later theory, Martin Lefebvre has argued that its effectivity is dependent on memory, that is, on mental entities and associations specific to each spectator. The artistic composition marshals these into a whole through emotive means.[24] Memories come to mentality in the present from fleeting past, and are then organized by means of aesthetic form and cognitive appeal. This would mean that at the core of the spectator, as well as the core the work, and therefore at the core of Eisenstein's approach to aesthetics and culture, we find the great modern aporia between past and present, between the enduring and the unique. As we have seen, it is also at the heart of historical consciousness in modernity, and it doubtless finds outlet in Eisenstein's own theoretical ambitions. In this sense, at least, "*Verweile doch, du bist so schön*" is an appropriate epigram for his general history of cinema, but also for the special relation of form and emotion central to all of Eisenstein's thought.

13. Sergei Eisenstein and the Soviet Models for the Study of Cinema, 1920s-1940s

Masha Salazkina and Natalie Ryabchikova

The story of how Eisenstein came to write his *Notes for a General History of Cinema* is wrapped up in a larger story of institution-building in the Soviet Union. That institutional backstory is worth telling for at least three reasons: to understand the peculiar interactions that shaped the state's relationship to an art that was regarded as a preeminent Soviet achievement at the beginning of the postwar period; as an example of the kind of politics that revolved around film education in the age of the film institutes, out of which came many of the most influential directors of the postwar period; and to understand how these two factors affected Eisenstein's project. The essay further places these developments into a larger international context of the institutionalization of film studies as part of the development of the film cultures in Europe.

Eisenstein's *Notes* were being developed as part of the institutional platform for the Cinema Section of the Institute of Art History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1947-1948. The Institute was established in 1944 by the renown Soviet art historian Igor Grabar', and it initially included departments (or "sections") of visual arts, music, and theater. All members of the institute were required to have advanced postgraduate academic degrees. Despite initial resistance from Grabar', Eisenstein lobbied for cinema's inclusion, and in June 1947, he succeeded: the Cinema Section was announced. It was to be lead by Eisenstein himself. Teaching and research duties would devolve upon a handful of official members, and an informal circle of participants (*vneshtatnyj aktiv*), who were expected to receive degrees and then be able to join the section formally.[1]

Eisenstein had at that point been teaching at the State Institute of Cinematography (GIK) for decades, beginning as early as 1928, when the institute bore another name and had been accorded technical college (*tekhnikum*) status. In 1930 it was upgraded to an institute. Eisenstein returned to teaching there after

his trip abroad in September 1932, becoming the head of the directing workshop. He immediately plunged into implementing his "program of theory and practice of film directing," a draft of which was published in 1933, with a second, much more detailed, version appearing in 1936.[2] This program in some ways prefigures the *Notes*, sharing the same institutional and pedagogical provenance, while combining, with unmistakable Eisensteinian breadth, elements from logic, anthropology, psychology, the history of all arts, and the latest discoveries of science. Given this ambitious program, it is no surprise that Eisenstein insisted that the Institute should aim at higher academic standards, yet he initially opposed Nikolai Lebedev's project of reorganizing GIK.[3] Lebedev was a journalist, a film critic and an aspiring documentary filmmaker. He started teaching at GIK in 1932 and quickly rose to the director's position. Lebedev was instrumental in turning the Institute into an important locus of film education and research. In 1934, under Boris Shumiatsky's leadership at the Central Cinematrographic Administration (GUK), a series of structural changes took place: the Institute obtained a status of "an institute of higher education, academy-type" and was renamed the Higher State Institute of Cinematography (VGIK).[4] This was a step toward specialization: only people who had degrees or experience in cinema could be accepted into the film departments, the Department of Directing and the Department of Camerawork, while all other film departments were disbanded. With these changes, the Institute could pay more attention to its postgraduate program and the research unit (NIS) that it had inherited from the Scientific Research Institute in Cinema and Photography (NIKFI). Money was spent to expand the film library and historical archive. These changes were reversed in 1938. However, the intellectual community created in the early 1930s continued to influence cinema history studies and theory. In 1939, after the success of *Alexander Nevsky*, VGIK awarded Eisenstein the degree of a Professor of Art History (*doktor iskusstvovedcheskikh nauk*).[5] Thus, Eisenstein's lobbying Grabar' to open a Cinema Section at the Institute of Art History was preceded by years of work in the institutional development of not only cinema but also film studies. He envisioned a research center for the study of cinema (*nauchnyi centr po izucheniiu kinematografii*) connected to the state film archive, and a museum of cinema.[6]

It was in this situation that Eisenstein proposed the compilation and publication of the "general history of cinema." Officially, the role of the Institute of Art History was to oversee the publication of multivolume editions of academic histories of the arts in Russia and the Soviet Union; to this project, in October 1947, the Ministry of Culture appended a plan to publish the history of Soviet Cinema in seven volumes. Eisenstein was not only to supervise the production of this massive project, but was also supposed to write the unit on silent cinema.

This unit was planned on an epic scale, in three volumes, the first of which would focus on those Russian cultural traditions relevant to Soviet cinema, the second of which was to survey prerevolutionary cinema, and the third of which

was to focus on the Soviet cinema of silent period. Eisenstein began writing notes as part of the report on the activities of the section. In 1948 he proposed an expansion of the already epic scope of the volumes to include a "general history of cinema." The introductory volume of this proposed history would take into account "the history of expressive means of cinema" (close-up, temporality, then history of sound in painting, audiovisual synesthesia in painting, problems of space, movement, and color), followed by a history of montage in all the arts. At the same time, the first unit of the history of Soviet cinema (on which Eisenstein was working simultaneously with the "general history of cinema") was going to reconstruct "the genealogy of the species" as "the path towards newsreel" (curiously treated here apparently as an exemplary national – Soviet – cinematic phenomenon) in relation to Eisenstein's theoretical framework of that period (explored in detail in Antonio Somaini's contribution to this volume), such as his elaboration of his concepts of "mummification," "fixation," and "reproduction" in cinema and art.[7]

Comparative Contexts

As Eisenstein proceeded on the project of a "general history of cinema" in the second half of the 1940s, other similar projects were being mounted within other national and international film cultures. While in its earlier stages, institutional development of film education and theory in the Soviet Union was significantly ahead of the rest of the world, by the late 1940s this process accelerated in other countries, most importantly in France, Italy, the UK and the US, where this very period can be seen as directly responsible for giving rise to intellectual prominence of film theory and institutional recognition of film studies in the 1960s. A brief look at that earlier Soviet effort, however, can provide us with a larger historical trajectory for this process.

The State Film School (GIK), founded in Moscow in 1919, was the world's first professional educational institution for cinema, for decades serving as a model for professional training and research/theoretical activity in film around the world. Although initially the school only trained actors and directors, its curriculum included courses on "cinema technique" (*tekhnika kino*) and the "basics of cinema," taught by the film director Vladimir Gardin one of the school's original organizers.[8] Feofan Shipulinskii, one of the pioneer Russian film historians, taught at GIK from 1919 until the early 1930s.[9] Soviet cinema culture of the 1920s gave rise to and in turn fed off of an extensive, institutionally mediated critical apparatus that created forums, in journals and conferences, for dialogue and polemic. Here we would reference the example of the famous but short-lived Film Committee at the "Zubov" Institute in Petrograd/Leningrad (formed in 1925), which included all the authors of the *Poetics of Cinema* (1927): a collection unified by a commitment to expanding the expressive means of cinema in con-

scious relation to the historical evolution of form.[10] The proposal to create a museum of cinema attached to the State Academy of Artistic Sciences (GAKhN) in Moscow, was first made by Grigori Boltianskii, who was an important member of the Academy. To celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution in 1932, the Sector of Film History of the Academy, headed by Feofan Shipulinskii, first announced plans to create a comprehensive history of Soviet cinema. This project never got beyond the stage of collecting preliminary documents and organizing meetings with film industry veterans. When the Academy was transferred to Leningrad in 1931, its collection was divided between it and NIKFI. Part of it disappeared altogether.[11] Two years later NIKFI gave up its cinema history sector to VGIK.[12] These were all moves consistent with the Stalinist mandate of the centralization of cultural apparatuses. In this institutional competition, GIK/VGIK emerged as the sole purveyor of cinematic research in the Soviet Union. NIS, which had inherited materials and personnel from other institutes, including such outstanding filmographers, bibliographers and historians as Veniamin Vishnevskii and Mikhail Iordanskii, prepared, under Nikolai Lebedev, to expand its research remit. Plans called for a direct link between theoretical work and practical film production. Areas of focus included educational film, expansion of the network of film theaters, and "general film studies," meaning extensive archival work. Lebedev's plan called for the unit to collect documents concerning cinema, compile bibliographies and filmographies, organize both a text and a film library, and even eventually produce works on cinema of specific countries, on movements and individual filmmakers.[13]

This proved impossible, due to the political shifts and pressures of the 1930s. Nikolai Lebedev was dismissed from his position as the director of VGIK in the fall of 1936. Half a year later the research sector was disbanded, and all theoretical work was transferred to individual departments.[14] The large-scale work in the field of Soviet film studies was put on the backburner.

Elsewhere, of course, the historical course of events was different. Thinking through Eisenstein's grandiose plans for the Cinema Section in 1947, we should credit him with an awareness of other similar projects going on elsewhere, to which we now turn.

The first intellectually ambitious and internationally resonant attempt to capture the history of cinema outside of the Soviet Union is perhaps Leon Moussinac's *Naissance du cinema*, which was published in French in 1925, and immediately translated and published in Russian in 1926.[15] However, the film institutional context for Moussinac's work (and other Europeans writing on cinema in the 1920s) lacked the capacity of the Soviet's state-backed system.[16] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s in Europe, the UK, and the US, the divide between the official state-sponsored (or international) institutions, and the more informal venues such as cine-clubs and film societies (which were often cinephile-driven, and linked to the radical political avant-gardes and its Soviet pio-

neers such as Eisenstein) shaped much of film culture. The British Film Institute is a perfect example of this tendency, as it was, in the words of Cristophe Dupin, to be

> somewhat removed from the early manifestations of a British film culture which had been emerging in Britain since the late 1920s (in particular through the works of the Film Society, the journals *Close-up* and *Film Art*, and the state-funded documentary film movement led by John Grierson). If the BFI failed to recognize the importance of these cultural practices, in return it was largely excluded from them.[17]

In the postwar years, with the Keynesian expansion of the state, the funding and organization of these institutions changed. It was in 1948, for instance, that the BFI adopted a mandate toward "the development of public appreciation of film as an art form [...] through the maintenance of the National Film Library, film criticism, a network of film societies, the compilation of a critical catalogue of films and the collection of information about film,"[18] thus in some ways attempting to bring the two forms of film culture together.

A similar dynamic can be observed in postwar France. Again, a dirigiste state exerted its power to integrate film education and appreciation into state academic and cultural institutions. The Institut des hautes études cinématographiques (IDHEC; the Institute for Advanced Cinematographic Studies) was founded in 1944 in Paris by the Pétain government and "evolved from modest beginnings as one of countless Vichy youth groups"[19] under the initial leadership of Marcel l'Herbier, and Leon Moussinac's directorship (from 1946 to 1949), as well as Georges Sadoul's participation. Their involvement in these institutions underscores their link to the earlier French – and European – avant-garde circles of the 1920s, and through them to the film culture in which Eisenstein was an active participant. Thus it should be hardly surprising that at the same time that Eisenstein was planning his history of cinema, in 1946, Sadoul came out with one in France that was destined to become internationally the most influential study of film history for decades. In 1947 the Institut de filmologie (Institute of Filmology) opened under the aegis of the Sorbonne,[20] and this event is often credited as a fundamental step forward in the history of film studies as a discipline. The postwar skewing of film studies in Europe and America toward French cinema and interpretation of cinema was surely influenced by these institutionalizing moves in France. Despite its historical precedence and all of Eisenstein's efforts, Soviet film scholarship was inevitably stunted by the harsh cultural politics of the Stalinist state. There are a number of notable similarities between Eisenstein's approach and that of filmology, which we will touch upon in conclusion.

The rupture brought about in the 1940s can be seen in the state of play in film education in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. Film schools followed the model of

a workshop, and abjured theory and scholarship. The exception to this overall tendency was the National Film School in Rome (1930), which became the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia in 1935, a body directly modeled on GIK in its combination of theory and practice in its curriculum. The idea for a national Italian film school came from Anton Giulio Bragaglia, one of the key figures in Italian Futurism, who had long-standing ties with the Russian and Soviet avant-garde (especially Meyerhold). In 1930, when Bragaglia made his proposal to the state agency dealing with mass media in Fascist Italy (the Corporazione dello spettacolo), he referred specifically to the School of Screen Arts, to Trauberg and Kozintsev's studio in Leningrad, to Kuleshov's experimental studios in Moscow, and to the work of GIK. Bragaglia couched his idea in terms of creating a "European example" which would bring together artistic experiment and academic research. The three pillars of Bragaglia's proposal were centered on actors' training, teaching, and practice, with the teaching to be based on (1) theoretical culture, (2) experimental application of scholarly ideas, and (3) practical artistic work.[21] In reply, the Fascist government extended permission and funding for the Scuola Nazionale di Cinematografia (National Film School), which was opened in Rome in 1932. In 1934, when the state took more aggressive control over film, the Scuola was re-formed as the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia. Luigi Chiarini, a literary and cultural critic, was appointed as its director. Chiarini brought along Umberto Barbaro, another literary critic who took a particular interest in Soviet art and cinema. Under the influence of the two of them, the Centro developed an academic program that related practical film work and theory; under the wing of the Centro, a journal was founded in 1937, *Bianco e nero*, in which were articulated the issues that defined the emergence of neorealism in cinema. Barbaro could read Russian, and he translated Pudovkin's writings (under the title *Il soggetto cinematografico*) even before his work at the Centro. Barbaro and Chiarini also put together anthologies of material for the use of students, which consisted in large part of selections from Pudovkin, Eisenstein, Timoshenko, Balázs, Arnheim, Spottiswoode, and Rotha.[22] In the postwar period the Centro lost its preeminent status as a critical site for the production of film discourse (while remaining an important film school) and cinematic discourse in Italy migrated to film journals not affiliated with any educational institutions, such as Guido Aristarco's *Cinema Nuovo*, culminating in Aristarco's edited collection on film theory (1959) and his book *The History of Film Theory* (1960).

An alternative to the forming of the national film institutes was the Istituto Internazionale di Cinema Educativo (IICE; International Institute of Educational Cinematography) under the auspices of the League of Nations. It was founded in 1928 and was based in Rome until 1935. It aimed mainly at promoting and producing documentaries for educational purposes. In these terms, it served as the first major forum for international discourse in these areas.[23] During its brief existence, the IICE organized several film and photography exhibits, including

the Venice Film Festival, sponsored a monthly journal published in five languages, carried out a series of massive international surveys on film and education between 1929 and 1934, and even attempted to sponsor an encyclopedia of cinematography. Rudolf Arnheim, a member of the IICE, began writing his seminal *Film as Art* as part of this project.[24] Such figures as László Moholy-Nagy and Germaine Dulac were also involved with the IICE.[25] At the same time, key figures in the IICE also occupied governmental positions in Mussolini's state-run film propaganda units. So although it has been assumed in scholarship that the IICE could be seen as a liberal alternative to communist-oriented cultural cosmopolitanism (i.e., communist internationalism), however tainted with its associations with the Fascist government, recent scholarship shows that the IICE's plans included exchanges with the Soviet film industry, which occurred through the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), a paragovernmental organization, as well as through the Soviet embassy in Italy, and Luciano De Feo, the IICE's director, tirelessly searched for ways to include Soviet organizations in the running of the Institute and its project. Soviet Russia was the inevitable model during this period because it was the most advanced country to use the state's power to implement the development of cinema as a tool of education, and academically, the Soviets had already, in the 1930s, made cinema the object of scholarly study. True, other film schools existed in Germany and France, and isolated film courses were being taught in US universities, but only Soviet cinematic education was conceived on a truly broad scale, within a larger humanities framework, integrating it not only with craft training and film appreciation, but taking film into the study of aesthetics at large, while at the same time insisting on the formation of film as a distinct scholarly discipline.

Thus, under the surface of an anti-Bolshevik discourse in the European cinema cultures of both the fascist states and the democracies, the Soviet film institutions were imitated by those in the film culture concerned with the potential and aesthetics of film. Thus, it is not surprising that IECE repeatedly turned to the Soviet film officials for participation in these initiatives. A decade of correspondence exists that flowed between De Feo and the Soviet organizations, which document the extent of De Feo's relentless intermediary work in trying to transplant the Soviet model by creating a modus vivendi between Soviet film institutions and the IICE. Thanks to his efforts, a great deal of printed materials from the Soviet Union was published in the journals associated with the Institute – *Revue internationale du cinéma éducateur (RICE)*, *Intercine* (and even *Cinema*, which at its inception in 1936 was also affiliated to the Institute). Notwithstanding a series of (extremely ambitious but mostly unrealized) plans for cooperative ventures between the Soviet and Italian film industries, De Feo did manage to arrange for Soviet participation in the first two Venice Film Festivals (of which De Feo was a key organizer).[26] However, the IICE failed, in the end, to involve the Soviet film industry and its film education institutions in its world congress on educational

cinema or the encyclopedia of the history of cinema, because the political obstacles were insurmountable, and the IICE found itself unable to complete its initiatives. However, we would argue that its existence had a large effect on the diffusion of certain themes and programs in international film culture, among which was the use of international film festivals as major sites of nontheatrical cinematic exchanges and the formation of various film archives leading to the establishment in 1938 of the International Federation of Film Archives (which included the MOMA,[27] the Cinémathèque Française, the Reichsfilmarchiv, and the National Film Library of the UK).

In light of these developments we can see that Eisenstein played as important a role in the institutionalization of the practice and study of cinema as his films did in legitimizing film as an art. Eisenstein was well aware of developments in the European and American cinemas through his trips abroad in the late 1920s to the early 1930s. For the most part, he was only two degrees of separation from the key figures in the art film community, through his friendship with many of its key figures (Montagu, Moussinac, Sadoul, Cavalcanti, Leyda). Yet in the turn away from involvement in European cinema, codified after 1936 (in the twin programs of cinema for the millions in the Soviet Union and the popular front outside the Soviet Union), the kind of epic project combining film study and production Eisenstein dreamed of was put on hold, and even considered suspect.

This brief survey of institutions shows how important it was to have an institutional framework in order to legitimate film cultures – production, criticism, professional journals, noncommercial exhibition, film theory and the use of film in pedagogical practices. In the postwar era, the insistence on the specificity of film as art met a more welcoming reception within the space created by Europeans and Americans in the cultural sphere. The paradox is that Eisenstein's *Notes* are both part of and marginal to that moment of systematization and professionalization of writing on film (especially institutionally speaking). This is reflected in their form, which, preserving the utopian ambitions of the 1920s, differ in many aspects from other such works (whether Sadoul's or Aristarco's). As cinema studies elsewhere were beginning to be organized as a discipline, which meant supposing the specificity of cinema as a medium and form of expression with its own distinct methodology, Eisenstein was loosening his own approach – whether we define it here as "history" or as "theory" – to becomes less and less film-specific, engaging more and more explicitly with questions of aesthetics of perception and anthropology, in continuation with film writing from the 1920s and 1930s by thinkers such as Munsterberg, Arnheim, or Panofsky. It is striking that Eisenstein's project on history does not have any visible relationship to film criticism. In fact, there is very little mention of films or directors, and even less historical context of production or reception; film here serves as one of the loci of the historization of the aesthetic domain itself. However, unlike many of the humanists of the 1950s, Eisenstein wanted to cut off any

claim to the universality of aesthetics. Like his friends/foes, the Russian Formalists, Eisenstein's is a middle-ground approach between the precepts of Marxist historical materialism and a systematic study of the evolution of form.[28] For Eisenstein, this was not just a question of formal qualities of the object, but also the formal qualities of perception. And, similarly to the Formalists, this evolution is never understood to be linear but always heterogeneous, a system of shifts backward and forward. We will allow ourselves two brief observations on this tendency in Eisenstein's discourse and institutional program.

First, while insisting on the Cinema Section as a separate institutional domain, Eisenstein obviously embraced "interdisciplinarity" – as reflected not only in his epistemological approach but also in Eisenstein's program for the Cinema Section: while cinema is privileged as the object of study, the section would invite musicologists and art and theater historians, as well. As Eisenstein asserted: "We will not separate the history of cinema from the general history of the arts. We consider cinema as a stage of development of particular arts, a certain highest level of their development, and as the synthesis of other arts. [...] This is the first point, which is very important to me."[29]

Secondly, as we see in these later writings, Eisenstein's evolving conception of subjectivity and psychology in relation to history stands in contrast to Marxist and protostructuralist approaches. The latter dominate the field until well into the introduction of Lacanian psychoanalysis in the 1960s. Eisenstein argued that psychology was crucial for film scholars, and had long supported the project of incorporating the history and theory of psychology into the teaching of the directing workshop, including studying the impact of films on the spectators under experimental conditions.[30] Throughout the *Notes*, Eisenstein's double conception of the "evolution of form" is articulated in the dialectical movement from the individual to the collective, or individual cognition and perception to social expression. In the section entitled "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts" Eisenstein argues that cinema is the most perfect copy of the psychic apparatus of man, correlating psychic and somatic states with expressive means.[31] Eisenstein posits an evolutionary ladder in which this function is taken up successively by all the arts until the breakthrough of cinema creates "the most comprehensive technical automatoscope of the phenomenon of the reflection of reality that lies at the root of the formation and establishment of human consciousness,"[32] picking up the thread of his theoretical preoccupations of the 1930s. We can imagine that if Eisenstein had succeeded on this basis, he would have been in synch with such collaborators with filmology in the 1950s as Henri Wallon, Edgar Morin and Étienne Souriau, with their interest in anthropology and social psychology as the basis for the study of cinema as a social phenomenon. As Peter Bloom has shown, the filmology theorists were highly indebted to earlier research in anthropology, in particular Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's concept of "primitive mentality"[33] – which we know to be formative of the devel-

opment of Eisenstein's theories in the 1930s and 1940s.[34] The nonlinearity of Eisenstein's notion of (artistic and cinematic) evolution can be further linked to his – and filmology's – use of Lévy-Bruhl to implicitly critique the mechanistic ideology of modernity. Bloom sees a reference to primitive mentality behind the concept of the "filmic fact," as conceptualized by filmology's key thinker, Gilbert Cohen-Séat. Here we can see traces of the paths that will lead from both, Eisenstein's theoretical legacy and from filmology to the appropriation of structuralism and semiotics into the formation of the film theory discourse, via a figure like Metz; the prehistory of this junction, hinted at in the *Notes*, is worth examining in depth. Unfortunately, the scope of this essay does not permit us to do more than point to these issues. Still, we would like to open them as possible topics on some other occasion, taking advantage of the newly available *Notes*, the archival documents and the mass of materials generated by the institutionalization of film studies and film theory in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

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Eisenstein, S.M. *Unpublished Mexican Drawings*. México: Cineteca Nacional, 1978.

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Marcade, Jean-Claude, and Galia Ackerman. *S.M. Eisenstein. Dessins secrets*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1999.

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Notes

Editorial Criteria

1. "Naslednik," *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 28 (1995), pp. 115-119.
2. "Dinamicheskaia mumifikatsiia. Zametki ko 'Vseobshchei istorii kino,'" *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 100/101 (2012), pp. 53-105.
3. "Otkrovenie v groze i v bure" (Zametki k istorii zvukozritelnogo kontrapunkta), *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 15 (1992), pp. 183-207.
4. "Pokhvala kino-khronike," *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 36/37 (1997-1998), pp. 104-114.
5. "Mesto kinematografa v obshei sisteme istorii iskusstv," *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 36/37 (1997-1998), pp. 100-103.
6. "Pionery i novatory," *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 28 (1995), pp. 127-128.
7. S.M. Eisenstein, *Notes pour une Histoire générale du cinéma*, ed. François Albera, Naoum Kleiman, and Antonio Somaini (Paris: AFRHC, 2013).
8. "Sergej M. Eisensteins *Allgemeine Geschichte des Kinos*. Aufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass, eingeleitet von Antonio Somaini und Naum Klejman," *Zeitschrift für Medienwissenschaft* 4 (2011), pp. 139-157.
9. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Conspectus of Lectures on the Psychology of Art" [1947], in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *The Psychology of Composition* (Calcutta, Seagull Books, 1987), pp. 16-17.
10. See Naum Kleiman, "Foreword," here, pp. 13-18; Antonio Somaini, "Cinema as "Dynamic Mummification," History as Montage: Eisenstein's Media Archaeology," here, pp. 19-108.
11. See the following illustration: Ill. 1, p.22

Naum Kleiman, Foreword

1. *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* – an independent quarterly journal dedicated to the problems of film theory and film history, established in 1988 by the Eisenstein Center for Cultural Researches in Moscow, a nonprofit foundation.
2. Sergei M. Eizenshtein, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v shesti tomakh*, 6 vols. (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1964-1971). Hereafter abbreviated as IP.
3. *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 36/37 (1997/1998).
4. "Otkrovenie v groze i v bure" (Zametki k istorii zvukozritelnogo kontrapunkta), *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 15 (1992), pp. 183-207.
5. *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 28 (1995): "Naslednik," pp.115-119; "Sovietskoe kino kak detishche russkoi kultury," pp. 119-123; "K istorii nemogo kino," pp. 123-128.

6. *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 36/37 (1997/1998): "Plan rabot kino-sektora Instituta istorii iskusstva pri Akademii nauk," pp. 96-99; "Mesto kinematografa v obshchei sisteme istorii iskusstv," pp. 100-103.
7. "Zametki ko 'Vseobshchei istorii kino,'" *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 100/101 (2012), pp. 53-105.
8. IP 5, pp. 85-97. English translation by Jay Leyda as "Achievement" in Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1949); previously translated as "Pride" in the Moscow-based *International Literature* (April-May 1940).
9. Georges Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma, tome 1, L'invention du cinéma* (Paris: Denoël, 1946-1975); *tome 2. Les pionniers du cinéma* (Paris: Denoël, 1947-1975); *tome 3, Le cinéma devient un art – L'avant-guerre* (Paris: Denoël, 1950-1975); *tome 4, Le cinéma devient un art – La première guerre mondiale* (Paris: Denoël, 1950-1975); *tome 5, L'Art muet – L'après-guerre en Europe* (Paris: Denoël, 1950-1975); *tome 6, L'Art muet – Hollywood – La fin du muet* (Paris: Denoël, 1950-1975); *tome 6* (selon le plan initial). *L'époque contemporaine (1939-1954) – 1/ Le cinéma pendant la guerre (1939-1945)* (Paris: Denoël, 1946, reedited in 1954).
10. Eisenstein wrote his *Notes for a General History of Cinema* between 1946, the year of the resolution of Central Committee against the magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, but practically against Anna Akhmatova and Mikhail Zoshchenko, and 1948, the year of the resolution against the opera *The Great Friendship* by Vano Muradeli, directed against Prokofiev and Shostakovich; the second one was published on January 11, 1948, on the first page of *Pravda*, while on the last page was a small notice about Eisenstein's death. It is very possible that he received the message from the BBC, and that this was one of the causes of his fatal heart attack.
11. See M.M. Bakhtin, "Toward a Methodology for the Human Sciences," in his *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Caryl Emerson and Michal Holquist, trans. Vern W. McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), p. 170: "There is neither a first nor a last word and there are no limits to the dialogic context (it extends into the boundless past and the boundless future). Even *past* meanings, that is, those born in the dialogue of past centuries, can never be stable (finalized, ended once and for all) – they will always change (be renewed) in the process of subsequent, future development of the dialogue. At any moment in the development of the dialogue there are immense, boundless masses of forgotten contextual meanings, but at certain moments of the dialogue's subsequent development along the way they are recalled and invigorated in renewed form (in a new context). Nothing is absolutely dead: every meaning will have its homecoming festival. The problem of *great time*."
12. Sergei Eisenstein, *Neravnodushnaia priroda, vol. 2: O stroenii veshchei* (Moskva: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsentr, 2006), p. 7.
13. Ibid., p. 540.
14. Muzei kino, Coll. 40, List. 1, Folder 12/1, p. 1.
15. It is possible that Eisenstein here means Jean Renoir – he treated his sound films such as *La Bête Humaine* and *Toni* rather critically.
16. Muzei kino, Coll. 40, List 3.

17. Other notes from 1944-1946, both from this folder and from the folders kept in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) refer in the main part to the history of Soviet cinema; they require interpretation and commentary on their own. In the corpus of Eisenstein's texts there is a whole line of historiographical articles and speeches about the development of Russian cinema: from journalistic pieces (see, for example, the articles from 1928: "Pochemu katastroficheski tuskneet sovetskoe kino" [Why Soviet cinema has been waning catastrophically], *Sovetsky ekran* 44 [1928], p. 4, and "Dvenadtsaty" [The twelfth year], *Sovetsky ekran* 45 [1928], pp. 4-5) to "overviews" and "prognoses" timed to correspond with the anniversaries of the Decree of the Nationalization of cinema industry (the date, which was celebrated and is still being celebrated as the beginning of the national film history). Incidentally, it should be noted that the complex of these texts, which hide their scarcely official content behind anniversary rhetoric, has not been sufficiently studied.
18. Sergei Eisenstein, *Montazh* (Moskva: Muzei kino, 2000), p. 475.

Antonio Somaini, Cinema as "Dynamic Mummification," History as Montage: Eisenstein's Media Archaeology

I would like to thank all the friends and colleagues whose suggestions and comments have been very important during the elaboration of this text. To begin with, Naum Kleiman, co-editor of this volume, director of the Eizenshtein-tsentr in Moscow, editor of the Russian editions of some of Eisenstein's most important theoretical works, and a crucial reference point for all film scholars working on Eisenstein and Soviet cinema. François Albera, co-editor of the French edition of Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema* (Paris: AFRHC, 2013). Then Ada Ackerman, Francesco Casetti, Angela Dalle Vacche, Georges Didi-Huberman, Jane Gaines, Vinzenz Hediger, Olga Kataeva, Pietro Montani, Andrea Pinotti, Marie Rebecchi, Natalie Ryabchikova, Elena Vogman. When no other translator is indicated, translations from Russian to English are by Olga Kataeva.

1. In the last autobiographical fragment written by Eisenstein for his *Memoirs* on December 14, 1946, with the title "P.S., P.S., P.S." we read: "On 2 February this year, a heart muscle ruptured. There was a haemorrhage. (An infarction.) By some incomprehensible, absurd and pointless miracle, I survived. All the facts of science dictated that I should die. For some reason, I survived. I therefore consider that everything which happens from now on is a postscript to my own life... P.S. ...." (Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume IV: Beyond the Stars: The Memoirs of Sergei Eisenstein*, ed. Richard Taylor, trans. William Powell (London: BFI, 1995), p. 797; hereafter *Selected Works* [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.)
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. References to passages from these texts will be made by indicating simply the title of the text followed by the page number in this volume.
4. On the activities of the Institute of Art History and on Eisenstein's role in it, see the essay published in this volume by Masha Salazkina and Natalie Ryabchikova: "Sergei Eisenstein and the Soviet Models for the Study of Cinema," here, pp. 405-414.

5. In his essay published in this volume with the title "Pathos and Praxis," Georges Didi-Huberman describes these oscillations in terms of diastolic and systolic movements: see here, p. 309-322.
6. The term "line" (*linii*) is used in several passages of the *Notes*: see, for example, "The Heir," here, p. 115, and "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, p. 131.
7. The expression "urge to record phenomena" appears for the first time in "The Heir," p. 113.
8. The passage comes from a note written by Eisenstein on July 27, 1945, and quoted by Naum Kleiman in his foreword to this volume: see here, p. 17.
9. The term "heir" appears in the title of the text "The Heir." The term "forerunners" appears in "Dynamic Mummification," p. 125.
10. Léon Moussinac, *Naissance du cinéma* (Paris: Povolozky et Cie, 1925); Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights: A History of the Motion Picture through 1925* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1926); Maurice Bardèche and Robert Brasillach, *Histoire du cinéma* (Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1935; 2nd rev. ed. Paris: Denoël, 1943); Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939); Georges Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma*, vol. I: *L'Invention du cinéma, 1832-1897* (Paris: Denoël, 1945; 2nd ed., 1948), vol. II: *Les Pionniers du cinéma, 1897-1909* (Paris: Denoël, 1947). On the relationship between Sadoul's *Histoire générale* and Eisenstein's "general history," see the essay published by François Albera in this volume: "'The Heritage We Renounce': Eisenstein in Historio-graphy," here, pp. 267-288.
11. See "Pioneers and Innovators," here, pp. 247-254.
12. For a critique of several of the recurrent traits of "traditional film histories" – chronological linearity, continuity, progressive teleology – see André Gaudreault, *Film and Attraction: From Kinematography to Cinema*, trans. Timothy Barnard, foreword by Rick Altman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), especially pp. 9-31.
13. Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Towards a Theory of Montage*, chapter "Laocoön," in SW 2, p. 154.
14. Ibid., *The Psychology of Composition*, ed. Alan Upchurch (Calcutta: Seagull, 1987), p. 3.
15. Ibid., "An Unexpected Juncture" [1928], in SW 1, pp. 115-122.
16. "The Heir," p. 110.
17. The German terms "*Rückblick*" and "*Ausblick*" are used by Eisenstein in the "Draft of 'Introduction'" to the 1937 book *Montage*: see Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Towards a Theory of Montage, 1937-1940*, in SW 2, p. 3.
18. Siegfried Kracauer, "'Marseiller Entwurf' zu einer Theorie des Films" (1940), in Siegfried Kracauer, *Theorie des Films. Die Errettung der äußeren Wirklichkeit*, ed. Inka Mülder-Bach in collaboration with Sabine Biebl (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2005). Ibid., *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (1960), with an introduction by Miriam Bratu Hansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
19. André Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" (1945), in André Bazin, *What Is Cinema?*, foreword by Jean Renoir, new foreword by Dudley Andrew, essays selected and trans. by Hugh Gray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 9-16.

20. See Philippe Dubois, Lucia Ramos Monteiro, and Alessandro Bordina, eds., *Oui, c'est du cinéma! Formes et espaces de l'image en mouvement* (Udine: Campanotto, 2009); Dudley Andrew, *What Cinema Is!* (London: Wiley Blackwell, 2010); Raymond Bellour, *La Querelle des dispositifs. Cinéma – installations, expositions* (Paris, P.O.L.: 2012); Jacques Aumont, *Que reste-t-il du cinéma?* (Paris: Vrin, 2012); André Gaudreault and Philippe Marion, *La Fin du cinéma? Un média en crise à l'ère du numérique* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013); Francesco Casetti, *The Lumière Galaxy: Seven Key Words for the Cinema to Come* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015). For a historical perspective on the status of cinema as a media and a *dispositif*, see François Albera and Maria Tortajada, eds., *Cinema beyond Film: Media Epistemology in the Modern Era* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010); François Albera and Maria Tortajada, *Ciné-dispositifs. Spectacles, cinéma, télévision, littérature* (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 2011).
21. On *medium specificity* and cinema, see Noël Carroll, "Medium Specificity Arguments and the Self-Conscious Invented Arts: Film, Video and Photography," and "The Specificity of Media in the Arts," in *Theorizing the Movie Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3-36). On *intermediality*, see Irina O. Rajewsky, *Intermedialität* (Tübingen: UTB, 2002); Joachim Paech and Jens Schröter, eds., *Intermedialität analog/digital. Theorien, Methoden, Analysen* (München: Fink, 2008); Angela Dalle Vacche, ed., *Cinema and Painting: How Art Is Used in Film* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996). On *remediation*, see Richard Bolter and Jay David Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Boston: MIT Press, 2000). On *relocation*, see Francesco Casetti, "The Relocation of Cinema," in *Necsus: European Journal of Media Studies*, Autumn 2012 (*Tangibility*), http://www.necsus-ejms.org/the-relocation-of-cinema/.
22. See Georges Didi-Huberman, *Devant le temps. Histoire de l'art et anachronisme des images* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 2000); ibid., *L'Image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit, 2002); Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010); Angela Mengoni, ed., *Anacronie. La temporalità plurale delle immagini* (Firenze: La casa Usher, 2013).
23. Cf. Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
24. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Montage of Attractions" [1923] and "The Montage of Film Attractions" [1924], in SW 1, pp. 33-38 and 39-58.
25. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 175.
26. On the "New Film History" see the essays by Noël Burch, Charles Musser, Barry Salt, Janet Staiger, and others gathered in Thomas Elsaesser, ed., *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative* (London: BFI, 1990). On the "cinema of attractions" see Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," *Wide Angle* 8.3/4 (1986), and "The Whole Town's Gawking: Early Cinema and the Visual Experience of Modernity," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 7.2 (1994), pp. 189-201; Gaudreault, *Film and Attraction*; Wanda Strauven, ed., *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).
27. FIAF stands for Fédération Internationale des Archives du Film (International Federation of Film Archives).

28. The notion of "cultural series" is discussed by Gaudreault in his *Film and Attraction*, especially pp. 62-82.
29. On the "historical turn" in film studies, see Jane Gaines, "What Happened to the Philosophy of Film History?" in *Film History* 25.1-2 (2013), pp. 79-80. See also Michèle Lagny, *De l'histoire du cinéma: méthode historique et histoire du cinéma* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992).
30. The expression "deep time of the media" is taken from the title of Siegfried Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means*, trans. Gloria Custance (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006). By Zielinski see also *Audiovisions: Cinema and Television as Entr'actes in History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999).
31. Thomas Elsaesser used the term "media archaeology" in the title of his introduction to *Early Cinema: Space Frame Narrative* ("Early Cinema: From Linear History to Mass Media Archaeology," pp. 1-8). He then further developed his point in "The New Film History as Media Archaeology," *Cinémas: revue d'études cinématographiques* 14.2-3 (2004), pp. 75-117. For a general presentation of the field of "media archaeology," see Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, eds., *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Jussi Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012); Wanda Strauven, "Media Archaeology: Where Film History, Media Art, and New Media (Can) Meet," in *Preserving and Exhibiting Media Art: Challenges and Perspectives*, ed. Julia Nordegraaf, Cosetta G. Saba, Barbara Le Maître, and Vinzenz Hediger (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014), pp. 59-79. On the "archaeology of cinema," see C.W. Ceram, *Archaeology of the Cinema*, trans. Richard Winston (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965); Laurent Mannoni, *Le Grand art de la lumière et de l'ombre: Archéologie du cinéma* (Paris: Nathan, 1994), translated into English as *The Great Art of Light and Shadow: Archaeology of the Cinema*, ed. and trans. Richard Crangle (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000); Giusy Pisano, *Une archéologie du cinéma sonore* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2004).
32. Elsaesser, "The New Film History as Media Archaeology," p. 113.
33. James Goodwin, *Eisenstein, Cinema and History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
34. Sergei Eizenshtein, "Diffuznoe vospriiatie" [Diffused perception], in Eizenshtein, *Metod*, ed. Naum Kleiman (Moskva: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein tsentr, 2002), vol. 1, p. 316.
35. In this film, which was supposed to use a complex web chromatic symbolisms in order to weave together the different stages of the history of Moscow, Eisenstein wanted to "apply to narration a *jumping chronology*, that is, a sequentiality that is not chronological [*kalendarnaia*] but rather thematic": Sergei M. Eizenshtein, "Moskva 800. Skhema situatsii," in *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v shesti tomakh*, 6 vols. (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1964-1971), vol. 3, p. 576. (Hereafter *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v shesti tomakh* is abbreviated as IP.)
36. On *Que Viva Mexico!* see Masha Salazkina, *In Excess: Sergei Eisenstein's Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), and Laurence Schifano and Antonio Somaini, eds., *Que viva Mexico!. Anthropologie, archéologie, modernité* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, 2014)

37. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Commentary on the Film *The Great Fergana Canal*," in *Voprosy kinodramaturgii*," ed. Ilya Weissfeld (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1959), pp. 327-353.
38. Ibid., *The Dynamic Square*, in SW 1, p. 207.
39. Ibid., "Montage 1937," in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 43. This idea of a journey in space that becomes a journey in time can be found in the works stemming from other travels to Mexico with which Eisenstein's Mexican experience can be compared: from the travel that the British ethnologist Edward B. Tylor described in 1861 in the volume entitled *Anahuac*, to Aby Warburg's visit to the Hopi of New Mexico in 1895-1896, a visit whose photographic documentation was then presented and commented by Warburg in a lecture known as "Lecture on the Serpent Ritual" (the original title in German was "Bilder aus dem Gebiet der Pueblo-Indianer in Nord-Amerika") delivered in 1923 at the Bellevue psychiatric clinic in which he had been hosted since 1921; from D.H. Lawrence's visits to Mexico and New Mexico between 1923 and 1925 (which provided the basis for *The Plumed Serpent* and *Mornings in Mexico* in 1926 and 1927), to the later travels of Artaud in 1936 and Breton in 1938.
40. The article has been published with a commentary by Naum Kleiman in *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, 89-90 (2008-2009), pp. 111-124 (Italian translation in Francesco Pitassio, ed., *La forma della memoria. Memorialistica, estetica, cinema nell'opera di Sergej Ejzenštejn* [Udine: Forum, 2009], pp. 193-214).
41. Lenin deals with the issue of *mnogukladnost* in two different texts: "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder" (1918) and "The Tax in Kind" [1921]. The quoted passage comes from the second text (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 1st English ed. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), vol. 32, p. 331).
42. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "*Piat' epokh*" [Five epochs], in *Pravda*, 6 June 1926.
43. On the "shift" that took place in Eisenstein's film theory between the writings of the 1920s on the one hand, and those of the 1930s and 1940s on the other, see David Bordwell, "Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift," *Screen* 15.4 (1975), pp. 29-46; ibid., *The Cinema of Eisenstein* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
44. On the period Eisenstein spent in Paris between November 1929 and May 1930, the encounters with personalities such as André Breton and Georges Bataille, and on Eisenstein's contribution to *Documents*, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *La Ressemblance informe, ou le Gai Savoir visuel selon Georges Bataille* (Paris: Macula, 1995). See also Marie Rebecchi, *Parigi 1929. Ejzenštejn, Bataille, Buñuel* (Milano: Mimesis, 2014).
45. Ernst Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times* [1935], trans. Neville and Stephen Plaice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).
46. Naum Kleiman, "Nota a *Le cinque epoche*," in Pitassio, *La forma della memoria*, p. 213.
47. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* [1910] (Paris: Alcan, 1922), pp. 425ff.
48. On Eisenstein's unfinished book *Metod*, see the introductions written by Naum Kleiman and Oksana Bulgakowa to the two different Russian editions that have been published so far: Naum Kleiman, "Problema Eizenshteina" [Eisenstein's problem], in Eizenshtein, *Metod*, pp. 2-30; Oksana Bulgakowa, "Teoriia kak utopicheskii proekt" [Theory as a utopian project], in Sergei Eisenstein, *Metod/Die Methode*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Potemkin Press, 2008). See also Antonio Somaini, *Ejzenštejn. Il cinema, le arti, il montaggio* (Torino: Einaudi, 2011; English translation: *Eisenstein: Cinema, Art History,*

Montage forthcoming from the University of Illinois Press), and Alessia Cervini, *La ricerca del metodo. antropologia e storia delle forme in S.M. Ejzenštejn* (Milano: Mimesis, 2010).

49. Eisenstein's text entitled "Film Form: New Problems" is available in English in two slightly different versions: as an autonomous text in Sergei Eisenstein, "Film Form: New Problems" in ibid., *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (San Diego: Harcourt, 1949), pp. 122-149, and as part of the "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers" in SW 3 pp. 16-46.
50. See the "Closing Speech" in "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers," in SW 3, pp. 41-46.
51. Ibid., in SW 3, p. 38
52. Eizenshtein, "Diffuznoe vospriiatie" [Diffused perception], p. 323.
53. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* [1929], ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: Norton, 1962), pp. 16-18. For an analysis of this passage, see Philippe Dubois, *L'Acte photographique et autres essais* (Paris: Nathan, 1990), pp. 261-283.
54. Ibid., p. 18.
55. Walter Benjamin, *Excavation and Memory* [1932], in Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith, trans. Rodney Livingstone and others (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), vol. 2, part 2 (1931-1934), p. 576.
56. On this archaeological understanding of history and memory, see Knut Ebeling, *Wilde Archäologien. Theorien materieller Kultur von Kant bis Kittler* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2012), pp. 254-362. See also Knut Ebeling and Stefan Altekamp, eds., *Die Aktualität des Archäologischen in Wissenschaft, Medien und Künsten* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2004).
57. Eisenstein is here probably referring to Émile Ludwig, *Genius and Character*, trans. Kenneth Burke (New York: Blue Ribbon, 1924).
58. Sergei Eisenstein, *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, ed. N. Kleiman (Moskva: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein tsentr, 2004), vol. 2, p. 7.
59. These are some of the texts mentioned by Eisenstein: On Griffith and on the history of the close-up, *Istoriya krupnovo plana* [History of the close-up] (divided into three sections: "Dickens and Griffith," "Peripeteias of the *pars pro toto*," "Griffith and Us"), in Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 8-131 (partial English translation *Dickens, Griffith and Ourselves*, in SW 3, pp. 193-239); *History of the Close-up*, in *Immoral Memories: An Autobiography*, trans. Herbert Marshall (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983) pp. 228-233. On Disney, *Disney*, ed. Oksana Bulgakowa and Dietmar Hochmuth, trans. Dustin Condren (Berlin: Potemkin Press, 2011-2012). On stereoscopic cinema, *O Stereokino* [1947], in *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 336-387 (partial English translation "About Stereoscopic Cinema," *Penguin Film Review* 8 (January 1949), pp. 35-44; full French translation "Du cinéma en relief," in *Le Mouvement de l'art*, ed. François Albera and Naum Kleiman, with an introduction by Barthélémy Amengual [Paris: Cerf, 1986], pp. 97-158). On montage and "the Chinese culture of hieroglyphs," see "The Dramaturgy of Film Form" [1929], in SW 1, pp. 161-180, which actually concerns Japanese "hieroglyphs," just as *An Unexpected Juncture* [1928] and *Beyond the Shot* [1929], in SW 1, pp. 115-122 and 138-151. On "Landscape and the history of the Chinese understanding of nature," see Sergei Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent*

Nature, ed. Herbert Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). On color and chromatic montage, see Eisenstein, *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 228-335 and 544-612.

60. On Eisenstein and Ramsaye, see Albera, "'The Heritage We Renounce,'" p. 273.
61. Eisenstein, *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, p. 7.
62. See supra, note 59.
63. *Beyond the Shot*, in SW 1, p. 138.
64. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), fragment N2a, 3, p. 362.
65. Eisenstein, "The Dramaturgy of Film Form," p. 163. On the concept of "interval" in the theories of montage of Vertov and Eisenstein, see Annette Michelson, "The Wings of Hypothesis: On Montage and the Theory of the Interval," in *Montage and Modern Life, 1919-1942*, ed. M. Teitelbaum (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 60-81.
66. "The Dramaturgy of Film Form," p. 168.
67. On the history of this paradigm, also known as "recapitulation theory," see Stephen Jay Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), which analyzes the presence of this paradigm in the history of biology and across a wide spectrum of social and cultural sciences.
68. See J.G. Herder, *Plastik: Einige Wahrnehmungen über Form und Gestalt aus Pygmalions bildendem Traume* (1778) and the *Conversations of Goethe with Johann Peter Eckermann*, ed. J.K. Moorhead (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1998), especially the conversation of January 17, 1827, in which Goethe says that "even if the world progresses generally, youth will always begin at the beginning, and the epochs of the world's cultivation will be repeated in the individual" (*Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, trans. John Oxenford [London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1850], vol. 1, pp. 328-329.
69. E. Haeckel, *Die Welträtsel. Gemeinverständliche Studien über monistische Philosophie* (1899), with an introduction by I. Fetscher (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1994).
70. Ibid., *Anthropogenie, oder Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1874), p. 9.
71. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* [1915], trans. M.D. Hottinger (New York: Dover, 1929), p. 21.
72. Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* [1920], trans. C.J.M. Hubback (London, Vienna: International Psychoanalytical Press, 1922), section IV. In the *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* of 1916 Freud writes that "every individual somehow recapitulates in an abbreviated form the entire development of the human race" (quoted in Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny*, p. 156).
73. Walter Benjamin, *On the Mimetic Faculty* [1933], in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2, part 2 (1931-1934), pp. 720-722.
74. Eisenstein, "About Stereoscopic Cinema" [1947], pp. 35-36. Concerning the way in which Eisenstein considered the relation between cinema and biological or organic processes, we may also recall that already in 1929, remembering having seen the 1912 Pathé film *Recette pour faire éclore les roses*, Eisenstein had imagined the possibility of producing a film "on the theme of the *Ausdrucksbewegung der Pflanzen* [the

expressive movement of plants] [...] entirely based on animated drawings": a form of representation which, conceived of as an instrument for morphologic analysis, could allow one to grasp the continuous metamorphoses of vegetal forms, and to understand "the language of flowers." The notes for this unrealized film project on the "expressive movement of plants" can be found in RGALI 1923-2-1113. I thank Elena Vogman for having drawn my attention to these notes.

75. Ibid., *My Art in Life* [1927], *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, 36/37 (1997-1998), p. 14, quoted by Mikhail Iampolski in his article "Theory as Quotation," *October* 88 (Spring 1999), p. 53.
76. "The Heir," pp. 109-110.
77. For an overview of Eisenstein's film theories in the 1930s and 1940s, see Bordwell, *The Cinema of Eisenstein*, ch. 5 ("Cinema as Synthesis: Film Theory, 1930-1948), pp. 163-198.
78. "When the power of a class is declining and fading we observe not only the breakup of *the arts as a whole* into sharply differentiated compartments, but the process of decadence and disintegration also takes place within the various arts themselves. In the most striking example of social decadence, namely the collapse of capitalist society in its highest stage (imperialism) that immediately precedes the attainment of power by the proletariat, this has been especially vivid and impressive. From the second half of the 19th century onward we have witnessed the unmistakable process of disintegration not only of the arts in general but of each separate branch of the arts. Photographic realism and a 'literary' narrative, for instance, crowded out everything else in the art of the late nineteenth-century Russian school of socially committed artists known as 'The Wanderers.' In their case, this was at least justified by the social message which it was their mission to convey, but this was not so with other trends, schools and 'isms.' Some concentrated on recording a momentary, fleeting impression, others on the optical relationship between colours, while a third group was concerned to catch movement and to convey a particular sense of dynamism. A fourth trend attempted to capture the perception of space, while still others strove to fix an otherwise inarticulate inner cry or *cri de cœur* in colour and sound. Another group was only interested in an interplay of the schematic forms underlying the structure of visible phenomena. It remained for others coming a little later to disregard every other aspect of the totality of a picture and to worship only surface textures – or to concentrate on instrumental timbre and rhythm to the exclusion of melody. The ultimate contribution of the Italians to the labyrinth of decadence was surely 'Tactilism' – painting intended to be perceived solely through the fingertips!" (*Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, pp. 275-276) .
79. Sergei Eisenstein, "Achievement" [1940], in Eisenstein, *Film Form*, pp. 181-182.
80. *Voprosy sinteza iskusstv* [Questions on the synthesis of the arts], ed. the Union of Soviet Architects (Moscow: OGIZ – IZOGIZ, 1936). I thank Olga Kataeva for her help concerning this reference.
81. Ibid., p. 105.
82. Ibid., p. 13.
83. Ibid., p. 22.

84. On this idea see the essay published in this volume by Pietro Montani: "'Synthesis' of the Arts or 'Friendly Cooperation' between the Arts? The 'General History of Cinema' According to Eisenstein," here, pp. 385-392.
85. In his essay published in this volume, Vinzenz Hediger discusses how Eisenstein's idea of cinema as a "synthesis" of the arts can be compared with Hegel's notion of *Darstellung* (in the *Phenomenology of Spirit*) as "both a representation and a performance, a conceptual re-enactment of sorts, of prior philosophies and the history of philosophy": see "Archaeology vs. Paleontology: A Note on Eisenstein's 'Notes for a General History of Cinema,'" here, p. 347-356. For a different perspective on cinema as a synthesis of other arts and other media in Soviet cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, see Oksana Bulgakowa, "Ton und Bild. Das Kino als Synkretismus-Utopie," in *Die Musen der Macht. Medien in der sowjetischen Kultur der 20er und 30er Jahre*, ed. Jurij Murašov and Georg Witte (München: Fink, 2003), pp. 173-186.
86. On the idea of cinema as "synthesis of the arts" in Eisenstein, see H. Lövgren, *Eisenstein's Labyrinth: Aspects of a Cinematic Synthesis of the Arts* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1996).
87. For an interpretation of the place of Eisenstein's Mexican drawings within the whole of his work, and in relation to his reflections on the meaning of montage, see Somaini, *Ejzenštejn*, ch. 7 ("Stenogrammi dell'estasi e della crudeltà. I disegni messicani"), pp. 141-186.
88. On Eisenstein's understanding of montage in the book *Montage*, see Jacques Aumont, *Montage Eisenstein* (Paris: Images Modernes, 2005), ch. 4 ("Le montage en question"), pp. 205-258; Bordwell, *The Cinema of Eisenstein*, pp. 168-177; Pietro Montani, "Il pensiero denso e il principio dionisiaco del montaggio," in *Fuori campo. Studi sul cinema e l'estetica* (Urbino: Quattro Venti, 1993), pp. 61-80.
89. "Puti regressa" [Ways of regression] is the title of a chapter of *Metod*: *Metod*, vol. 1, pp. 194-214.
90. For an overview of these different "ways of regression," see Somaini, *Ejzenštejn*, ch. 9 ("*Metod*: le vie del regresso"), pp. 216-261.
91. Sergei Eizenshtein, "Vyrazitel'noe dvizhenie" [Expressive movement], in Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol. 1, p. 181.
92. Sergei Eizenshtein, "Moia sistema" [My system], in *Kinovedchevski Zapiski* 36-37 (1997-1998), p. 24.
93. Friedrich Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, trans. E. Aveling (London: Sonnenschein, 1892), p. 35. The passage is quoted by Eisenstein in "Film Form: New Problems": see "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers," in SW 3, p. 38.
94. "Achievement," in Eisenstein, *Film Form*, p. 191.
95. "The Heir," p. 110.
96. In his text published in this volume, Mikhail Iampolski presents a different interpretation of Eisenstein's vision of history in the *Notes*, arguing that what we find in them "is by no means a withdrawal from linear history": see "Point – Pathos – Totality," here, p. 365.
97. "The Heir," p. 110.

98. *Montazh*, p. 400.
99. *Towards a Theory of Montage*, ch. "Unity in the Image," pp. 275-277.
100. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 123.
101. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy, or Hellenism and Pessimism*, trans. W.A. Haussmann (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1923), p. 27.
102. Ibid., p. 31.
103. Ibid., p. 57.
104. Ibid., p. 79.
105. Ibid., p. 127.
106. Ibid., p. 65.
107. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 120.
108. "O Stereokino," in Eisenstein, *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, p. 375 (in French translation "Du cinéma en relief," p. 147).
109. Ibid.
110. "Diderot a parlé de cinéma," in *Le Mouvement de l'art*, pp. 77-96.
111. "Vertical Montage," in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 337.
112. A selection of the notes written by Eisenstein in connection to the direction of the *Valkyrie* at the Bolshoi Theater in 1940 has been published in Oksana Bulgakowa, ed., *Eisenstein und Deutschland. Texte, Dokumente, Briefe* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste – Henschel Verlag, 1998), pp. 55-64 (*"Die Walküre." Regienotizen*). On Wagner and Eisenstein, see Dieter Thomä, *Totalität und Mitleid. Richard Wagner, Sergej Eisenstein und unsere ethisch-ästhetische Moderne* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2006).
113. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 385.
114. "The Incarnation of Myth," in SW 3, p. 144. Eisenstein refers here to the texts Wagner wrote during the exile in Zürich which had followed his involvement in the 1849 Dresden insurrection: *Die Kunst und die Revolution* (1849), *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1850) and *Oper und Drama* (1852).
115. "The Heir," p. 110.
116. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 109.
117. On *Ivan the Terrible*, see Yuri Tsivian, *Ivan the Terrible* (London: British Film Institute, 2008).
118. On the first Soviet experiments on stereoscopic cinema, see N. Mayorov, "A First in Cinema...: Stereoscopic Films in Russia and the Soviet Union," *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema* 6.2 (2012), pp. 217-239.
119. "About Stereoscopic Cinema," p. 37.
120. Ibid., p. 42.
121. "O Stereokino," in Eisenstein, *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, p. 345 (French translation *Du cinéma en relief*, p. 109).
122. *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, pp. 274-275.
123. Eisenstein refers here to Konstantin Stanislavsky and to the "realism" based on the "truth" of "relived experiences" that was at the base of his acting system.
124. Eisenstein staged this "agit-guignol" play based on Sergei Tretyakov's *Gas Masks* (1923) at the Moscow gas plant. It was his last theater production before the move to cinema with the film *Strike* (1924).
125. See supra, note 14.

126. See Pavel Florensky, "Reverse Perspective (1920)," in Florensky, *Beyond Vision: Essays on the Perception of Art*, comp. and ed. Nicoletta Misler, trans. Wendy Salmond (London: Reaktion Books 2002), pp. 197-272.
127. "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," here, p. 241.
128. "Dynamic Mummification," pp. 131-ff.
129. "Revelation in Storm and Thunder," here, p. 208.
130. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 130.
131. On the many references to Daumier's art in Eisenstein's writings, films, and drawings, see Ada Ackerman, *Eisenstein et Daumier. Des affinités électives* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013).
132. On the importance of Daumier's work for Eisenstein's theory of montage, see Ada Ackerman, *Eisenstein et Daumier. Une affinité élective* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013).
133. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 184.
134. "A Statement on the Sound-Film by Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and Aleksandrov," in Eisenstein, *Film Form*, pp. 257-260.
135. "Revelation in Storm and Thunder," p. 215.
136. "Dynamic Mummification," pp. 127-129.
137. On Eisenstein and glass architecture, see the notes for the unrealized film project "Glass House": Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Glass House*, introduction, notes, and commentary by François Albera (Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2009). See also Antonio Somaini, "Utopies et dystopies de la transparence. Eisenstein, *Glass House*, et le cinématisme de l'architecture de verre," *Appareil* 7 (April 2011), http://appareil.revues.org/1234.
138. On the history of magic lanterns, see Laurent Mannoni and Donata Pesenti Campagnoni, *Lanterne magique et film peint: 400 ans de cinéma* (Paris: Éditions de La Martinière/La Cinémathèque française, 2009).
139. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 125.
140. "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," p. 242.
141. "The Heir," p. 114.
142. "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," p. 242.
143. "Ibid.
144. On the origins on the notion of montage, see François Albera, "Pour une épistémographie du montage: préalables," *Cinéma: revue d'études cinématographiques* 13.1-2 (2002), pp. 11-32. See also François Albera, "The Case for an Epistemography of Montage: The Marey Moment," in Albera and Tortajada, *Cinema Beyond Film*, pp. 59-78.
145. "Dynamic Mummification," pp. 172.
146. "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," here, pp. 237.
147. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 123.
148. "Assemblage" is one of the seven key words (along with relocation, relic/icon, expansion, hypertopia, display, performance) used by Francesco Casetti in order to discuss the current transformations of cinema as a medium and a *dispositif*, and the various relocations of cinematic experience: see Casetti, *The Lumière Galaxy*. In Casetti's interpretation, the term "assemblage" indicates an understanding of the

cinematic *dispositif* as an open, flexible, evolving set of interconnected elements which can be (and historically have been) freely rearranged and reorganized.

149. Lewis Mumford, *Technics & Civilization* [1934] (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
150. Ibid., p. 437.
151. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 157.
152. On the relationship between Sadoul's *Histoire générale du cinéma* and Eisenstein's "general history of cinema," see Albera, "'The Heritage We Renounce.'" On the history of optical media, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the 19th Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); Friedrich Kittler, *Optical Media* (London: Polity, 2009).
153. "The Heir," p. 114.
154. The phrase "he was searching for *ce qui ne passe pas dans ce qui passe*" comes from Eisenstein's preparatory notes to *Metod* and is quoted by Naum Kleiman in his introduction to *Metod*: Naum Kleiman, "Problema Eizenshteina," in Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol. 1, p. 27. The archival reference of the note is RGALI 1923-2-232, 42.
155. Joseph-Marie Montmasson, *Le Rôle de l'inconscient dans l'invention scientifique* (Paris: Alcan, 1928).
156. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Film Form: New Problems," in SW 3, p. 38.
157. Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol. 2, p. 304.
158. The English translations are Otto Rank, *Trauma of Birth* [1924] (New York: Dover, 1994), and Sandor Ferenczi, *Thalassa: A History of Genitality* (London: Karnac Books, 2005).
159. Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Metod/Die Methode*, ed. Oksana Bulgakowa (Berlin: Potemkin Press, 2008), chapter "Poslednee slovo o forme. Forma as *urge* k besklassovosti," vol. 1, pp. 259-268.
160. Eisenstein, *Disney*, p. 71.
161. Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol. 2, p. 301.
162. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Foreword," *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 1.
163. Ibid., p. 167.
164. Ibid., p. 168.
165. Ibid. On the history of the myth of Dionysus, see Carl Kerény, *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
166. Alfred Winterstein, *Der Ursprung der Tragödie* (Leipzig: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1925), pp. 160. Quoted by Eisenstein in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 171
167. Ibid., p. 170.
168. Ibid., p. 168.
169. Ibid., pp. 171-172.
170. Ibid., p. 109.
171. Ibid., p. 119.
172. Ibid., p. 120.
173. Ibid., p. 119
174. Ibid., p. 121. This idea of a deep analogy between cinema and consciousness – an idea which was first formulated by Hugo Munsterberg in his *The Photoplay: A*

Psychological Study (1916) – appears in the *Notes* in the text entitled "The Place of Cinema in the System of the Arts," in which cinema is presented as "a copy of man's psychological apparatus": see p. 241.

175. Ibid., p. 192.
176. Goethe's morphological studies are gathered in the section entitled "Morphologie" (pp. 53-250) of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe*, Band 13, Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften I, Texkritisch durchgesegen und kommentiert von D. Kuhn und R. Wankmüller, mit einem Essay von C.F. von Weizsäcker (München: DTV, 1988).
177. For Goethe's use of the concept of *Urpflanze*, see *Goethe-Handbuch*, Band 4/2: *Personen, Sachen, Begriffe L–Z*, ed. Hans-Dietrich Dahnke and Regine Otto (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998), pp. 1077-1078.
178. Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen*, 509.
179. On the Goethean morphological paradigm that runs through German philosophical thought between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, see Francesco Moiso, "Morfologia e filosofia," *Annuario filosofico* 8 (1992), pp. 79-139, and Andrea Pinotti, "Pazienza del dissimile e sguardo pontefice" in *Georges Didi-Huberman. Un'etica delle immagini*, ed. Raoul Kirchmayr and Laura Odello, special issue of the journal *aut aut* 348 (2010), pp. 66-83.
180. On the "*Urphänomen* of cinema," see the chapter of *Towards a Theory of Montage* entitled "Laocoön," in SW 2, pp. 109-226.
181. Ibid., p. 192.
182. On Eisenstein's notion of "formula of pathos" [*formula pafosa*], see Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*. On Aby Warburg and the atlas *Mnemosyne*, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'Image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Minuit, 2002). For a comparison between Eisenstein's "formula of pathos" and Warburg's "*Pathosformel*," see Sylvia Sasse, "Pathos und Antipathos. Pathosformeln bei Sergej Ejsenstejn und Aby Warburg," in *Pathos. Zur Geschichte einer problematischen Kategorie*, ed. Cornelia Zumbusch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), pp. 171-90. See also Somaini, *Ejzenštejn*, ch. 12 ("La 'formula del pathos'"), pp. 350-381.
183. On Warburg's understanding of cultural memory, see Andrea Pinotti, *Memorie del neutro. Morfologia dell'immagine in Aby Warburg* (Milano: Mimesis, 2001).
184. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 27.
185. Ibid.
186. Ibid., p. 167.
187. These notes are published in Russian and in French translation in François Albera, *Eisenstein et le constructivisme russe* (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 1990). The quoted passage is on p. 260.
188. Aby Warburg, *Werke in einem Band*, ed. Sigrid Weigel, Martin Treml, and Perdita Ladwig (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2010), p. 631. English translation by Matthew Rampley in *Art in Translation* 1.2 (July 2009): 273-283 ("The Absorption of the Expressive Values of the Past")..
189. For a general introduction to *Nonindifferent Nature* within the context of Eisenstein's film theory and aesthetics, see Aumont, *Montage Eisenstein*; Bordwell, *The Cinema of Eisenstein*; Pietro Montani, "Introduzione," in Sergej M. Ejzenštejn, *La natura non*

indifferente (Venezia: Marsilio, 1981), pp. ix-xli, and "Pathos. L'estetica dell'ultimo Ejzenštejn," in *Fuori campo*, pp. 9-44.

190. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, pp.165-178 and pp. 178-183 (Herbert Marshall translates the titles of these two chapters with "Superconcreteness" and "On the question of suprahistory").
191. Ibid., pp. 165-166.
192. Ibid., p. 166.
193. Ibid., p. 174.
194. Ibid., pp. 168-169.
195. Ibid., p. 175.
196. See the chapter of *Metod* entitled "Ritmicheskii baraban" [The rhythmic drum], in Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol.1, pp. 183-193.
197. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 167.
198. Ibid., p. 182.
199. "The Heir," pp. 113-115.
200. Rainer Maria Rilke, Letter to Rodin (December 29, 1908), in *Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke, 1892-1910*, trans. Jane Bannard Greene and M.D. Herter Norton (New York: Norton, 1969), p. 342.
201. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Rodin i Ril'ke" [1945], in *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, p. 512.
202. On this notion of "primary eideticism," see also Albera, "'The Heritage We Renounce,'" pp. 282-283.
203. Eisenstein, "Rodin i Ril'ke," p. 512.
204. On the presence of the ontogeny-phylogeny parallelism in Eisenstein's writings, see, for example, the passage in *Direction* in which he writes that "in each one of us, in a confuse and undefined way, but very intensely, resounds what we might call 'the historical pathos of the conquest of the vertical posture'" (Sergei M. Eizenshtein, *Rezhissura: Iskusstvo mizanstseny*, in IP 4, p. 485).
205. See Alois Riegl, *Late Roman Art Industry* [1900] (Rome: Bretschneider, 1985).
206. Eisenstein, "Rodin I Ril'ke," p. 519.
207. Ibid., p. 525.
208. "The Heir," p. 113.
209. Ibid., p. 114.
210. A quote from Goethe's *Faust*, which Eisenstein sometimes misquotes in these notes as "*Verbleibe doch, du bist so schön!*" (*Faust. Der Tragödie zweiter Teil*, V, 11582).
211. Stands for Vsesoiuznyi Institut eksperimental'noi meditsiny, or All-Union Institute for Experimental Medicine. It was established on the basis of the Imperial Institute for Experimental Medicine, founded in 1890 by Prince Ol'denburgskii. Its main goal was declared to be the complex study of the causes of disease and the practical needs of combating diseases and their consequences. In the Soviet times this goal led to utopian search for attainting physical immortality.
212. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 119.
213. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 120.
214. See Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXV, 4, who speaks of "*imaginum pictura*" (painting of *imagines*) describing the practice of applying color on death masks, in order to preserving a *maxima similitudo* with the original, the face of the dead

ancestor. See Georges Didi-Huberman, "*Imaginum pictura… in totum exoleuit.* Début de l'histoire de l'art et fin de l'époque de l'image," *Critique* 52.586 (1996), pp. 138-150, and *L'Empreinte* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1997).

215. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 122.
216. Kracauer, "'Marseiller Entwurf,'" p. 527.
217. Ibid.
218. This idea that film allows some form of "penetration" into the "deep layers" of material reality can also be found in *Theory of Film*. In the "Epilogue" Kracauer writes: "We cannot hope to embrace reality unless we penetrate its lowest layers. But how can we gain access to these lower depths? One thing is sure, the task of contacting them is greatly facilitated by photography and film" (*Theory of Film*, p, 298).
219. Kracauer, "'Marseiller Entwurf,'" p. 543.
220. Ibid., p. 545.
221. Ibid., 533.
222. Ibid., p. 591.
223. Ibid., pp. 591-593.
224. Ibid., p. 579.
225. Ibid., p. 534.
226. Ibid., p. 541.
227. Ibid., p. 591.
228. Ibid., p. 605.
229. Ibid., p. 593.
230. Ibid., p. 531.
231. Ibid., 531.
232. Ibid.
233. "First Outline of *Que Viva Mexico!*," in Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense*, trans. and ed. Jay Leyda (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1947), pp. 251-252.
234. See the chapter entitled "Komicheskoe" [The comic], in Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol. 1, pp. 420-430.
235. See above, note 19.
236. André Bazin, "The Virtues and Limitations of Montage" ["Montage interdit"], in *What Is Cinema?*, vol. 1, pp. 41-52. Here is how Bazin presents what he considers a "principle" or "law of aesthetics": "When the essence of a scene demands the simultaneous presence of two or more factors in the action, montage is ruled out" (p. 49). For a new assessment of Bazin's film theory and film criticism, see Dudley Andrew and Hervé Joubert-Laurencin, eds., *Opening Bazin: Postwar Film Theory and Its Afterlife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also the partially different French edition of the same anthology: *Ouvrir Bazin* (Montreuil: Editions de l'Œil, 2014).
237. Gaston Diehl, *Problèmes de la peinture* (Lyon: Confluences, 1945).
238. Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," p. 9
239. Ibid., p. 10.
240. Ibid., p. 9.
241. Ibid., p. 12.
242. Ibid., p. 14.
243. Ibid., p. 15.

244. Ibid., p. 12.
245. On the presence of these theological references in Bazin's idea of realism, see Vinzenz Hediger, "Das Wunder des Realismus. Transsubstantiation als medientheoretische Kategorie bei André Bazin," in *montage AV* (January 18, 2009), pp. 75-107.
246. Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," p. 14.
247. Ibid.
248. Here is how Malraux presents the connection between baroque art and cinema in his *Esquisse d'une psychologie du cinéma*: "Ce qu'appellent les gestes de noyés du monde baroque n'est pas une modification de l'image, c'est une succession d'images; il n'est pas étonnant que cet art tout de gestes et de sentiments, obsédé de théâtre, finisse dans le cinéma..." (André Malraux, *Esquisse d'une psychologie du cinéma* [1939], ed. J.-C. Larrat [Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2003], p. 45). See also André Malraux, *Psychologie de l'art* (Genève: Albert Skira, 1949), p. 111.
249. Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," pp. 14-15. On Bazin and the idea of cinema as "change mummified," see the essay by Philip Rosen in this volume ("Eisenstein's Mummy Complex: Temporality, Trauma, and a Distinction in Eisenstein's 'Notes for a General History of Cinema,'" here, pp. 393-404) and his *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
250. Jean Epstein, "Bonjour cinéma" [1921], in *Écrits sur le cinéma 1921-1953, tome 1: 1921-1947*, preface by Henri Langlois, introduction by Pierre Leprohon, 2 vols. [Paris: Cinéma club/Seghers, 1974], p. 92). See also Hervé Joubert-Laurencin, "Embaumement," in *Dictionnaire de la pensée du cinéma*, ed. A. de Baecque and P. Chevallier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2012), pp. 270-272.
251. Aby Warburg, "The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie" [1902], in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, intro. Kurt W. Forster, trans. David Britt (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999), pp. 435-450.
252. On the notion of "survival" as a historical and culturological category, see Edward Tylor, "On the Survival of Savage Thought in Modern Civilization," in *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 5 (1866-1869), pp. 522-535. As Georges Didi-Huberman has shown in his *L'Image Survivante* (pp. 51-60, in the chapter titled "*Nachleben*, ou l'anthropologie du temps: Warburg avec Tylor"), Tylor's notion of "survival" was an important reference for Warburg in elaborating the notion of "*Nachleben*."
253. Julius von Schlosser, *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. R. Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), pp. 286-287.
254. André Bazin, "The Myth of Total Cinema," in *What Is Cinema?*, vol. 1, pp. 17-22.
255. André Bazin, "On *Why We Fight*: History, Documentation, and the Newsreel," in *Film & History* 31.1 (2001), pp. 60-62.
256. Ibid. On Bazin's notion of "total history" see Vinzenz Hediger, "Aufhebung. Geschichte im Zeitalter des Films," in Lorenz Engell, Oliver Fahle, Vinzenz Hediger, and Christiane Voss, *Essays zur Filmphilosophie* (München: Fink, 2014).
257. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 143.

258. On the question of anachronism in relation to the history of images and to the role of montage as a historiographical tool, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Devant le temps. Histoire de l'art et anachronisme des images* (Paris: Minuit, 2000), and Angela Mengoni, ed., *Anacronie. La temporalità plurale delle immagini*, Carte Semiotiche 13 (Firenze: La Casa Usher, 2013). On "anachronic montage," see this passage from Georges Didi-Huberman's "L'Image brûle" (*Art Press* 25 [2004], pp. 68-73): "Le *montage* sera précisément l'une des réponses fondamentales à ce problèm de *construction de l'historicité*. Parce qu'il n'est pas orienté simplement, le montage échappe aux théologies, rend visibles les survivances, les anachronismes, les rencontres de temporalités contradictoires qui affectent chaque objet, chaque événement, chaque personne, chaque geste. Alors, l'historien renonce à raconter 'une histoire' mais, ce faisant, il réussit à montrer que l'histoire ne va pas sans toutes les compléxités du temps, toutes les strates de l'archéologie, tous les pointillés du destin."
259. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "'Draft of Introduction,'" in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 3.
260. Ibid., p. 21.
261. See Iampolski, "Point – Pathos – Totality," p. 366: "The adoption of dialectics is very important for understanding Eisenstein's transition from short essays and articles (in the 1920s) to amorphous books without a beginning or end, endlessly growing and transitioning from one into the other (1930s-1940s). This transition, in my view, is partially related to the fact that dialectics allows one to conceive every phenomenon in the forms of its historical development and formation. Every phenomenon acquires a limitless dynamic genealogy, which is what leads to a change in the form of the texts and the creation of projects like the 'general history of cinema,' like a branching dialectical genealogy."
262. Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans., ed., and intro. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 49-50. Kracauer will later return to the question of the relation between photography, film, and history in his *History: The Last Things before the Last*, completed by Oskar Kristeller with a new preface (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1995), especially in the chapter entitled "The Historical Approach" (pp. 45-61). See Vinzenz Hediger, "Benjamin's Challenge: If Art Is No Longer the Same after Cinema, then What about History?" in *Dall'inizio alla fine/In the Very Beginning, at the Very End: Proceedings of the XVI International Film Studies Conference, Udine, Italy*, ed. Francesco Casetti and Jane M. Gaines (Forum, 2010), pp. 455-464.
263. "Pioneers and Innovators," p. 149.
264. Elie Faure, *De la Cinéplastique* [1920] (Paris: Séguier, 1995), pp. 32-33.
265. Dziga Vertov, "The Birth of Kino-Eye" [1924], in *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, ed. and intro. Annette Michelson, trans. Kevin O'Brien (Oakland: University of California Press, 1985), p. 41. On Dziga Vertov, see also Yuri Tsivian, ed., *Lines of Resistance: Dziga Vertov and the Twenties* (Pordenone: Le Giornate del Cinema Muto, 2004), and John Mackay, *Dziga Vertov: Life and Work* (forthcoming from Indiana University Press).
266. Ernst Bloch, *Verfremdungen II. Geographica* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1964).

267. Jean Epstein, "L'Intelligence d'une machine" (1946), in Jean Epstein, *Écrits complets*, Sous la direction de Nicole Brenez, Joël Daire, Cyril Neyrat. Vol. V (1945-1951). Préface de F.J. Ossang, Introduction et notes de Natacha Thiéry. Paris: Indipendencia Éditions, 2014, pp. 27-96.
268. Eisenstein, "The Dramaturgy of Film Form," p. 168.
269. The passage belongs to a series of notes in Russian added to the German text of "The Dramaturgy of Film Form": it is dated July 7, 1929, and is published in François Albera, *Eisenstein et le constructivisme russe* (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 1990), p. 260.
270. See Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1910).
271. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), fragment N31, 2, p. 463.
272. Ibid., K3, 3, p. 394.
273. Albera, *Eisenstein et le constructivisme russe*, p. 94.
274. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, N11, 4, p. 476.
275. Ibid., N3, 2, p. 463.
276. Ibid., N7a, 3, p. 471.
277. Ibid., N1, 8, p. 458.
278. Ibid., N1, 1, p. 456.
279. Ibid., N9, 7, p. 473.
280. Ibid., N2a, 3, p. 462.
281. Ibid., N2, 6, p. 461.
282. Ibid., N1a, 8, p. 460.
283. Ibid., N1, 10, p. 458.
284. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Encounters with Books," in SW 4, p. 354.
285. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, N1, 3, p. 465.
286. Ibid., N1, 2, p. 456.
287. Eisenstein, "The Dramaturgy of Film Form," p. 165.
288. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, N3, 1, p. 463.
289. Ibid., N10, 3, p. 475.
290. Ibid., N7a, 8, p. 470.
291. Ibid., N1a, 2, p. 459.
292. Ibid., N7a, 2, p. 470]
293. Eisenstein, "Laocoön," in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 109.
294. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, N2a, 4, p. 462.
295. The catalogue of the 1929 exhibition *Film und Foto* has been reprinted with the title *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbundes Film und Foto Stuttgart 1929*, ed. K. Steinorth, intro. M. Rommel (Stuttgart: DVA, 1979). See also *Film und Foto der zwanziger Jahre. Eine Betrachtung der Internationalen Werkbundausstellung "Film und Foto" 1929*, ed. U. Eskildsen and J.C. Horak (Stuttgart: Württembergischer Kunstverein, 1979).
296. László Moholy-Nagy, "Dynamik der Gross-Stadt," *Malerei Fotografie Film* [1925, 1927], ed. Hans M. Wingler, with an editor's note and an afterword by Otto Stelzer (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1986), pp. 122-135.

297. El Lissitzky, "Topographie der Typographie," *Merz* 4 (1923), republished in *El Lissitzky. Maler Architekt Typograf Fotograf. Erinnerungen Briefe Schriften*, ed. S. Lissitzky-Küppers (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst,1992), p. 360.
298. Walter Benjamin, "One-Way Street," in *Selected Writings: Volume 1, 1913-1926*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 456.
299. The note (whose archival reference is RGALI, f.1923, inv.1, 1030) is translated in English in Oksana Bulgakowa, "Eisenstein, the Glass House, and the Spherical Book," *Rouge* 7 (2005), http://www.rouge.com.au/7/eisenstein.html. On Eisenstein's spherical book, see Oksana Bulgakowa, "Das kügelformige Buch von Sergei Eisenstein als ein übersehenes Angebot der universellen Kunsttheorie," in *Cultural Turn*, ed. L. Musner, G. Wunberg, and C. Lutter (Wien: Turia & Kant, 2002), pp. 31-108.
300. This note, dated September 17, 1947, is published in the back cover of Eizenshtein, *Metod*, vol. 2.
301. Sergei M. Eizenshtein, "Torito," in IP 4, p. 632.
302. See Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* (London: Verso, 2002).
303. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Montage and Architecture," in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 60.
304. The archival reference of this drawing and of the drawings and notes on "The Volume and the Space" that we will comment in the following pages is the following: Cinema Museum, 40-1-12, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4. According to Naum Kleiman, the drawing was executed between December 1945 and January 1946, and it is connected both to the essay "Rodin and Rilke" (completed in July 1945) and to the *Notes*.
305. On the history of the atlas-form, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Atlas ou le gai savoir inquiet. L'oeil de l'histoire 3* (Paris: Minuit, 2011). See also Antonio Somaini, "*Übungsatlas*: The Picture Atlas and the Training of the Gaze in Benjamin and Sander," in *Sichtbarkeiten 4. Anordnen, Darstellen*, ed. Mira Fliescher, Fabian Goppelsröder, Dieter Mersch. Berlin: Diaphanes, 2015 (forthcoming).
306. On the unrealized film project "Glass House," see, note 137.
307. On Eisenstein's interpretation of the myth of Dionysus in *Montage*, see supra, note 163.
308. See Riegl, *Late Roman Art Industry* (see supra, note 205).
309. For the archival reference of these two drawings, see supra, note 304.
310. On sculpture, extasis, and montage in Eisenstein, see Giovanni Careri, "Ejzenštejn e Bernini. Montaggio e composto," in *Sergej Ejzenštejn. Oltre il cinema*, ed. Pietro Montani (Venezia: Biblioteca dell'immagine – La Biennale di Venezia, 1991), pp. 263-276, and also *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).
311. See "Dynamic Mummification," p. 122.
312. See supra, note 122.
313. See Strauven, "Media Archaeology."
314. Elsaesser, "The New Film History as Media Archaeology," p. 113.

315. On the way in which different definitions of a medium may produce different "fore-" and "after-histories," see Peter Geimer, *Bilder aus Versehen. Eine Geschichte fotografischer Erscheinungen* (Hamburg: Philo Fine Arts, 2010), especially chapter 1 ("Geschichte und 'Vorgeschichte' der Fotografie"), pp. 21-55.
316. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 123. Here Eisenstein misquotes Goethe by writing "*Verbleibe*" instead of "*Verweile*."
317. "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," p. 225.
318. Ibid., p. 237.
319. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Colour Film," in *Notes of a Film Director* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, [c. 1946]), p. 124.
320. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Foreword" [1946], in ibid., p. 6.
321. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Ever Onwards!," in SW 3, pp. 352-353.

Part One – Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Notes for a General History of Cinema*

1. The Heir

1. This text is one of the earliest in the series of notes from 1946-48 for the *General History of Cinema*. At the same time, it is a result of many years of reflections on the genealogy of all cinematic forms and their precursors in the history of the arts. In his theoretical writings and in his lectures at VGIK Eisenstein analyzed the cinematic potential of traditional forms of art, treating cinema as their "rightful heir". The text was first published in 1995 in the journal *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, 28, pp. 115-119.
2. The "second baroque" (or neo-baroque) refers to one of the stylistic tendencies of eclecticism, manifested from the middle of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century mainly in architecture, but also in sculpture, the applied arts, and industrial design. In Russia certain features of the "second baroque" were used in the style of *art nouveau*, which emerged at the turn of the century in the period of cinema's birth.
3. The term "-isms" refers to the various avant-gardes that in the 1910s and 1920s designated themselves with terms ending invariably with "-ism": Futurism, Cubism, Expressionism, Constructivism, Surrealism, etc. In 1925, El Lissitzky published together with Hans Arp a book entitled *Die Kunstismen* (Zürich-München-Leipzig: Rentsch, 1925), which presented, through a montage of definitions given by the artists themselves and images of their most emblematic works, the main avant-garde tendencies in the visual arts between 1914 and 1924 under the following headings (in German): *Abstraktivismus*, *Dadaismus*, *Expressionismus*, *Futurismus*, *Kompressionismus*, *Konstruktivismus*, *Kubismus*, *Neoplastizismus*, *Purismus*, *Simultanismus*, *Suprematismus*, *Verismus*.
4. Denis Diderot in his *Encyclopedia* introduces the notion of *nuance* as an almost imperceptible difference of one kind of object (being) from another: "*L'univers ne nous offre que des êtres particuliers, infinis en nombre, & sans presqu'aucune division fixe & déterminée; il n'y en a aucun qu'on puisse appeler ou le premier ou le dernier; tout s'y enchaîne & s'y succède par des nuances insensibles; & à travers cette uniforme immensité d'objets, s'il en*

paroît quelques-uns qui, comme des pointes de rochers, semblent percer la surface & la dominer, ils ne doivent cette prérogative qu'à des systèmes particuliers, qu'à des conventions vagues, qu'à certains évenemens étrangers, & non à l'arrangement physique des êtres & à l'intention de la nature" ["The universe only presents to us particular beings, infinite in number, with hardly any fixed or determinate division. None can be termed the first or the last; everything is linked therein, and follows what came before by imperceptible *nuances*. In this immense uniformity of objects, if some appear which, like the tips of rocks, seem to pierce through the surface and dominate it, they only owe this prerogative to particular systems, vague conventions, vague and foreign events – and not to the physical arrangement of beings and to the intention of Nature"] (Diderot, art. "Encyclopédie", *Encyclopédie* V, 640A). The notion of a *natural* equality of objects, which follows from this, influenced the idea of the *social* equality that became, along with freedom and fraternity, one of the demands of the French Revolution. Diderot considered nature to be the "primary model" of art and of theater uppermost, which for him embodied the synthesis not only of thoughts and feelings, of spectacle and the spectator, but of various means of expression as well.

5. Eisenstein compares here the Christian church's notion of "universal unity" with the slogan of the *Communist Manifesto*: "Workers of the world, unite!" and invokes the propagandistic statement made at the 17th Communist Party Congress (January 26-February 10, 1934) about the "liquidation of exploitative classes in USSR". The tragic paradox lies in the fact that during the Great Purges (1934-1938) most of this Congress's delegates were "liquidated," because many of them criticized the results of the first Five-Year plan, privately opposed Stalin and discussed the possibility of his removal. Officially the 17th Congress was called the "Congress of Victors", but has become known as the "Congress of the Condemned".
6. Eisenstein wrote about the polemics between the German philosopher Max Nordau (1849-1923, author of the book *Entartung* [*Degeneration*] in 1892) and the composer Richard Wagner and his idea of a "synthesis of arts" in his book *Metod* [*Method*] (see vol. 1, pp. 131-134, the chapter entitled "Grundproblem" [The fundamental problem]).
7. In the second part of the book *Montazh* [*Montage*] Eisenstein devoted several chapters to the "basic phenomenon of cinema" [in Russian: "*osnovnoi fenomen kino*", or "*prafenomen kino*"], that is, the eidetic confluence ("superimposition") of still images (frames) into the movement of one uninterrupted shot in the viewer's perception. On a higher level this process is repeated in the method of the confluence of shots through montage into a unified action or narrative (and, in the end, into a unified composition of the film) (see *Montazh*, pp. 157-175; Engl. transl. *Towards a Theory of Montage*, SW2, pp. 109-123). He initially presented this concept in the article "Oshibka Georga Mel'e" (*Sovetskoe kino* 3-4, 1933, pp. 63-64; Engl. transl. "Georges Méliès's Mistake", in SW1, pp. 258-260).
8. Eisenstein wrote about the combination of different phases of movement in one painting, using as his examples Honoré Daumier and Tintoretto, in his book *Montazh* (pp. 158-161; Engl. transl. *Toward a Theory of Montage*, SW2, pp. 109-114). The title *El Maragato* (in the manuscript Eisenstein mistakenly writes "Margorotto") refers to the cycle of six panels by Francisco de Goya depicting the capture of the

Spanish bandit El Maragato, in 1806, by the monk Pedro de Zaldivia. The cycle of satirical paintings (later also circulating as prints) *Mariage à-la-mode* by William Hogarth represented scenes from a miserable life of a married couple in 18th century London. Eisenstein mentions it in his essay *The Dynamic Square* (1930) (SW1, p. 211) and in *Metod* (vol. 2, p. 174, chapter "Chet – Nechet"; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, p. 178, chapter "Pair – impair").

9. In his essay *El Greco i kino* [*El Greco and cinema*] (1937-39), strictly linked to the book *Montazh*, Eisenstein gives the same example of a "cinematographic effect" in a Greek vase decoration showing two fighting cockerels: "Both figures... are completely the same except for one detail..., which is given in quite the opposite way (that is, in maximum contrast). The effect is absolutely the same as in the jumping from one frame to another in cinema: it creates the 'image' of movement" (*Montazh*, p. 426; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, p. 85).
10. Eisenstein refers here to the image of an old Egyptian dancing procession in the book by Joseph Gregor *Weltgeschichte des Theaters* (Wien: Phaidon Verlag, 1933), p. 85.
11. The picture story *Max and Moritz* by the German poet and caricaturist Wilhelm Busch (1832-1908) about the adventures of two boys and their pranks became the precursor not only of the comic strip, but, according to Eisenstein, also of the storyboard in feature film, as well as of a particular style of hand-drawn animation (see his essay *Disney*, written in 1940 and published in *Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 254-295; Engl transl. *Disney*, in *The Eisenstein Collection*, ed. by Richard Taylor, London/ New York/ Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2006, pp. 85-184). See also the longer version *Disney*, ed. by Oksana Bulgakowa and Dietmar Hochmuth, transl. by Dustin Condren, Berlin / San Francisco: PotemkinPress, 2011-12.
12. In the chapter "Ob odnom pristrastii g-na Onore de Balzaka" ["On one predilection of Monsieur Honoré de Balzac"] of *Metod* (vol. 1, pp. 295-316, in particular pp. 309-310) Eisenstein writes about the development of the principle of "unity in diversity" from the lowest biological forms (using the example of linear colonies of flatworms) to the highest forms, such as a social-political federation. Eisenstein considered audio-visual montage in cinema to be one of the forms in which this principle manifested itself in aesthetics.
13. The reason Eisenstein mentions Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman* (1905), which became the source of D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), is because the novel's plot is based on the assumption that the victim's retinas can retain the image of the murderer.
14. These six lines were added by Eisenstein on a following day, 26.X.1946.
15. *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* is a 12th century Old Russian epic poem about an unsuccessful campaign against Polovtsians under the leadership of Igor', Prince of Novgorod-Seversk. Although based on an actual ("documentary") event, it is emotionally colored by folklore (largely pagan) imagery, and subjective and agitated characters' speech in the narration [*skaz*] itself.
16. The correct title of two series of prints by Jacques Callot is *Les grandes misères de la guerre* [*The Miseries and Misfortunes of War*] (1632-33). *Los desastres de la guerra* [*The Disasters of War*] is the name of Francisco Goya's series (see below).

17. *The Horrors of Kalish*, a propagandistic feature film based on Vladimir Gardin's script, dealt with the violence perpetrated by the German troops upon the Polish town of Kalish (or Kalisz), and was shot in the courtyard of the first Russian skyscraper in Bolshoi Gnezdnikovskii lane, designed by the architect Ernst Richard Nirnsee. It claimed to present a "documentary depiction" of the tragic events.
18. Eisenstein here refers to Count Fëdor Petrovich Tolstoy (1783-1873), a distinguished graphic artist, sculptor, and medalist who created 63 large-scale illustrations for the poem *Sweetheart* (*Dushen'ka*) by Ippolit Bogdanovich.
19. Eisenstein wrote about the "secret" of "contour graphics" in his essay "Disney" (see above, n. 11) and in the essay "Zametki o linii i ornamente" ["Notes on Line and Ornament"] (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 430-456). He explained the "fascination of closed contour drawing" in his own drawings, in Disney's animation films and in the works of Olaf Gulbransson (1873-1958), Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898), and others by the illusion of the movement of the line, as well as by "protoplasmaticity" and "omnipotence" of contour drawing, which was able to metamorphose freely and thus, according to Eisenstein, influence "prelogical" perception directly. On the concept of "prelogical" perception as "emotional" or "sensuous thinking" [*chuvstvennoe myshlenie*], see the text *Kinoforma: novye problemy* (1935) (*Metod*, vol. 1, pp. 141-69) which is the text of the speech that Eisenstein presented at the First All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers" (Engl. transl. "Film Form: New Problems", in *Film Form*, pp. 122-150; a slightly different version, containing also Eisenstein's closing speech after the harsh criticism he received from some of the Soviet film directors participating in the Conference, is included in SW3, pp. 16-46, with the title "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers").
20. Here Eisenstein refers not to the German school of *Gestalt* psychology, but to the notion of a *figurative thinking*, or *thinking in images* (playing with the German term *Gestalt*, which can be translated in English as "form", a form that can be visually perceived). On the role that such figurative thinking plays in the "phenomenon of cinema" and in montage see the texts by Eisenstein referred to in n. 7 above.
21. Reference to the book of Eugenio D'Ors, *Du Baroque* (Paris: Gallimard, 1935).
22. See n. 11 above.

2. Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema

1. Eisenstein had begun to record his thoughts on the history of cinema in diverse contexts in his articles and diary entries – long before the Cinema Section of The Institute of the History of Arts was organized under his supervision in 1947. The Section's first task was the publication of a history of Soviet cinema. Along with drafts and plans for this collective project Eisenstein made a number of notes related to the history of cinema *in general*, concerning, in particular, the genesis of its means of expression. These notes form the "outline of materials" for the introductory volume, which was to be called *A General History of Cinema*. We decided to use the name "Notes for a *General History of Cinema*" as the heading for these drafts as well as for the whole body of materials from 1946-48 related to this theme.

2. *Verweile doch, du bist so schön!* (Engl. transl. *Stay, you are so beautiful!*) is a quote from Goethe's *Faust*, which Eisenstein sometimes misquotes in these notes as "*Verbleibe doch, du bist so schön!*". The full quote says: "*Zum Augenblicke dürft' ich sagen: Verweile doch, du bist so schön! Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdentagen Nicht in Äonen untergehn. – Im Vorgefühl von solchem hohen Glück Genieß' ich jetzt den höchsten Augenblick*" (*Faust. Der Tragödie zweiter Teil*, V, 11581-11586).
3. Stands for *Vsesoiuznyi Institut eksperimental'noi meditsiny*, or *All-Union Institute for Experimental Medicine*. It was established on the basis of the Imperial Institute for Experimental Medicine, founded in 1890 by Prince Ol'denburgskii. Its main goal was declared to be the complex study of the causes of disease and the practical needs of combating diseases and their consequences. In the Soviet times this goal led to utopian search for attainting physical immortality.
4. Eisenstein uses often the term "*kolybel'*" ("cradle"), or "*u kolybeli*" ("at the cradle"), to mean the "origin", the "source". The reference to the cradle of the infant is a way of emphasizing once more a model of historical development to which Eisenstein refers often in his writings, especially in *Montage* and in *Method*: the parallelism between ontogeny and philogeny, i.e., between the development of human individuals and that of collective cultural processes.
5. Eisenstein wrote on several occasions about Ancient Greek *Dionysia*, a term Eisenstein uses to indicate the religious rites in honor of the God Dionysus. About the structure of "hymnic pathos" in the dithyramb, and about its role as "a cradle of theater" (and, subsequently, of cinema as well), see in particular the chapter "Dithyramb and «Danse macabre»" in the section entitled *Pathos* of *Nonindifferent Nature* (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 200-221); this chapter is not included in the currently available English translation *Nonindifferent Nature*, transl. by Herbert Marshall, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, which is based on a previous edition of the Russian text (Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, IP vol. 3).
6. One of the many ritualistic folk festivals that yearly or periodically reproduce the passion of Christ, is the ascent of Mexican pilgrims to the top of the ancient Aztec pyramid to a catholic church in the town Amecameca. Eisenstein filmed this procession for his film *Que Viva México!*.
7. During his lifetime, several scholars and critics in various publications showed the role of the traditions of medieval theatre in Eisenstein's films – including the American journal *The Theatre Arts*.
8. The portraits of the American presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt were sculpted on the rocks of Mount Rushmore, in the Black Hills Mountains (South Dakota), by the sculptor John Gutzon Borglum between 1927 and 1941.
9. In the draft "The history of linear drawing (contour)" from October 4, 1940, Eisenstein writes: "[the eye] and the range of movement of the hand, which reproduces its movements, can present [images] of any depth – from the movement of fingers [or movement of] torso + hand, again up to the physical path around the object with the whole body (cf. Hokusai who could draw on a grain and who could at the same time, running around a square with a broom, draw figures that could only

be seen from towers, mountains, and trees!" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 438-439). Hokusai's ability to draw not only on the flat surface of paper or wooden board, but also on the complex surface of mountain slopes is connected in Eisenstein's mind with the ability to construct shots of stereoscopic ("stereo") or three-dimensional cinema. First patents for stereo film technology were received as early as the 1920s, but it became feasible in the second half of the 1930s. While in the West the work focused on systems that required the use of special glasses, in the USSR Semën Ivanov (1900-1972) invented an original system without glasses, in which the images were projected onto a special raster screen, constructed out of many lenses. In 1941 the film director Aleksandr Andrievskii made the stereo film *The Land of Youth*, and, in 1947, *Robinson Crusoe*, which initiated regular production and exhibition of three-dimensional cinema in the USSR. Under the impression from this last film, made by his former student at VGIK, Eisenstein wrote in 1947 a long essay entitled "On stereoscopic cinema" ("O stereokino"). Its fragments were published in the journal *Iskusstvo kino* 2 (1948), and the full text appeared in 1964 in IP 3 pp. 433-484. A shortened English translation with the title "Stereoscopic films" is in Sergei Eisenstein, *Notes of a Film Director*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959, pp. 129-137. For a French translation of the full essay, see Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Le Mouvement de l'Art*, ed. by François Albera and Naum Kleiman, Paris: Cerf, 1986, pp. 97-158.

10. Eisenstein repeatedly wrote about the relativity of movement, which creates in the viewer's imagination a spatio-temporal image. It is either the movement of the object on a strip of film or the movement of the viewer himself, walking or even running around the object. He dedicated the section "Montage in architecture" of the book *Montage* to the second type of movement (see *Montazh*, pp. 116-120, ch. "Afinskii Akropol'" ["Athens's Acropolis"], and pp. 121-134, ch. "Baldakhin Bernini" ["Bernini's Baldaquin"]; Engl. transl. in SW2, pp. 59-81, ch. "Montage and Architecture").

11. The old Russian name for a photographic image – "*fotosnimok*" (from "*foto*" = "photo" and "*snimok*" = "take") captured the feeling of people of the earliest epoch of photography that a visual image was "taken" from an object. Concerning the reference to Balzac in relation to the idea of the photograph as a "take", we may recall that in his book *Quand j'étais photographe* (Paris: L'École des Lettres, 1900), in the chapter entitled "Balzac et le Daguerrotype", Nadar summarizes Balzac's understanding of the nature of the photographic image in the following way, recalling one of their conversations: "According to Balzac's theory, all physical bodies are made up entirely of layers of ghost-like images, an infinite number of leaflike skins laid one on top of the other. Since Balzac believed that man was incapable of making something material from an apparition, from something impalpable – that is, creating something from nothing – he concluded that every time someone had his photograph taken, one of the spectral layers was removed from the body and transferred to the photograph. Repeated exposures entailed the unavoidable loss of subsequent ghostly layers, that is, the very essence of life. Was each precious layer lost forever or was the damage repaired through some more or less instantaneous process of rebirth? I would expect that a man like Balzac, having

once set off down such a promising road, was not the sort to go half way, and that he probably arrived at some conclusion on this point, but it was never brought up between us." (Nadar [pseudonym of Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, 1820-1910], "Balzac and the Daguerrotype", in *Literature and Photography: Interactions 1840-1990*, ed. by Jane M. Rabb, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. p. 8).

12. Eisenstein refers here to the convention in Russian journalism of drawing a black box around the name of someone who had recently died. In the case of this particular clipping, boxes were drawn around the names of two men who were involved in a theatrical production, but who, apparently, died during the play's run. This phrase explains the appended clipping from the newspaper *Vecherniaia Moskva* from November 30, 1946 announcing the premiere of the film *Mastera stseny* [*Masters of the Stage*] (*MKhAT*). The film included fragments from the Moscow Art Theater's classical performances and among its cast there were actors such as Nikolai Khmelëv and Ivan Moskvin, who had died by that time and whose names were put in black frames. The phrase "Dynamic mummification, as one of the cinema's activities" is written on the side of the newspaper clipping.
13. Denis Diderot, *Le Fils naturel, ou les épreuves de la vertu*, comedy in 5 acts, 1757.
14. See Eisenstein's article "Diderot Wrote about Cinema" ["Didro pisal o kino"] published in the magazine *Teatr* 7 (1988): pp. 112-120.
15. In the early 20th century Nikolai Evreinov (1879-1953), a Russian theater director, playwright and theoretician, developed the concepts of "theater for oneself" (also known as "theater without spectators" and "theatralization of life") and of "monodrama" ("first-person drama" given through the mind of a character). On Evreinov's ideas and works that influenced Eisenstein, see the chapter "Cinema and Theater. Nikolai Evreinov" ["Kino i teatr. Nikolai Evreinov"] in *Method* (*Metod*, vol. 1, pp. 116-129).
16. See above, n. 2.
17. As early as in his Mexican diaries (1930-32) Eisenstein noted the first American experiments with television. In 1939-40 he and his cameraman Eduard Tisse were invited to the Moscow radio station on Shabolovka Street, from which the first Soviet TV-programs were broadcasted. There they discussed problems of shot construction, camera movement, sound and image recording, etc. However, Eisenstein only wrote the first texts on the nature of television in 1947. In them he looked at TV recordings of actual events as the new incarnation and the development of the principles of the Greek dithyramb (see above, n. 5), dynastic chronicles (in this particular case, the chronicles of medieval European, that is, English and Russian rulers and princes, although dynastic chronicles were known in Assyria, Babylonia and Ancient China), and reconstructions of historical events (from the reenactment of the Passions of Christ to the recreation of memorable moments in early film actualities).
18. Gilles Lytton Strachey (1880-1932) was a British writer and critic, the author of the biography *Queen Victoria* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921).
19. The note that accompanies the clippings refers to two articles about the memorial of a Canadian businessman named John M. Davis who demanded for his tomb 11 marbles statues of himself and his wife.

20. See above, n. 2.
21. Miss Havisham – a character in Charles Dickens's novel *Great Expectations* (1861).
22. Florence Becker Lennon, *Victoria Through the Looking Glass*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1945.
23. This set of notes (with the exclusion of the opening one) is predated by three texts on the history of the audio-visual counterpoint, which were first published in 1992 in the journal *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 15 (1992, pp. 188-203), under the title of one of them: "Revelation in Storm and Thunder." These extensive notes create a unified essay, which is published here separately.
24. See also Eisenstein's description of the stained glass windows of Chartres Cathedral in the section entitled *Pathos* of *Nonindifferent Nature* (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 128-132; Engl. transl. *Nonindifferent Nature*, pp. 106-110).
25. In his article "The Salon of 1859" (Part I, "The Modern Public and Photography") Charles Baudelaire declared: "During this lamentable period, a new industry arose which contributed not a little to confirm stupidity in its faith and to ruin whatever might remain of the divine in the French mind. The idolatrous mob demanded an ideal worth of itself and appropriate to its nature – that is perfectly understood. In matters of painting and sculpture, the present-day *Credo* of the sophisticated, above all in France..., is this: 'I believe in Nature, and I believe only in Nature... I believe that Art is, and cannot be other than, the exact reproduction of Nature... Thus an industry that could give us a result identical to Nature would be the absolute of art.' A revengeful God has given ear to the prayers of this multitude. Daguerre was his Messiah. And now the faithful says to himself: 'Since Photography gives us every guarantee of exactitude that we could desire..., then Photography and Art are the same thing.' From that moment our squalid society rushed, Narcissus to a man, to gaze at its trivial image on a scrap of metal" (from Charles Baudelaire's *Salon de 1859*; Engl. transl. Charles Baudelaire, *Art in Paris 1845-1862. Salons and Other Exhibitions.* London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1965, pp. 152-53).
26. *Svetopis'* is a Russianized version of the word "photography" (built on the same principle from roots combining "light + writing"), but Eisenstein clearly does not mean "photography" here, because two lines further down he attributes *svetopis'* to Rembrandt. He may have had in mind the monochrome contrast, the play of light and shadow in graphic art and painting (although in the era of early Russian cinema the word "svetopis'" was used in relation to cinema as well, for example, in the texts of Lev Kuleshov). But the translators concluded that Eisenstein created his own meaning for the term *svetopis'* when he uses it here and in other documents. Therefore, we mark the term by inventing a parallel term in English, "photo-graphy." Wherever "photo-graphy" (with a hyphen) appears in this translation, Eisenstein wrote "svetopis'". *Tsvetopis'*, constructed in the same way, and formed from the roots for "color" [*tsveto*] plus "writing" [*pis'*] could refer here to contrast drawing in color. But again this seems to be a special term for Eisenstein. We render it "color-graphy". Both of these terms stem from the Russian word for "painting", *zhivopis'*, from *zhizn'*, "life" + *pisat'*, "writing".
Grisaille – monochrome painting in shades of gray. In the article "Not Colored, but in Color" ["Ne tsvetnoe, a tsvetovoe"] (1940), in the sketch "The Movement of Color"

["Dvizhenie tsveta"] for the unfinished essay "Montage 1940" and in the study "Color" ["Tsvet"] Eisenstein stated that the black, gray, and white color gamma of classical cinema was not the absence of color, but the finely nuanced exploration of the color palette of these three tones. See, respectively: "Ne tsvetnoe, a tsvetovoe", in Sergei Eisenstein, *Izbrannye stat'i* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1956), pp. 306-310 (Engl. transl. "Not Coloured, but in Colour" in Sergei Eisenstein, *Notes of a Film Director*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959, pp. 114-119); "Dvizhenie tsveta", in *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, pp. 200-224 (French transl. in *Le Mouvement de l'art*, Paris: Cerf, 1986, pp. 51-75); "Tsvet", in *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, pp. 228-335.

27. Daguerrotype, calotype, and ambrotype were three photographic processes invented in the 19th century, each one with its own characteristics: the daguerrotype, invented in 1835-1839 by Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) was a direct positive image made in the camera on a silvered copper plate, which could not be reproduced; the calotype, invented in 1841 by William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) was a negative image made in the camera on a paper coated with silver iodide, which could be chemically developed in order to produce positive images; the ambrotype, invented in 1854 by James Ambrose Cutting (1814-1867) was a photographic process that produced a positive image on a glass plate covered with collodion.
28. In the 19th century the term "genre painting" in Russian meant "everyday-life painting", in this case transferred onto photography.
29. David-Octavius Hill (1802-1870) was a Scottish painter and photographer from Edinburgh who, together with his associate Robert Adamson, was among the first to experiment with the technique of the calotype invented by Fox Talbot. Eisenstein wrote about features of Hill's photographic art in the textbook *Direction. The Art of the Mise-en-scène* (*Rezhissura. Iskusstvo mizanstseny*, IP, vol. 4, p. 256) and in the study "The History of the Close-Up" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 82-84).
30. There are several photographic portraits of the composer Charles Gounod by Nadar, starting from 1859. The photograph Eisenstein refers to here, in which the viewer can see in the close-ups of Gounod's pupils the reflection of Nadar with his camera, actually dates from 1890.
31. The double portrait by Jan Van Eyck known as *The Arnolfini Portrait* (1434) is discussed by Eisenstein in the following essays: "El Greco and cinema" (French transl. "El Greco y el cine", in *Cinématisme*, pp. 111-112); "Vertical Montage" (*Neravnodushnaya priroda*, vol. 1, p. 105; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 344-345). Eisenstein draws the same comparison between Nadar's Gounod photograph and *The Arnolfini Portrait* in the section "The peripeteias of *pars pro toto*" of the text "The History of the Close-Up" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 64, 82).
32. W. Durant, *The Life of Greece*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939.
33. In Lev Kuleshov's and Aleksandra Khokhlova's book *50 Years in Film* the montage experiment "The Created Man" is described in the following way: "By shooting in close up the back of one woman, the eyes of another, the mouth of yet another one, the legs of a third one etc., we were able to create through editing a woman who did not exist in nature (the woman was sitting in front of a mirror and was busy with her make up" (Lev Kuleshov, *Sobranie sochinenii v 3-kh tomakh*, Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1987-

1988, vol. 2, p. 68). The English translation of *50 Years in Film* omits this passage (Lev Kuleshov, *Selected Works. Fifty Years in Film*, transl. by Dmitri Agrachev and Nina Belenkaya, Moscow: Raduga Publishers, 1987).

34. See Nikolai Gogol's play, *The Marriage* (1842), in which Agaf'ia Tikhonovna imagines a perfect "composite" fiancé.
35. In his *Trattato della scultura* [*Treatise on Sculpture*] (1565-1567), Cellini writes that "la pittura è una parte dell'otto principale vedute, alle quali è obbligata la scultura" ["painting is one of the eight main views that sculpture must contain"]. This idea is also quoted by Eisenstein below in other passages of his Notes.
36. Eisenstein repeatedly wrote that thanks to filming from multipointness and to editing cinema reaches the goal that the Cubists or Robert Delaunay had put before them. At the same time cinema does not sacrifice the realistic image of objects in order to reproduce the simultaneity of several possible points of view on it (see, in particular, *Montazh*, pp. 116, 148, 169; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 80, 120; *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, p. 249).
37. Character in Leo Tolstoy's novel, *Resurrection*. This example, based on the article by Evelina Zaidenshnur "Portret Katiushi Maslovoi: K laboratorii tvorchestva Tolstogo", *Sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Tolstovskogo muzeia* ["The Portrait of Katyusha Maslova: Towards the creative laboratory of Tolstoy"] (Moscow, 1937), is given in the study "El Greco and cinema" (*Montazh*, pp. 436-438; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, p. 96).
38. Leo Tolstoy, *The Death of Ivan Il'ich* (1881-1885).
39. About this distinction see the analysis of "the montage method" and "the verbality of metaphor" in Stanislavsky, Whitman, Lessing, Homer, Mallarmé, Shakespeare, Pushkin, and Joyce in *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 189-271; partial Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 109-202). One of the early auto-descriptions by Eisenstein of his own style as an "adjectival world" is contained in a sketch from the end of 1925 – beginning of 1926 entitled "On the play of objects" ("Ob igre predmetov") published in *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 36/37 (1997/98), pp. 34-38. The concept of "intellectual cinema" can be considered as an attempt to realize the "substantival" montage, alongside with the accompanying articles from 1928-29: "I.A. 28" (*Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 36/37, 1997/98, pp. 39-48; French transl. "A.I. 28" in *Cinémas*, vol. 11, nn. 2-3, *Eisenstein dans le texte*, sous la direction de François Albera, pp. 147-160) and "Perspectives" ["Perspectivy"] (IP, vol. 2, pp. 35-44; Engl. transl. in SW1, pp. 151-160).
40. From the Third Canto of Aleksandr Pushkin's long poem *Poltava* (Engl. transl. by Ivan Eubanks, *Pushkin Review* 11 (2008). p. 164). The passage is quoted also in *Montage* (*Montazh*, p. 282; Engl. transl. SW2, p. 209).
41. Eisenstein is probably alluding to the painting *Rain, Steam and Speed – The Great Western Railway* (1844) by William Turner.
42. Fritz Mauthner, *Wörterbuch der Philosophie. Neue Beiträge zu einer Kritik der Sprache*. Zweiten, vermehrten Auflage, Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1923.
43. See K. Stanislavski, *An Actor Prepares*. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1936, pp. 256-265, esp. p. 258.
44. Eisenstein wrote about unity as an underlying ("through-going", based on Stanislavsky's term in translation) theme of his creative work in the chapter "The author and his theme" of *Method* (*Metod*, vol. 1, pp. 225-249). In the unfinished study

"Pushkin and Gogol" (1946-48) he touches upon the underlying theme of the Russian writers (see the fragments published in *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 36/37, 1997/98, pp. 180-220).

45. In *Metod* Eisenstein writes about "the secret of 'mystery story'" as the "mystery of the shift" from prelogical to logical thinking, which is revealed, for example, in the structure of the detective story, independently of its material or characters. Eisenstein saw evidence of this theory in stories and essays of G.K. Chesterton (see *Metod*, vol. 1, pp. 374-395; Engl. transl. in S.M. Eisenstein, *The Psychology of Composition*, ed. by A. Upchurch, Calcutta: Seagull, 1987, pp. 57-84, chapter "On the Detective Story").
46. The essay draft "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle" ["Pokhvala kinokhronike"] should follow in chronological order after this note. It is published in this edition as a separate text.
47. There is a clipping from the London magazine *The Listener* (from January 3, 1946) appended to this note. The clipping contains the article "The Theatre in Java" by Johan Fabricius, which includes a description of comic or fairy tale/mythological performances in Indonesian theater, where pantomime or dance is accompanied by music, singing, and recitative by other actors. The Japanese Nô theater constructs its shows in a similar way.
48. Natalia Mikhailovna Chegodaeva (1907-1977), a daughter of the philosopher Mikhail Gershenzon, was at the time working on a dissertation dedicated to Jan Van Eyck. She successfully defended it in 1949. Among Eisenstein's "Notes for a *General History of Cinema*" there is a typed copy of the dissertation's abstract, where he underlined the following points (shown here in italics): "8. A separate section of the work is dedicated to the description and analysis of the Van Eyck brothers' major creation – the Ghent Altarpiece. The presence of two stylistic sets of images is noted: one is more archaic and is based on *linear and rhythmic correlations*; the other is more realistic and emotional, with *spatial and plastic elements* taking the pride of place. The unity of the whole ensemble is noted as well; the unity of both meaning and composition. 9. [...] In the Ghent Altarpiece we can see the comparison *of the image of the artist's environment* (*images of the outer panels* with their realism, clarity and simplicity), interpreted in the spirit of new bourgeois ideals of the 15th century, *with the image of the transfigured universe* (*in the interior panels*), presented in the glory of triumph and exultation. [...]" To the last phrase Eisenstein added in the margin: "Cf. [*The Burial of*] *The Count of Orgaz* by El Greco" (Muzei kino. Coll. 40, List 1, Folder 12/11, p. 17). On *The Burial of The Count of Orgaz* see the section entitled *Pathos* of *Nonindifferent Nature* (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 133-136; Engl. transl. *Nonindifferent Nature*, pp. 110-111).
49. See the chapter "Meter and rhythm. Composition on the basis of 'bricklaying'" in *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 311-326; not translated in the English edition in SW2). Its basic premises were also developed in *Nonindifferent Nature* (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 420-437 and 454-459; Engl. transl. *Nonindifferent Nature*, pp. 310-329, 348-354).
50. An edge of the page with the last line has crumbled.

51. See also the section "Montage in Multiple Set-Up Cinema" of *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 156-295; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 109-223), as well as the chapters "Athens's Acropolis" and "Ermolova" (pp. 116-121 and 135-155; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 59-67 and 82-105).
52. "In Van Eyck's portrait of the Arnolfini couple there are no less than three perspectives derived from different viewpoints" creating a "*tension* between contrasting impressions of depth" ("Vertical Montage" [Vertikalnyi Montazh"] in *Neravnodushnaya priroda*, vol. 1, p. 105; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 344-345).
53. A 1905 portrait of the actress Maria Ermolova by the painter Valentin Serov, which Eisenstein discusses in a chapter of *Montage* entitled "Ermolova" (*Montazh*, pp. 135-155; Engl. transl. "Yermolova" in SW2, pp. 82-105).
54. Eisenstein discusses Leonardo's *Last Supper* in "Vertical montage" (*Neravnodushnaya priroda*, p. 105; Engl. transl. SW2, p. 344).
55. In his essay "El Greco and Cinema" Eisenstein analyses the "elasticity" of the figures painted by El Greco, and explains their sometimes 'impossible' postures as a form of 'montage' of different phases of a same movement distributed through the different body parts. The tiny figure drawn by Eisenstein in these Notes for a *General History of Cinema*, however, contains another important reference. It refers to the interpretation given by the psychiatrist Jean-Martin Charcot and his assistant Paul Richer in their volume *Les Démoniaques dans l'Art* (1887) of the figure of a young, possessed boy represented in the fresco by El Greco entitled *The miracle of Saint Nile*. According to Charcot and Richer, who were interested in finding in the history of art the representations of bodily postures that they explained as visual manifestations of mental illnesses such as hysteria, the possessed young boy in the fresco by El Greco showed one of the typical forms of the bodily posture described in Charcot's psychiatry as *arc de cercle* (cf. J.-M. Charcot – P. Richer, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* (1887), followed by *La foi qui guérit*, presentation by P. Fédida and G. Didi-Huberman, Macula, Paris 2000, p. 49.). Eisenstein, after having discussed Charcot's and Richer's interpretation, explains on the contrary this same bodily posture as a form of bodily 'montage' endowing the figure with a high level of dynamism and mobility (cf.f. S.M. Eisenstein, "El Greco i kino", in *Montazh*, pp. 442-445; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, pp. 100-102).
56. Eisenstein refers to one in the series of portraits of infantry soldiers from the Zouaves regiment stationed in Arles, painted by Vincent van Gogh in 1888. In this particular portrait, *The Seated Zouave*, Van Gogh creates the impression of the seated figure's "elasticity" throught a painterly effect based on the choice of a bright red for the pants of the soldier (cf. "El Greco and cinema", in *Montazh* p. 449; French transl in *Cinématisme*, p. 104).
57. At the time it was forbidden in the USSR to celebrate Christmas, but Eisenstein decided nonetheless to insert an image of a Christmas tree next to the date of 25th December 1947.
58. Eisenstein dedicates a chapter of his *Memoirs* to the Mexican painter Juan Manuel Orozco, whom he met while in Mexico.
59. Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875-1911) was a Lithuanian painter and composer connected to Symbolism and Art Nouveau. He composed about 250

pieces of music and created about 300 paintings, which were often based on musical themes: see, for example, the paintings *Sonata of the Spring* (1907), *Sonata of the Sun* (1907), *Sonata of the Summer* (1908), *Sonata of the Sea* (1908), *Sonata of the Pyramids* (1908), *Sonata of the Stars* (1908), *Sonata of the Serpent* (1908), the diptych *Prelude and Fugue* (1908), and the triptych *Fantasy* (1908).

60. Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, Volume III, Part III, Chapter 32: "And then suddenly his chain of thoughts was broken, and Prince Andrey heard a noise (he couldn't tell whether this was part of a delirious dream or something real), a kind of soft voice whispering something insistent and rhythmical. 'Pitty-pitty-pitty,' and then, 'itty-itty,' and again, 'pitty-pitty-pitty,' and again, 'itty-itty'" (Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, new translation by Anthony Briggs, with an Afterward by Orlando Figes, London: Penguin, 2005, p. 1020). Eisenstein misreproduces Prince Andrey's delirious noise, which in the original reads as: "piti-piti-pitii").
61. The actual text of *Chanson d'automne* [*Autumn Song*] by Paul Verlaine reads as follows: "*Les sanglots longs / des violons / de l'automne / blessent mon cœur / d'une langueur / monotone*". ("The autumn's throbbing / Strings moan, sobbing, / Drone their dole; / Long-drawn and low, / Each tremolo / Sears my soul". Paul Verlaine, *One Hundred and One Poems by Paul Verlaine: A Bilingual Edition*, transl. by Norman R. Shapiro, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999, pp. 16-17).
62. "Music first and foremost! In your verse, / Choose those meters odd of syllable, / Supple in the air, vague, flexible, / Free of pounding beat, heavy or terse. / [...] / Music first and foremost, and forever! / Let your verse be what goes soaring, sighing, / Set free, fleeing from the soul gone flying / Off to other skies and loves, wherever. / Let your verse be aimless chance, delighting / In good-omened fortune, sprinkled over / Dawn's wind, bristling scents of mint, thyme, clover... / All the rest is nothing more than writing. (Paul Verlaine, *One Hundred and One Poems by Paul Verlaine*, pp. 127-129).
63. Dmitrii Petrovich Boborykin was a 19th-century writer and literary critic.
64. On Robert Delaunay, Honoré Daumier and "multi-point perspective", cf. Eisenstein's comments in *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 158-159 and 169; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 111-113 and 120).
65. Indonesian *Wayang* shadow theater (the meaning of *wayang* is "shadow") comes from the ritual of communicating with spirits of the dead, who were asked for protection in ancient times. Now the performance combines the remnants of the ritual with moral didacticism and entertainment. There are several types of *Wayang* theater: *Wayang kulit* is a shadow puppets theater; *Wayang golek* is a theater of wooden puppets; *Wayang topeng* is a theater of actors in masks; and *Wayang orang* (*Wayang wong*) is a theater of dramatic performance. Most often the name *Wayang*, however, refers to the shadow puppets theater.
66. Eisenstein writes about the combination of several temporally different events in one space in Hans Memling's painting *Scenes from the Passion of Christ* in *Montage*, (*Montazh*, p. 160; Engl. transl. in SW2, pp. 111-112), and he mentions Botticelli's illustrations for Dante's *Divina Commeria* in *Method* (*Metod*, vol. 2, p. 72).
67. On Goya's *El Maragato*, see in this volume "The Heir", n. 8.

68. On Tintoretto's and Daumier's figures as the result of a pictorial application of the principle of montage, see Eisenstein's comments in *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 158-161; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 111-113).
69. *Der Sachsenspiegel* (*The Saxon Mirror*) is a lawbook published in Heidelberg at the end of the 13th century, which is famous for its illustrations of different abuses of the law. For example, problems of inheritance illustrated with an image of people with many hands and two heads. Eisenstein compares to it the attempts of early 20th century Futurists to show a running human figure through the depiction of many legs. He discusses the "chronophotographic" paintings of the Futurists in *Montage*, where he criticizes the "Futurist drawings of 'eight-legged' people with the legs drawn in eight different phases of movement" (*Montazh*, p. 158; Engl. transl. SW2, p. 110) as a form of representation of movement that instead of generating in the observer an effective illusion of movement, as it happens with cinema, it exhibits intentionally the technical presuppositions of such an illusion: that is, the recording of different phases of one movement in different photograms that are then supposed to be projected at a certain speed. In this way, Futurist paintings such as Giacomo Balla's *Girl running on a balcony* [*Ragazza che corre sul balcone*] (1912) are closer to the dissection of movement presented in the chronophotographs of Etienne-Jules Marey, than to the illusion of movement produced by cinema. Eisenstein makes a similar reference to Futurist paintings in "The Dramaturgy of Film Form" (1929), where he writes about "Primitive Italian Futurism" representing "man with six legs in six positions" (SW1 vol. 1, p. 165).
70. It is possible that Eisenstein here does not mean the American photographer Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904) as much as the French physiologist, inventor and photographer Etienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904). In 1872-1878, Muybridge was the first to use several cameras for capturing on differing photographic plates the various phases of movement of a running horse, demonstrating how in certain phases none of the four legs touched the ground. He exhibited his photographs as series of individual, sequential images, but he also invented a device called *Zoopraxiscope* for projecting the sequential images onto a wall, producing an impression of movement. Marey, on the other hand, used photography to study movement from a physiological point of view. He made *chronophotographs* – photographs made up of multiple exposures capturing the different phases of a single movement (of a bird flying, an acrobat jumping, a man walking) – in order to facilitate the study of movement by exhibiting its various phases on the same photographic plate. In the early 1880s, he took pictures of birds flying using a photographic gun of his own construction, a prototype of a film camera.
71. On the Anglo-Saxon ornament of the Merovingian times (500-750) see *Method* (*Metod*, vol. 2, p. 107).
72. On the "re-montage" of the city landscape done by El Greco in his paintings *View of Toledo* (1609) and *View and Plan of Toledo* (1610), see the essay "El Greco and Cinema" (*Montazh*, pp. 407-415; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, pp. 67-73). In the second painting in particular, *View and Plan of Toledo*, El Greco presents within a single image an *aerial view* of the city in which an important building (the Hospital de Talavera) has been turned and modified in size in order to better show its façade to the viewer,

along with a *plan* of the city. The perspectival nature of the aerial view is therefore combined with the orthogonal projection of the plan in order to produce a composite image, one which is the result of a process of montage.

73. Eisenstein compares here the combination of several perspectival axes ("multiple perspectives") in Leonardo da Vinci's fresco *The Last Supper* (*L'Ultima Cena*) with the possibility of creating an effect of a multi-perspectival representation in the perception of a film through the editing of shots, each of which is taken from a different point of view and a different perspective.
74. For Eisenstein's use of the term "cradle", see above, n. 4.
75. Eisenstein wrote about audiovisual counterpoint in the essay "Vertical Montage" (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, pp. 84-163; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 327-399). On the correlation between gesture and music see the following texts, published for the first time in the new Russian edition of *Nonindifferent Nature*: "The Defining Gesture" (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, pp. 164-199) and "A Couple of Words on the Plastic and Audio-Visual Composition" (Ibid., pp. 522-543).
76. *Exultant* is the name of a medieval artistic form, examples of which can be found in painting (exultant and enlightened wall paintings and miniatures), in architecture (churches, dynamically shooting into the sky; stained-glass windows with their radiant colors), in music (early polyphony and free-flowing hymns), and in genre and comic theatrical canon, which by the end of the 13th century became the basis of visually polyphonic genres.
77. One of the many ritual processions in Thailand is the wedding procession: the guests dance all the way from the house of the groom to the house of the bride; relatives and friends of the groom carry ceremonial presents – a wedding goblet Khan Moon, full of flowers, another goblet, Khan-Maak, which contains two fresh betel nuts, 12 silver, 12 gold, and 12 copper leafs, two bags of rice seeds, two bags of beans and two bags of sesame seeds, etc.
78. The concept of *pars pro toto*, one of the central concepts of Eisenstein's art theory, refers to his understanding of prelogical thinking as well as to a number of aesthetic techniques (synecdoche in poetry, close-up in cinema, etc.). See the article "Film Form: New Problems" (*Metod*, Volume 1, pp. 141-169; published in English in an earlier, slightly different version, in *Film Form* pp. 122-149, and in yet another version in SW3, pp. 16-46 with the title "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers"), and the note n. 19 to the text "The Heir".
79. Eisenstein lists here the leitmotifs (the Father, the Fate, the Welsungs) of Richard Wagner's opera *Die Walküre* (1870), of which Eisenstein directed the mise-en-scène in 1940 at the Bolshoi Theater, as part of the cultural events in Moscow and in Berlin celebrating the Molotov-Ribbentropp Pact of non-aggression. The Welsungs are the family of heroes in Scandinavian mythology descended from the god Odin, as mentioned in *Das Nibelungenlied* [*The Song of the Nibelungs*]. Several characters of Wagner's tetralogy belong to this mythological family. Eisenstein's notes on Wagner and on *Die Walküre* can be found in the essay "The Incarnation of Myth" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 192-225; Engl. transl. SW3, pp. 142-169) and in the notes for the production of *Die Walküre* (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 464-488; German transl. "*Die Walküre*, Regienotizen"

in O. Bulgakowa (ed.), *Eisenstein und Deutschland. Texte Dokumente Briefe*, Akademie der Künste - Henschel Verlag, Berlin, 1998, pp. 55-64).

80. Eisenstein uses here the acronym SASSH [*Severo-Amerikanskie Soedinennye Shtaty*] which was used during the Civil War to indicate the North-American United States (NAUS).
81. The last word in the manuscript is almost illegible. Eisenstein obviously means expressive photographs of the sky and the clouds by the American photographer Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) from his "Equivalent" series (1925-1934). Stieglitz was one of the first photographers to abandon "staged" photography in favor of working with a small portable camera "in the open air" (in French, *en plein air*).
82. Petr Otsup (1883-1963), Russian photographer, photo-reporter during the Russo-Japanese War, the Revolution of 1905 and the October Revolution, the First World War, and the Civil War. Official photographer at the Kremlin between 1918 and 1935.
83. Moisei Solomonovich Nappelbaum (1869-1958), Russian photographer, author of one of the most famous and most circulated photographic portraits of Lenin.
84. Georg-Wilhelm (Vasilii Fëdorovich) Timm, the son of the mayor of Riga, was a popular artist who recorded in his album everything that attracted his attention: everyday types and situations, portraits of his prominent contemporaries, celebrations, and ceremonies. His lithographic works were published, among other places, in the journal *Pictures of Russian manners* [*Kartinki russkikh nravov*], and in the literary miscellany *Our types, drawn from life by Russian artists* [*Nashi, spisannye s natury russkimi*]. In 1841-42 the latter published a series of "physiological sketches" of characteristic Russian types. *The Physiology of Petersburg* [*Fiziologiia Peterburga*] was the first literary miscellany published by the poet Nikolai Nekrasov in the 1840s; it consisted of sketches by authors such as Nekrasov, Vissarion Belinskii, and Vladimir Dal', as well as of drawings by Georg-Wilhelm Timm and other artists.
85. "Life caught unawares" is an aesthetic principle first used explicitly by the Constructivist Aleksei Gan, who made his film *The Island of Young Pioneers* [*Iunye pionery*] (1924) in accordance with it. Dziga Vertov picked up the slogan and made it the subtitle of his film *Kino-Eye*, made the same year, as well as one of the key principles of his film practice and theory.
86. The Crystal Palace was a cast-iron and plate-glass building originally erected in Hyde Park, London, England, to house the Great Exhibition of 1851, a vast display of examples of the latest technology developed during the Industrial Revolution. Designed by Joseph Paxton, the building was 564m long, with an interior height of 39m. In 1854 it was dismantled and moved to Seydenham Hill, where it stayed until its destruction by fire in 1936. Because of the recent invention of the cast plate glass method in 1848, which allowed for large sheets of cheap but strong glass, it was at the time the largest amount of glass ever seen in a building and astonished visitors with its clear walls and ceilings that did not require interior lights, thus a Crystal Palace. Its fame spread throughout the second half of the 19th century, and became the model for Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky's (1828-1889) description of the ideal city in the utopian novel *What Is To Be Done?* (1863). Eisenstein deals with the utopian dimension of glass architecture – further developed in the 1910s by Paul Scheerbart and Bruno Taut – in his unrealized film project *Glass House* (1926-30,

1948) (cf. S.M. Eisenstein, *Glass House*, Introduction, notes, and commentary by François Albera, Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2009).

87. All these references (the Crystal Palace on the day of its inauguration in 1854, the photograph of two girls on a see-saw in 1857, the birth of "instant photography") come from the book *Victorian Snapshots by Paul Martin. The Birth of Candid Photography*, with an introduction by Charles Harvard, London: Country Life; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939. The illustrations of the Crystal Palace and the see-saw can be found on pp. 8-9. Eisenstein owned a copy of the book, which can still be found together with part of his library at the Eisenstein Center in Moscow.
88. Between 1844 and 1846 the English photographer William Henry Fox Talbot published, in six installments and with the title *The Pencil of Nature*, the very first book on photography, consisting entirely of photographs with short texts.
89. Puppet film animation was invented by Vladislav (or Ladislas) Starevich (1882-1965), who in 1912 premiered the animated shorts *The Beautiful Lukanida* and *The Cameraman's Revenge*. The director and animator Aleksandr Ptushko (1900-1973) created feature-length films that combined live action and stop-motion animation: *The New Gulliver* (1935) and *The Golden Key* (1939).
90. This timeline is taken by Eisenstein directly from Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936 (4th printing), pp. 443-445. The date of the Phonautograph in the book by Mumford is 1858.
91. See the essay "Athens's Acropolis" in *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 116-121; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 59-67). In this essay Eisenstein refers to the analysis of the structure of the Acropolis presented by Auguste Choisy in his *Histoire de l'architecture* (1899), and interprets the a-symmetric positioning of the various sacred buildings on the Acropolis as the result of a carefully constructed montage of views that are experienced in time by a moving spectator.
92. In 1537-1539 Michelangelo designed a plan for the reconstruction of the buildings situated on the Capitoline Hill in Rome (the renovation was completed in the 1550s).
93. On the stained glass windows of Chartres as a form of projection of three-dimensional colour shapes in space, and as a precursor of three-dimensional cinema, see above n. 24. In *Montage* Eisenstein mentions Chartres also in relation to the sculptural groups representing the "Twelve Stations of the Cross", which he saw in several Christian cathedrals, including Chartres (cf. *Montazh*, p. 121; Engl. transl. SW2, p. 67).
94. The name "Gregor" indicated between parentheses refers to the volume by Joseph Gregor entitled *Weltgeschichte des Theaters* (Wien: Phaidon Verlag, 1933), which contains, on p. 85, the image of a representation of a procession which looks like an image of chronophotography. The book was owned by Eisenstein. See also "The Heir", n. 10.
95. Illustration by the Count Fëdor Tolstoy for the poem by Ippolit Bogdanovich *Dushenka* [*Sweetheart*] (1778).
96. On the drawings of Olaf Gulbransson (1873-1958), one of Eisenstein's favorite graphic artists, see the essay "Odd and Even" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 163-167; French transl. "Pair-Impair" in *Cinématisme*, pp. 168-172), and "The notes on Line and

Ornament" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 440-441). On Olaf Gulbransson, see in this volume "The Heir", n. 18.

97. The poetics of the "animal epos" and its connection to ancient animist beliefs take considerable part in the essay "Disney," as well as in the "Notes on the Art of Walt Disney" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 254-295 and 506-529; Engl. transl. "Eisenstein on Disney" in *The Eisenstein Collection*. Edited by Richard Taylor. London – New York – Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2006, pp. 85-184).
98. *Batrachomyomachia* (Ancient Greek: Βατραχομυομαχία, from βάτραχος, frog, μυς, mouse, and, μάχη, battle) or the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* is a comic epic or parody of the *Iliad*, definitely attributed to Homer by the Romans, but according to Plutarch the work of Pigres of Halicarnassus, the brother (or son) of Artemisia, queen of Caria and ally of Xerxes. Some modern scholars, however, assign it to an anonymous poet of the time of Alexander the Great.
99. Ivan Krylov (1769-1844) – Russian poet, famous for his fables, and therefore considered as a successor of Aesop and La Fontaine.
100. In the Russian vernacular tradition, the term *lubok* indicates a kind of cheap popular print, usually with both text and image.
101. Serafim Sarovskii (1754/59-1833) is one of the most revered Russian saints; his hagiography has been depicted in icons, miniatures and luboks. Prince Bova (Bova Korolevich) is a hero of Russian folklore and chivalric novella, as well as of many *luboks* of the 16th century. In the 19th century one of the popular lubok stories became the siege of Sebastopol by the Anglo-French troops during the Crimean War (1853-56).
102. "Connection with mythology: «god», who became a «human hero»". [Note by Eisenstein]
103. Praskov'ia Zaborovskaia – Eisenstein's housekeeper in his apartment on Potylikha Street.
104. Matvei Platov (1751-1818) – a Cossack General, a hero of the 1812-13 war against Napoleon. Kuz'ma Kriuchkov (1890-1919) – a Don Cossack, the most popular hero of the First World War in Russia, a symbol of patriotism.
105. *Birzhovka – Birzhevye novosti* [*Stock-exchange News*], a financial newspaper; *Vecherka – Vecherniaia gazeta* [literally, *The Evening Newspaper*]; both of them were published in St. Petersburg until the October revolution of 1917.
106. José Guadalupe Posada (1851-1913) was a Mexican artist whom Eisenstein knew very well for his politically-charged, grotesque representations of Mexican society during the period of the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (the "Porfiriato", which lasted, with several interruptions, between 1876 and 1911). His posters, cartoons, and book illustrations depicting a world populated by skulls and skeletons greatly influenced Eisenstein in his representation of the *Dia de los Muertos* in the last episode ("Epilogue") of the unfinished film *Que viva Mexico!* (1930-32).
107. Eisenstein wrote about *vasilada*, a folk celebration with elements of carnival, defining it as a mix of "black humor, irony and ... a special type of Mexican wit", which shows the defiance of death (*Metod*, vol. 1, p. 244). Cf. also the chapter entitled "Encounter with Mexico" in the *Memoirs* (*Beyond the Stars*, p. 421).

108. Reference to one of the most popular *lubok* of the 18th century, showing a cat being buried by a procession of mice, and considered to be a caricature of Peter the Great.
109. The question mark is by Eisenstein; perhaps he wanted to include these observations in the section on montage.
110. Neologism coined by Eisenstein, by which he apparently wanted to describe the process by which the actor comes to embody (to impersonate) the character he plays.
111. In France in the Middle Ages the *chambre ardente* was used for special legal procedures, mainly, for prosecuting state criminals, heretics, and poisoners; in accordance with the punishment that awaited them – burning alive – the room without windows was illuminated with flaming torches, hence the literal French: "fiery room."
112. See above, n. 79.
113. On the transparency of glass architecture and on Le Corbusier, see the notes for the unrealized film project *Glass House* (see above, n. 87), as well as the essay *Rodin and Rilke* (*Neravnodushnaya priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 509-535; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, pp. 229-254).
114. Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk are two complexes of palaces and parks close to St. Petersburg.
115. The number 999 refers to the chronological "list of inventions" at the end of Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*, a list to which Eisenstein often refers in these notes. On p. 438, the year 999 is indicated as the year of "Painted glass windows in England". See also above, n. 91.
116. Karagöz (literally, "black-eyed") is the Turkish shadow puppet theater that appeared in the 16th century on the basis of Ancient Greek and Byzantine folk performances; it received its name after its main character who embodied folk humor and wit.
117. On the translation of *tsvetopis'* as "color-graphy", see above, n. 26.
118. See above, n. 91.
119. Daniele Barbaro (1514-1570), Cardinal and Renaissance scholar, known for his writings on philosophy, mathematics, and optics, was the author of the treatise *La pratica della perspettiva* [*The Practice of Perspective*] in 1569, which included a section explaining how to work with a lens in a *camera obscura*.
120. Zacharias Jansen (1580/88-1632/38) was a Dutch spectacle-maker from Middelburg associated with the invention of the first optical telescope. He is sometimes credited for inventing the first truly compound microscope.
121. The Berlin scientist and educator Wilhelm Zenker (1829-99) first proposed the principle of color selection by recording standing waves in photographic media. This principle is often applied in modern optics.
122. The phonautograph is the earliest known device for recording sound. Invented by Frenchman Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville in 1857, it transcribed sound waves as undulations or other deviations in a line traced on smoke-blackened paper or glass.
123. Louis Arthur Ducos du Hauron (1837-1920) was a French pioneer of color photography. In 1864 he patented (but did not build) a device for taking and projecting motion pictures.
124. John Wesley Hyatt (1837-1920 and) and his brother Isaiah named "celluloid" in 1872 a new material of their invention, made of camphor and cellulose nitrate.

125. Arthur Korn (1870-1945), a German-born physicist, mathematician and inventor, was involved in the development of the transmission of photographs through the telegraph: a system of telephotography, known as *Bildtelegraph*, related to early attempts at developing a practical mechanical television system.
126. Gustave Le Gray (1820-1884) invented a technique called "*des ciels rapportés*" to represent clearly both the sea and the sky in his photograpic seascapes. The technique was a form of "combination printing" using two different negatives, one for the water and one for the sky, at a time when it was impossible to have at the same time the sky and the sea on a picture due to the too extreme luminosity range.
127. Camille Silvy (1834-1910) was a pioneer of early photography, primarily active in London under the patronage of Queen Victoria.
128. Guillaume-Benjamin-Amand Duchenne de Boulogne (1806-1875) was a French neurologist whose researches dealt mainly with electrophysiology, using photography to document his experiments on the electrification of facial muscles. His *Mécanisme de la physionomie humaine, ou analyse électro-physiologique de ses différents modes de l'expression* was published in Paris in 1862.
129. Deciphering this part of the manuscript is very difficult due to the ambiguity in the sequence of themes and examples. The fragment "Towards Degradation" is written diagonally in the upper right corner, and arrows run from it to almost every other fragment. However, it is unlikely that Eisenstein considered degradation those experiments in combining photo negatives or in optical recording of sound that later played such an important role in the development of cinema. "Degradation" cannot refer to newspaper illustrations or aerial photography either. So with certainty this heading can only refer to the fragments "Retouche" and "Scenery for photography", to which it connects in this publication.
130. Franz Seraph Hanfstängl (1804-1877) was a German painter, lithographer and photographer, known for his lithographic and later photographic portraits of Munich society. Antoine Samuel Adam-Salomon (1818-1881) was a French sculptor and photographer. He studied with Hanfstängl in Munich and his photographs were known for their *chiaroscuro* effects obtained with special lighting techniques.
131. Samuel Archer King (1828-1914) was a ballooning pioneer in the United States, who, in the 1850s and 1860s, made several ascensions from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts. In 1879 he published *The Balloon: Noteworthy Aerial Voyages from the Discovery of the Balloon to the Present Time, with a Narrative of the Aeronautic Experiences of Mr. Samuel A. King*. James Wallace Black (1825-1896) was an American photographer who in 1860, in collaboration with Samuel Archer King, made the first aerial photographs in the United States, photographing Boston from a hot-air balloon at 1,200 feet. He named the clearest of these photographs "Boston, as the Eagle and the Wild Goose See It", which is considered to be the first clear aerial image of a city.
132. Henry Negretti (1818-1879) was a British photographer who in 1863 took the first aerial photographs of London from a balloon piloted by Henry Coxwell.
133. A photograph by William McLeish entitled "Misty Morning on the Wear" is listed in the catalogue of the 1882 exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society.

134. Eisenstein devoted several enthusiastic pages in his textbook *Direction. The Art of the Mise-en-scène* [*Rezhissoura – Iskusstvo misantsena*] (1934) and in *Montage* (1937) to Eugène Atget and his photography (cf *Montazh*, pp. 264-267; the pages are part of a section which is not translated in SW2).
135. David Brewster (1781-1868) was a Scottish physicist, mathematician, astronomer, inventor, writer, and university principal. Most noted for his contributions to the field of optics, his inventions include the kaleidoscope and an improved version of the stereoscope.
136. A little photographic book entitled *Le Rêve*, containing 20 sequential photographs illustrating the various events happening during the dream of its female protagonist, can be found among the books belonging to Eisenstein's library which are preserved at the Eisenstein Center in Moscow.
137. The reference is probably to Ernest Maindron's catalogue *Les programmes illustrés des théâtres et des cafés-concerts. Menus, cartes d'invitation, petites estampes, etc.* (Paris: Nilsson, 1897), which was illustrated by lithographs by Toulouse-Lautrec and other well-known artists, depicting the "pleasures of Paris."
138. The term *Klebebilder* in German indicates little adhesive images that can be attached onto a surface.
139. "Ladies' Duel" – At the same time, a recurring motif in the popular press since the 19th and early 20th century (see for example "Duel de femmes. L'amour qui tue" in *Faits Diverses Illustrés*, 7 septembre 1907), and the title of a novella from the series *Russian Court Stories* (*Russische Hofgeschichten*, 1873-74) by the Austrian writer Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836-1895). These novellas represent the manners and morals of the Russian court of the times of Catherine the Great, and depict, often grotesquely, the luxury, the dissipation, and the unbridled passions of the beautiful, voluptuous, and cruel empress and her clique.
140. The *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* [*Workers' Illustrated Magazine*], known also as AIZ, was a weekly German illustrated magazine published between 1924 and 1933 in Berlin, then in Prague and finally in Paris until 1938. It was also known for the covers displaying propagandistic photomontages by the German artist John Heartfield (1891-1968).
141. During the first half of the 1920s, both László Moholy-Nagy and Man Ray had researched the possibility of producing photographic images without recurring to a photographic camera. These images, produced by simply exposing the photo-sensitive paper to the light, were called *Fotogrammen* or *Kameralose Aufnahmen* by Moholy-Nagy, and *rayographs* by Man Ray.
142. "La truie qui file" is the name of several old French restaurants (in Paris, Chartres, and other cities), whose sculpted signs were decorated with ingenious "composite" figures.
143. In the 18th and 19th centuries it was fashionable to decorate fans and screens with paper cut-outs, sometimes made by their owners themselves (including the poet George Gordon Byron).
144. OST (Obshchestvo Khudozhnikov Stankovistov, Society of Easel Painting) existed in Moscow between 1925 and 1932; its members included Aleksandr Labas, Ariadna Tyshler, Pëtr Vil'iams, Aleksandr Deineka, Andrei Goncharov, Iurii Pimenov and

other young artists, as well as their teacher David Shterenberg. According to Eisenstein the paintings of many of them displayed the influence of cinematic language, in particular, montage.

145. The genre of the *Ständebuch* [*The Book of Trades*] was quite popular during the 16th century and onwards. See, for example, the *Ständebuch* published by Jost Amman in 1568 with verses by Hans Sachs, in which each image illustrating a profession is accompanied by a poem commenting the actions represented.
146. Eisenstein discusses the portraits of Kabuki actors by Sharaku in several texts, explaining the apparent lack of proportion among the different parts of the faces represented as a form of "montage" of different points of view on the same faces. Cf. "Beyond the Shot" (1929) (*IP*, vol. 2, pp. 283-296; Engl. transl. SW1, pp. 141-43); "The Dramaturgy of Film Form" (1929) (SW1, p.165, where he refers to the interpretation of such disproportion by Julius Kurth in his volume *Sharaku* of 1922); "An Attack by Class Allies" (1933) (*Kino*, June 22 and 28, 1933; Engl. transl. SW1, p. 264).
147. In the text "El Greco and cinema" (*Montazh*. pp. 426-427; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, p. 85) Eisenstein gives examples of paintings that reproduce the illusion of movement: fighting cockerels from Greek vase painting and flying birds from the scroll "100 Geese" by the Chinese (not Japanese) painter Ma Fen, end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. See also "The Heir", n. 9
148. "Phases of movement" overlapping in the same space on Greek vases and in Japanese woodcuts, schematically drawn here by Eisenstein, are juxtaposed to the analogous technique in compositions by Daumier and Tintoretto in *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 159-ff.; SW2, pp. 111-ff.).
149. See the essay "Bernini's Baldachin" in the book *Montage* (*Montazh*, pp. 121-134; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 68-75).
150. Eisenstein discusses the forms of "montage" used in the newspapers of 1905 in order to comment upon the revolutionary events without being targeted by Tsarist censorship – the strategy of publishing vignettes and captions containing political comments dividing them among different issues of the newspapers, and inviting the reader to put them back together in a form of "remontage" – in a section of *Montage* (see *Montazh*, pp.175-180; Engl. transl. SW2, pp. 124-129).
151. The reading of this phrase, written almost in shorthand, is conjectural. Eisenstein probably means here "intellectual phrases" in the film *October*, about which he wrote in the article "Perspectives" (1928) (see above, n. 39), and on which he later commented in *Method* (*Metod*, vol. 1, pp. 63-82).
152. Here Eisenstein introduces for the first time the work of the French artist Constantin Guys (1802-1892) in relation to the notion of "cinematographism" [*kinematografism*]. Guys was a French and English war correspondent during the Crimean War, and a renowned critic of the morals of the Second Empire (see Baudelaire's essay "The Painter of Modern Life", 1863). The notion of the "flow", of a persistent change of moods and impressions, was added by Eisenstein to the idea of montage as "conflict between shots" in his theory of composition, and was later explored more fully in the work *Nonindifferent Nature*.
153. Adolph Menzel (1815-1905) was a German realist painter and illustrator.

154. About this see Eisenstein's work "The History of the Close-Up" (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 8-131) and its drafts (Ibid., pp. 110-112, 409-411).
155. Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki was a German painter, Polish by birth, reknown as a book illustrator; he usually depicted the everyday life of the bourgeoisie, and scenes from the life of common people (e.g., *At the Joiner's*, *At the Tailor's*, *At the Printer's*, etc).
156. See materials for the essay about Edgar Degas's cycle "*Les Baigneuses*" in *Method* (*Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 338-348).
157. Eisenstein was probably going to quote from George Slocombe, *Rebels of Art: Manet to Matisse.* New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1939.
158. Eugène Fromentin (1820-1876) was a French artist, writer, art critic, and an author of genre paintings, which were popular during his lifetime. He is famous now primarily for his much-translated book *The Old Masters of Belgium and Holland* (*Les Maîtres d'autrefois*, 1876; the first Russian edition was published in 1913). The book was composed on the basis of notes and letters written when Fromentin visited museums of Belgium and Holland in 1875. Mme Howland, née Hortense de la Perrière (1835-1920) was an acquaintance of many artists and intellectuals of the second half of the 19th century, including Fromentin.
159. Loïe Fuller (1862-1928) was a pioneer of both modern dance and theatrical lighting techniques. Her work attracted the attention of many French artists and scientists, including Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Auguste Rodin, Stéphane Mallarmé, and Marie Curie.
160. This phrase refers to the opening of Aleksandr Pushkin's article "Notes on popular *drama* and on M. P. Pogodin's *Martha, the Governor's Wife*" (1830): "Dramatic art was born in the public square – for the entertainment of the people" (*Pushkin on Literature*, selected, translated and edited by Tatiana Wolff, London: The Athlone Press; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986, p. 263).
161. Phineas Taylor Barnum used to exhibit an elderly black woman named Joice Heth, claiming that she was the 161-year-old former "wet nurse of George Washington".
162. Also known as "Kholstomer", a short story by Leo Tolstoy.
163. *Sight and Sound*, British film review.
164. See above, n. 162.
165. "Theater and Scaffold" ["Teatr i eshafot"] is the title of a lecture given for the first time by theater director and playwright Nikolai Evreinov (1879-1953) in Odessa during the Civil War in 1918. From this lecture he developed a book with the same title, *Teatr i eshafot*, later published in a collection of documents entitled *Mnemozina: Dokumenty i fakty iz istorii russkogo teatra XX veka* [*Mnemosyne: Documents and Facts from the History of Russian Theater of the 20th Century*], Moscow: Artist Rezhissër Teatr, 1996.
166. The French term "funambules" stands for "funambolists", tightrope dancers. A theater named Théâtre des Funambules was built in 1816 in the Boulevard du Temple in Paris, where it remained open until 1862. Apart from tightrope dancers, jumpers, and clowns, it was famous for its mime Jean-Gaspard Deburau, especially popular with the audience and the critics alike in the role of Pierrot. Jules Janin dedicated his book *Deburau. Histoire du Théâtre à Quatre Sous* (1832) to Deburau and his theater (see below).

167. "The Great God Bogus" is a manifesto written by the American film critic Gilbert Seldes in support of Charles Chaplin and "popular arts" in general. It was published in Gilbert Seldes, *The Seven Lively Arts*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924.
168. Most likely, Eisenstein is referring here to the first book written by Georges Sadoul about Méliès (Georges Sadoul, *An Index to the Creative Work of Georges Méliès*. London: British Film Institute, 1947). Sadoul's monograph *Georges Méliès* was published only in 1961 (Paris: Éditions Seghers).
169. The Nickelodeon was the first type of indoor exhibition space dedicated to showing projected motion pictures. Usually set up in converted storefronts, these small, simple theaters charged five cents for admission and flourished from about 1905 to 1915. The term Panoptikum indicates the name of the first German wax museum, built in Hamburg in 1879 by Friedrich Hermann Faerber (1849-1908). It should not be confused with the projection instrument named Panoptikon invented in 1895 by Woodville Latham, later named Eidoloscope. (See T. Ramsaye, *A Million and One Night. A History of the Motion Picture*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1926, pp. 167, 176-191; Georges Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma*, Tome I, *l'Invention du Cinéma*, Paris, Denoël, 1946, pp. 165-171). Ventriloquism was a popular attraction executed without technical devices.
170. "Cannonneers" was the common name for street and fair photographers who often used painted backdrops.
171. None of the names in this sentence (except Deburau) is clearly legible. It is clear, however, that Eisenstein is talking here about "mass" entertainment to which "high" or official art was opposed.
172. "Boulevard du Crime" [Boulevard of Crime] is the nickname that was given during the 19th century to the Boulevard du Temple in Paris, because of all the crimes that were represented every evening in its numerous theaters, among which we may recall the Théâtre-Lyrique, Théâtre de l'Ambigu, Cirque-Olympique, Folies-Dramatiques, Gaîté, Funambules, Délassements-Comiques, Théâtre des Pygmées, Petit-Lazari, as well as many cabarets and café-concerts. Boulevard du Crime is also the name of the place where the film *Les Enfants du paradis* (1945) by Marcel Carné is set.
173. Oberammergau is the name of a German town where every year, since 1633, the population is engaged in a representation of the Passion.
174. Bi Sheng (990-1051) was the inventor of the first known movable type technology. His system was made of Chinese porcelain and was invented between 1041 and 1048 during the Song Dynasty in China.
175. See above, n. 91.
176. Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet (1792-1845), French designer and painter, especially of military subjects, contributed to the elaboration of a Bonapartist iconography. Auguste Raffet (1804-1860), French illustrator and lithographer, student of Nicolas Toussaint Charlet, specialized as well in the representation of Napoleonic subjects.
177. Eisenstein mentions here the four-volume work of the English lawyer, sociologist, and journalist Henry Mayhew (1812-1887) *London Labour and London Poor* (1861), and the book by William Blanchard Jerrold (1826-1884) *London: A Pilgrimage* (1872), with

illustrations by Gustave Doré (1832-1883). In his engravings the artist depicted "the old men, the orphans, the lame, and the blind".

178. Eisenstein writes *llamentos* instead of *lamentos*.
179. Pavel Timofeevich Gorgulov (1895-1932) was a Russian émigré, poet, nationalist, who in 1932 assassinated the French President Paul Du Maire.
180. Malmaison – a palace situated at 20 km from Paris – served from 1799 to 1802 as the official residence of Napoléon and Josephine Bonaparte. In 1906 it became a museum dedicated to the Napoleonic era, with a number of portraits and artifacts including the Emperor's throne, his death mask, and the camp bed on which he died. A popular scene in wax museums represented a Malmaison room with Napoleon taking rest.
181. Eisenstein is referring to the film *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise* [*The Assassination of the Duke of Guise*] (1908) by Charles le Bargy and André Calmettes featuring the stars of the Comédie Française, who performed in costumes and decorations closely approximating the epoch of Henry III of France.
182. The two most famous of the four gigantic panoramic paintings of the Polish artist and poet Jan Styka (1858-1925) are "Golgotha", also known as "The Crucifixion" (1894), and "The Martyrdom of Christians in Nero's Circus" (1897). "Siege of Sebastopol" (1905) is a museum panorama by Franz Roubaud (1856-1928) that depicts the Battle of Malakoff, one of the major battles of the Crimean War of 1853-56. It was created to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the defense of Sebastopol.
183. With the phrase "the mass Leningrad spectacles of the beginning of the Revolution" Eisenstein is probably referring to mass spectacles such as the one staged in 1920 by Nikolai Evreinov with the title *The Storming of the Winter Palace*: a re-enactment, performed in front of one hundred thousand spectators, of that crucial moment of the October Revolution on the date of its third anniversary, the 7th of November 1920. Spectacles such as this were a very important reference for Eisenstein while he was shooting the film *October* in 1927-28.
184. This museum was known as *Salon de cire*.
185. The Voguls, today better known as the Mansi, are an indigenous people living in Khanty–Mansia, an autonomous area within the region of Tiumen' Oblast' in Russia.
186. In Russian literature "Journey" is a term used to describe travelogues: the most famous is the one of the merchant Afanasii Nikitin to India (*A Journey Beyond the Three Seas* or *Khozhdenie za tri moria*, 1468-1474).
187. Daniel of Kiev (the Pilgrim) (Daniil Palomnik) was an Orthodox hegumen; the first Russian pilgrim to visit the Holy Land (in 1104-1106) and leave the description of his travels.
188. Eisenstein here refers to the German literary movement *Sturm und Drang* [*Storm and Stress*], which formed between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.
189. The writer and historian Nikolai Karamzin (1766-1826) described his travels to the revolutionary France of 1789-90 in the book *Letters of a Russian Traveler*, which many scholars consider to have laid the foundations of modern Russian literature.

Aleksandr Pushkin's essay "A Journey to Arzrum at the Time of the 1829 Campaign" (1829) reflected his illegal trip to the seat of the Russo-Turkish war in Transcaucasia, where some of his friends, participants of the December revolt of 1825, had been exiled.

190. In Aleksandr Pushkin's novel in verse, *Eugene Onegin*, the main character is overcome by "the desire to change places" ("okhota k peremene mest") – a Russian counterpart to the German *Wanderlust*, typical of Romantic heroes.
191. In 1858 the Paris house of Prince Napoléon (Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, 1822-1891), the son of Jérôme Bonaparte, was decorated as a Pompeian villa, creating an illusion of the journey to the Ancient Rome.
192. The name "Kempinsky" could be the reference to one of the pictorial atmospheric-romantic decorations in one of the Kempinsky hotels.
193. In 1841, P.T. Barnum bought Scudder's American Museum (later renamed Barnum's American Museum) and replaced the wax figures with living dwarfs and giants, fake monsters ("mermaids," "centaurs," and other "freaks"), as well as circus performers. He also invited the famous Swedish singer Jenny Lind (1820–1887) for 150 concerts with the fee of $ 1,000 per concert. The tour of the "Swedish nightingale" and its financial terms were accompanied by a ballyhoo campaign advertising the "international sensation".
194. "*Chalet Suisse*" – an international network of hotels and restaurants decorated in the "Swiss style."
195. Etienne Carjat (1828-1879) was a French photographer who produced a number of portraits of painters, writers, and musicians (Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Courbet, Corot, Rossini, etc.).
196. See above, n. 144.
197. See above, n. 26.
198. H.Th. Bossert, H. Guttmann, *Aus der Frühzeit der Photographie 1840-70. Ein Bildbuch nach 200 Originalen*, Societäts, Frankfurt a. M. 1930. This is the same book to which Walter Benjamin refers repeatedly in his *Little History of Photography* (1931). A copy of this book was owned by Eisenstein and can be found at the Eisenstein Center in Moscow.
199. *Bespredmetnost*, "non-objectivity", a crucial notion in Kazimir Malevich's Suprematist aesthetics.
200. Eisenstein is referring to the movement of "factography", represented emblematically by Aleksei Gan and some other participants of the journal "LEF" [*Levyi front isskustv – Left Front of the Arts*] (in particular, Sergei Tretyakov), which according to him neglected the role of the image [*obraz*] in the name of purely documentary images aimed at recording "life as it is" [*zhizn' kak ona est'*].
201. This is a reference to an idea formulated by Viktor Shklovsky and Sergei Tretyakov, and often mentioned in the discussions of the Russian Futurists in "LEF".
202. For the meaning of "factographic", see above, n. 203.
203. In the text only "s" is written; it has been tentatively identified as "socialism."
204. In his article entitled "On the laws of construction of Eisenstein's films" (*Sovetsky ekran*, n°6, 1929), written after having seen the film *October*, Viktor Shklovsky accused

Eisenstein of "thingism" [*veshchism*], that is, of giving priority to "things", to "objects", over narration.

205. The French expression "*un ours mal léché*" [a bear badly educated] indicates a person who doesn't like to be in the company of other people, and whose behavior is considered vulgar and bad-mannered.
206. Eisenstein is referring to Jean Renoir's films *Toni* (1935) and *La Bête humaine* [*The Human Beast*] (1938).
207. The mark "xx" in Eisenstein's manuscripts usually means "important"; "xxx" – "very important."
208. The title of the painting by Degas to which Eisenstein refers here is "Mme. Jeantaud at the Mirror" (1875).
209. Georges Rivière, *Mr Degas (Bourgeois de Paris)*, Floury, Paris 1935.
210. See above, n. 157.
211. From Petrarch's poem *I Trionfi* [*The Triumphs*] (1339), part I – "Trionfo d'amore", III. The English translation of the poem is contained in Eisenstein's notes.
212. Word-play with the title of Darwin's work. In this case, Eisenstein's project was that of reconstructing the evolutionist genesis of the historical-documentary genre (what Eisenstein calls the cine-chronicle) in Soviet cinema.
213. Eisenstein refers here to Konstantin Stanislavsky and to the "realism" based on the "truth" of "relived experiences" that was at the base of his acting system.
214. Eisenstein staged this "agit-guignol" play based on Sergei Tretyakov's "Gas Masks" (1923) at the Moscow gas plant. It was his last theater production before the move to cinema with the film *Strike* (1924).
215. *Naplyvy* ["dissolves" or "dissolving views"] was a term used to describe the smooth passage from an image projected by the Magic Lantern to the following one, in order to produce in the spectators an impression of movement: a technique which, with the flow of the film photograms in front of the projector, would become the fundamental technique of cinema.
216. *L'Enfer* (Hell). A cabaret that is unique in the world. Every evening from 8pm to 2am. Diabolical attractions. The torture of the damned. The circle of the witches. La Chaudière, the Metamorphoses of the damned, etc. etc.
217. The program quoted by Eisenstein in his notes reads as follows: "The Sky. Illusions, visions. The Cabaret of the Sky (Heaven). 53, Boulevard de Clichy. Art and Fun. Every evening from 8 and 1/2 pm to 1 and 1/2 am. Humoristic preaching. The Dickinson's Sisters, the Women Cameleons. Dream of a monk (heavenly scenes). The Mimoscope (unique creation), The Spring, the Confession. Aerial visions, Celestial acrobatics. Transformation in an Angel of a Spectator of good will."
218. Eisenstein is referring here to the film shot in July 1905 for Pathé by Lucien Nonguet with the title *Les événements en Russie. Les événements d'Odessa*. Georges Sadoul writes about it in his *Histoire générale du cinéma* II, *les Pionniers du cinéma 1897-1909*, Paris, Denoël, 1947, pp. 330-333. In his book, Sadoul also explains how Méliès in his studio reconstructed events from world history.
219. Here Eisenstein is referring, without a full quotation, to the volume by Maurice Bessy and Lo Duca, *Georges Méliès Mage et "Mes Mémoires" par Méliès*, Paris, Prisma, 1945.

220. Moralité, a French term written here in Cyrillic, refers to a theatrical genre staging vices and virtues.
221. The *corrido* is a popular narrative song and poetry form, a ballad. The songs are often about oppression, history, daily life of peasants, and other socially important information, and were particularly popular during the period of the Mexican Revolution.
222. Abram Markovich Efros (1888-1954), Russian and Soviet art and theater critic, poet and translator. In the second half of the 1940s he worked in the Institute of Art History and taught theater history in the State Institute of Theater Art and MKhAT's Studio School.
223. Here Eisenstein uses Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper* as an example of successful combination in one space of several perspectival axes, which correspond to several points of view on a "crowd scene."
224. See above, n. 35.
225. Eisenstein quotes a famous quatrain from the poem "To the Memory of the Painter Orlovskii", written in 1832 or 1833 by Count Pëtr Viazemskii and dedicated to Aleksandr Osipovich Orlovskii (1777-1832), Romantic painter and graphic artist.
226. "Cf. *The General Line*. Figures – the quantity of members of the cooperative around the separator – grow in scale. "Brothers" – "BROTHERS" in *Potëmkin* etc. etc." [note by Eisenstein]. See the chapter "The Milk Separator and the Holy Grail" of the section *Pathos* of *Nonindifferent Nature* (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 62-68; Engl. transl. *Nonindifferent Nature*, pp. 38-57).
227. Eisenstein quotes the French edition of John K. Winkler's book *William Randolph Hearst*, Paris: Gallimard NRF, 1931 first published in English in 1928 by Simon and Schuster as *William Randolph Hearst, an American phenomenon*. The original reads: "And war was declared. Then came a new outburst of typographical violence. Brisbane introduces block letter headlines into the *Evening Journal*. Some of these were four inches high. The *Evening World* followed suit. Sometimes the entire front pages of both papers were simply a medley of headlines." (p. 158); "The day Dewey's victory at Manila was announced, May 2, 1898, the *Journal* issued a stream of extras... and circulation reached a new record mark of 1,600,000. ... The influence of the typographical violence brought about by the *Journal's* use of spread-eagle type in the war is shown in practically every American paper today." (p. 162).
228. The note is accompanied by a clipping from the weekly magazine *Ogoniok* (Issue 2, 1948) with the article "The 225th Anniversary of the Russian Printed Newspaper" and Eisenstein's marginalia: «*NB. Forerunner of Hearst!*»*.
229. "The problem of time in painting" and "The problem of space" should have been, according to Eisenstein, two important parts of his introductory volume to the whole project of a *General History of Cinema*. What we are left with in the manuscript, though, only contains the heading of these two sections, followed by two blank spaces, which Eisenstein never filled with text.
230. The French graphic artist and caricaturist Paul Gavarni (Sulpice Guillaume Chevalier, 1804-1866) became famous for his series of elegant and ironic drawings from Parisian life, often accompanied by witty captions. The Russian painter Pavel

Fedotov (1815-1852), one of Eisenstein's most favorite artists, invented pointed titles for his satirical paintings.

231. See above, n. 81.

232. On these two variants, see "El Greco and cinema" (*Montazh*, pp. 424-425; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, pp. 82-83).

233. Eisenstein is here referring to the ballad *The Norfolk Gentleman his last Will and Testament. | Who Committed the keeping of his Children to his own Brother, who dealt most wickedly with them, and | how God plagued him for it* (1686-88, republished in various editions throughout the 19th century).

234. C.H. Firth, "Ballads and Broadsides", in *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1910), vol. II, pp. 510-538.

235. The reference is to the article "Dickens, Griffith, and We" ["Dikkens, Griffit i my"] (originally published in *Amerikanskaia kinematografiia: D.U. Griffit.* Moscow, 1944 and translated in English as "Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today" by Jay Leyda in *Film Form*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949, pp. 195-255). The greatly expanded version has since been published under the title "The History of the Close-Up" ["Istoriia krupnogo plana"] in *Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 8-132 (especially pp. 47-49). The English translation by William Powell, based on an intermediary publication in *IP*, Volume 5, pp. 129-180 (especially pp. 159-161) and entitled "Dickens, Griffith, and Ourselves," was published in SW3, pp. 193-238.

236. The term "counter-relief" was used by Vladimir Tatlin to name a series of his sculptures consisting of structures made of wood and iron hanging in wall corners.

237. Attached to this note is an excerpt (ll. 75-76) from the German edition of Isadora Duncan's memoirs: (Duncan I. *Memoiren*. Zürich-Leipzig-Wien: Amalthea-Verlag, 1928. S. 91), which corresponds to the following passage in the original American edition:

"Rodin was short, square, powerful, with close-cropped head and plentiful beard. He showed his works with the simplicity of the very great. Sometimes he murmured the names for his statues, but one felt that names meant little to him. He ran his hands over them and caressed them. I remember thinking that beneath his hands the marble seems to flow like molten lead. Finally he took a small quantity of clay and pressed it between his palms. He breathed hard as he did so. The heat streamed from him like a radiant furnace. In a few moments he had formed a woman's breast that palpitated beneath his fingers.

He took me by the hand, took a cab and came to my studio. There I quickly changed into my tunic and danced for him an idyll of Theocritus which André Beaunier had translated for me thus:

"*Pan aimait la nymphe Echo*

Echo aimait Satyr, etc."

Then I stopped to explain to him my theories for a new dance, but soon I realized that he was not listening. He gazed at me with lowered lids, his eyes blazing, and then, with the same expression that he had before his works, he came towards me. He ran his hands over my neck, breast, stroked my arms and ran his hands over my hips, my bare legs and feet. He began to knead my whole body as if it were clay, while from him emanated heat that scorched and melted me. My whole desire was to

yield to him my entire being and, indeed, I would have done so if it had not beeen that my absurd up-bringing caused me to become frightened and I withdrew, threw my dress over my tunic and sent him away bewildered. What a pity! How often I have regretted this childish miscomprehension which lost to me the divine chance of giving my virginity to the Great God Pan himself, to the Mighty Rodin." (Isadora Duncan, *My Life*, New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 90-91)

238. The transition from touching with one's fingertips to a fully developed "*Raumkunst*" ["art of space"] is shown in Ill. 1, p. 22.
239. Count Fëdor Tolstoy himself transformed his drawings for Bogdanovich's poem *Dushen'ka* [*Sweetheart*] into engravings, thereby achieving a new graphic effect. See also "The Heir", n. 17.
240. Sergei Mikhailovich Lifar' (Serge Lifar, 1905-1986), choreographer and dancer, was the author of *Serge Diaghilev* (first published in Russian in 1939), which was one of the last books Eisenstein read before his death. The description of Vatslav Nijinsky's choreography and dancing in the ballet *L'après-midi d'un faune* (*The Afternoon of a Faun*) from this book served as an inspiration for Eisenstein's series of drawings "D'après son livre".
241. Harry Houdini, *The Unmasking of Robert-Houdin. Together with a Treatise on Handcuff Secrets*, 1909.
242. On Benvenuto Cellini's views on the superiority of sculpture compared to painting, see also above, n. 35.
243. The Amur or Heilong Jiang is the world's tenth longest river, forming the border between the Russian Far East and Northeastern China. Eisenstein here means the Amur region of Russia.
244. F. Adama van Scheltema, *Die altnordische Kunst: Grundprobleme vorhistorischer Kunstentwicklung*, Mauritius Verlag, 1924.
245. Phyllis Ackerman, *Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China*, The Dryden Press, 1945.
246. See also Eisenstein's essay "Rodin and Rilke" (*Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 2, pp. 509-535; French transl. in *Cinématisme*, pp. 229-254).

3. Revelation in Storm and Thunder

1. *Revelation in Storm and Thunder* is the title of the book Nikolai Aleksandrovich Morozov (1854-1946) wrote after being condemned by the tsarist court to life in prison in the Schlisselburg Fortress (from where he got his nickname, the "Schlisselburger"). In the book, Morozov explained the apocalyptic visions of John the Evangelist of Patmos as metereological phenomena. Eisenstein used the title of this book "just for fun", not intending a serious parallel between the contents of his ideas and Morozov's theme.

   The three fragments that follow were first published under this title in 1992 in volume 15 of the journal *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* (pp. 188-203). They were written when Eisenstein was simultaneously continuing his work on the book *Nonindifferent Nature*. It is possible that these sketches were written with the view to include them in this fundamental treatise about "the fate of montage counterpoint at the new stage". For example, they could become the basis of the chapter in which the a-synchronism of sound and image is viewed not in relation to the author's concept, but in the context

of natural phenomena and of the mythological concepts that they had given birth to. This could explain their relative readiness and thoroughness in comparison to other drafts in the same set. The title and the subheading were given by the journal's editors, but are based on the author's text.

2. Eisenstein has here in mind an ancient instrument of torture, known as the Phalaris bull. There is a remark later in the manuscript: "Sound as [suggestion] (the reproduction of impressions) of the landscape. According [to the book *Anna and the King of Siam*] where *fiffres** [in French: *flutes*] expressed in sound where (the places through which) the processions were going".
3. For the use, in these Notes, of the term "колыбель" ("cradle"), or "у колыбели" ("at the cradle"), to mean the "origin", the "source", see in this volume the text entitled *Dynamic Mummification* "Notes for a *General History of Cinema*", n. 4.
4. Here in the manuscript there is a remark in parentheses: "On a piano, the bass clef is on the lower staff line, and the melodic – violin – on the upper."
5. Eisenstein made a note on this on a separate piece of paper: "*A Symphony of Sirens* (the column of air replaced by a column of steam) by Arsenii Avraamov (*as remarkable regressive reproduction*)*, Moscow, 1923. With my moral support! His very own regression of the piano to the stage of its reversed return to a vertical, multi-stringed... harp, struck not with hammers, but with the hand itself – a piano turned on its side. I believe 'Singing Fountains' are instruments by Heron of Alexandria in antiquity and somewhere in the XVI and XVIII centuries. Look in Boehme, *Der Tanz*, in the section on fountains." [*Der Tanz in der Kunst. Die bedeutendsten Tanzbilder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, mit einer Einleitung von F. Böhme, herausgegeben von Curt Moreck, Seifert, Stuttgart-Heilbronn 1924]
6. On the same page there is a remark: "On the 'lyrical' Uzbek. Refer to what I learned in connection with the *Fergana Canal*, with the longing for the water and the fight for it". On the unrealized film project *The Great Fergana Canal* see the English translation of the script by Sergei M. Eisenstein and Pëtr Pavlenko published in *Studies in Russian & Soviet Cinema*, vol. 5, 2011, n. 1, pp. 123-155 (ed. by R. Taylor, preceded by an Introduction by Naum Kleiman and followed by a commentary by Eisenstein on his unrealized film project).
7. The Robber-Nightingale (Solovei-Razboinik) is a forest monster of East Slavic folklore. It possessed a deadly whistle to attack travellers. The epic hero Il'ia Muromets defeated him, showed him to the Kievan prince and then killed him. It is possible that the prototype of the mythical creature was a real person, a prince who demanded tribute from travelers on the way from Northern Rus' to Kiev, so that the Kievan prince had to send Il'ia to punish "the robber".
8. Batu Khan (c. 1207-1255) was a Mongol ruler and founder of the Ulus of Jochi (or Golden Horde), the sub-khanate of the Mongol Empire.
9. The *karnay* is a long trumpet with a mouthpiece. It is used in the musics of Iran, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, where it is considered a national instrument
10. Eisenstein means Paul I (Pavel I), the Russian Emperor, the son and heir to Catherine II, for whom the Prussian king Friedrich II was the ideal ruler. To emulate him Paul I reformed the Russian military forces, including their uniform, attributes, and music.

11. Eisenstein had in mind the ironic nature of stringed instruments of a symphony orchestra as tools for extracting sounds using the sinews of slain animals, taken from the American novelist Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914).
12. Gap in the manuscript.
13. There are no references to the "earth" instrument that interested Eisenstein in the book by the American pilot Faustin E. Wirkus, *The White King of La Gonave: The True Story of the Sergeant of Marines Who Was Crowned King on a Voodoo Island*, New York, 1931. The source of this information has not been located.
14. This idea of "a-synchronous" color montage is at the basis of Eisenstein's unrealized film project on Pushkin, entitled *Love of a Poet* (*Pushkin*), as it is documented by his notes written in 1940 and in the chapter of the *Memoirs* entitled " Poet's Love (Pushkin)", in *Beyond the Stars*, pp. 712-724.
15. Eisenstein is here referring to Chapter 10 of "Morality and Rights. Equality," the first part ("Philosophy") of Friedrich Engels's book *Anti-Dühring*.
16. Eisenstein writes about this screening in one of Riga's oldest film theaters in his memoirs (see *Beyond the Stars*, p. 699).
17. Bill (William) Hayes, postmaster and creator of the infamous "Hayes Code," which regulated the "morality" of Hollywood film production, was in fact a censorship board, marked by extreme conservatism. In the manuscript, Eisenstein made a note in the margins: "List the details." Eisenstein wrote about the reasons for his break with the Paramount company in the *Memoirs* (See "Colleagues" in *Beyond the Stars*, pp. 329-ff. There is also a detailed account of the reigning atmosphere in Hollywood at the beginning of the 1930s and the Hayes Code in an article by Eisenstein from 1932, "Catch Up and Overtake" (in the journal *Proletarian Cinema*, 1932, no. 15-16, pp. 20-32).
18. See above, n. 1.
19. "The always imitative 'laughing saxophone' – in comic music it's 'both yes and no' (both person and non person) par excellence" [note by Eisenstein]. In the manuscript of the third fragment, mostly covered by notes, there is the following plan: "Shake up *You and Heredity** [by Amram Scheinfeld (1939)]. 1. Imitation. 2. Early virtuosity and the inheritance of musical abilities".
20. A lens with a focal length of 28mm was, at the end of the 1920s, the shortest-focus lens available, allowing deep definition within the shot. Sequences from the film *The General Line* (later renamed *Old and New*), like "Marfa in the Kulak's Courtyard" and "The Bull's Wedding," were structured on the opposition of the different foreground and the oblique shortened background that Eisenstein emphasizes. A series of reflections on the aesthetic and "ecstatic" qualities of the 28mm lens can be found in the essay *El Greco i kino* (*Montazh*, pp. 407-415; French transl. "El Greco y el cine", in *Cinématisme*, pp. 106-107).
21. A letter from Eisenstein to the director of photography Vladimir Nil′sen has been preserved. In the middle of the 1930s, Nil′sen was working on a system of "transparent shots" (shots on the background of a transparent screen with projections of previously shot action on the other side of the screen – so-called "rear-projection"). In this letter, the director established the possibility of "reverse perspective" in film (as in icon painting and in Byzantine frescos), and invited Nilsen

to shoot double exposures for *Bezhin Meadow*, so that in the episodes "The Father's House" and "The Son's Murder" the face or the body of the Father were larger than the figure of the Son in front of him. Eisenstein subsequently achieved the desired effect in *Ivan the Terrible*, however not with the help of rear-projection, but by using frescoes of the royal chambers and cathedral.

22. The same effect of "reverse perspective" Eisenstein wanted to achieve in other shots of *Bezhin Meadow*, for example, in the scene of the haymaking mentioned here – after the kolkhoz workers' attempt at lynching the kulaks' supporters, the cart with Stepok and the bearded kolkhoz worker had to seem smaller than the faces of the singing women with scythes.
23. This is in all likelihood the theatre and film director Aleksei Granovskii (1890-1937), famous for his film *Jewish Luck* (1925).
24. Zholtik was the name of a dog in Eisenstein's *dacha* in Kratovo.
25. The expression "flight *Intra-uterin[e]*" refers to one of the main themes discussed in the book *Method*, that of the sinking back into the mother's womb, or *Mutterleibversenkung*, often abbreviated by Eisenstein with the acronym MLB (see *Metod*, vol. 2, esp. pp. 296-349; 530-581; French transl. of texts referring to the same theme in S.M. Eisenstein, *MLB. Plongée dans le sein maternel*, transl. and presented by Gérard Conio, Paris: Hoëbeke, 1999).
26. Eisenstein has in mind William Wyler's film *Wuthering Heights* (1939), based on Emily Brontë's novel.
27. The following note is attached to the manuscript: "For the history of cinema *die ganze Lehre vom Ausdruck** [in German: *the entire doctrine of expression*] is good. The word-gesture *als Vorstufe Audio-Visual Contrapunto** [in German and English: *as preliminary step in audio-visual counterpoint*]".

4. In Praise of the Cine-chronicle

1. "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle", laid out in draft form in November 1947, is connected by its methodology and problematics to the "studies" that were to make up the second half of the book *Method*, even though it also pertains to the body of material on "the general hystory of cinema". The tongue-in-cheek reference to *In Praise of Folly* by Erasmus of Rotterdam was nothing more than a witticism characteristic of Eisenstein, and has no bearing on the deeply serious nature of his concern with the documentary reflection of reality in film. For the modern-day researcher, this sketch offers a multitude of contexts for consideration. It is not only the historical aspect, but also the theoretical aspect that is important: it allows us to compare anew Eisenstein's position with the contemporary views of André Bazin and Siegfried Kracauer, as well as with the later ideas of semiotics and structural anthropology. No less interesting is its futurological aspect: Eisenstein keenly picked up on the significance of both Italian Neo-Realism (as a new synthesis of acted scenes and "actuality"), and the coming role of television. Attached to the manuscript of "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle" are notes on the ornament and its role in the formulation and development of art.
2. "...*In Which We Serve*" (1942, dir. Noel Coward).
3. Films of Jean Renoir: *La Bête humaine* (1938), *Toni* (1934), *Nana* (1926).

4. *Roma, città aperta* [*Rome, Open City*] (1945, dir. Roberto Rossellini).
5. *The Vow* (1946, dir. Mikhail Chiaureli), *The Young Guard* (1948, dir. Sergei Gerasimov).
6. A reference to Eisenstein's essay "On Stereo Cinema", written in 1947, shortly before his death (See IP 3, pp. 433-484. In English: "Stereoscopic Films." Eisenstein, Sergei. *Notes of a Film Director.* Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959, pp. 129-137. See also, n. 9 to Text 2).
7. A reference to one of the documentary films of Aleksei Gan, shot using the "life caught unawares" method, later adopted by Vertov as well, of which Eisenstein was critical. See also, in this volume, the text entitled *Dynamic Mummification. Notes for a General History of Cinema*, n. 69.
8. Saul Steinberg (1914-1999) was a popular American cartoonist and illustrator. Eisenstein writes about his work in his book *Nonindifferent Nature*.
9. Lotte Reininger (1899-1981) was a director of animated "silhouette" films, in which she brought the techniques of "Chinese shadows" to the screen.
10. The two are key-terms of Dziga Vertov's theory of cinema.
11. Tabarin (real name Antoine Girard, 1584-1633) was a French actor in the popular theatre who performed sketches of his own composition.
12. Ernst Kretschmer (1888-1964) was a German psychologist and psychiatrist whose research posited a relationship between body type and the psychological properties of human beings. On this basis he proposed a typology of characters. Copies of his main books were in Eisenstein's library, and are preserved at the Eisenstein Center in Moscow.
13. Robert J. Coldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Painting*, Harper & Brothers, New York – London, 1938.
14. "*Your Maks*" was the signature of Maxim Shtraukh in a state of exhaustion.
15. In the end of Aleksandr Pushkin's story "The Queen of Spades" its hero, Hermann, who had gone mad, "...returns no answer to questions put to him but mutters over and over again, with incredible rapidity: 'Three, seven, ace! Three, seven, queen!'" (Pushkin, Aleksander. *The Queen of Spades: The Negro of Peter the Great: Dubrovsky: The Captain's Daughter.* Translated with an Introduction by Rosemary Edmonds. London: Penguin, 2004, p. 183).
16. Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965) was a German art historian whose best-known work, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* [*Abstraction and Empathy*] (1907), distinguished art forms based on the principle of *abstraction* (for example, German prehistoric or Islamic art), and art forms based on the principle of *empathy* (for example, classical Greek or Renaissance mimetic realism). Worringer's analysis of the inorganic and the crystalline in the tradition of abstract art was perceived by some of his contemporaries as close to the aesthetics of the German Expressionists.
17. The German title *Übergang zur Television* marks a new part of this article, one that was unfortunately left in a draft form. Nevertheless, we can speculate with some confidence as to how Eisenstein would have continued. In an introduction to a volume of his articles in 1946 he wrote: "In the first stage in the line of the evolving forms of acting there is the actor clown, who passes along to the viewer, through the immediateness of his emotions, the content of his thoughts and feelings. This actor will reach out to the person who embodies the highest forms of future acting. The

cinema wizard of television, who will be fast as a flash of thought or a leap of an eye, will be juggling different points of view of the cameras and different lenses. He will be sending directly and immediately to the millions of viewers his own unique interpretation of an event, in the moment in which it happens, in the moment of the happening of the event". The expressive cinema-magician of television refers immediately to the main theme of *Metod*: the magic of art. It is evident that for Eisenstein the TV newscast had to evolve from the primitive tracing over of reality to the treatment of it by multi-camera shooting with different lenses and with montage. The proto-image of this is not only the actor who improvises, but also the epic poet (see in *Montazh* examples from Homer and Whitman). Yet another precursor could be the ornament stage of the development of art.

18. *Great Days* (1947) is the title of a play by Nikolai Virta based on his screenplay for *The Battle of Stalingrad* and staged in 1947 in the Moscow Drama Theater.
19. This comparison with the French classicist tragedy of Jean Racine has a double meaning: Eisenstein repeatedly wrote that his film *Battleship Potëmkin*, although "documentary" in its material and visual style, had the classical structure of a five-act tragedy. At the same time, a slightly ironic intonation underlines the assertion that Eisenstein expressed already at the moment of the film's international triumph: "there is no further movement along the line of Potëmkin!".
20. See in this volume the text entitled *Dynamic Mummification. Notes for a General History of Cinema*, n. 9.

5. The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts

1. This short text is one of the last drafts for the General History of Cinema. Its goal was, it seems, to summarize the main motifs and themes of the prospective "introductory volume." The probable sequence of these motifs already becomes visible here, although it is most certainly not a plan of the volume's composition. What seems to be a matter of principle is the fact that, having dispensed with roughly drafted "compulsory" propagandistic phrases, Eisenstein begins with "man's psychological apparatus," with the structure of the viewer's consciousness as a prototype for the structure of cinema, its phenomenon and means of expression. This directly relates not only to ideas expressed in *Metod*, on which Eisenstein had been working for many years, but also to his first manifesto, "The Montage of Attractions" (1923) (Engl. transl. in SW1, pp. 33-38), in which the audience was proclaimed to be the "basic material" of art. The text was originally published in *Kinovedcheskie Zapiski* 36/37, pp. 100-103.
2. GIK stands for State Institute of Cinematography, later VGIK.
3. Gap in the manuscript.
4. On Eisenstein's use of the term "cradle", see in this volume the text entitled *Dynamic Mummification. Notes for a General History of Cinema*, n. 4.
5. The text reads "*fiziokotras*" for what was surely "*fizionotras*". Invented by Gilles-Louis Chrétien in 1783-84, the *physiognotrace* (or *physionotrace*) was an instrument designed to trace a person's profile in the form of a silhouette, in order to study his or her

physiognomy. The instrument was a descendant of the pantograph, a drawing device that magnified figures.

6. Walter Benjamin mentions this same *Chinese legend* in the 1934 version of his *Berlin Childhood around 1900*, in Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, Volume 3: 1935-1938 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 393.

6. Pioneers and Innovators

1. This short text belongs to the set of drafts written by Eisenstein for *History of Soviet Cinema*, the project that was the official aim of the Cinema Section within The Institute of Art History. We have deemed it appropriate to include it in the publication of the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* primarily because in it Eisenstein tried, in his own words, to "[t]race here the general genealogy of the progressive development" of Soviet cinema, together with the individual development of the main principles and aims of the young "innovators," who entered cinema in the mid-1920s, following the "pioneers" of the new art. The title of the text, which is published here in its entirety for the first time, was given by Eisenstein.
2. Eisenstein used this designation ("I" in Spanish) for his memoirs, which, after beginning as "an aimless stroll through the past," soon grew into one of the "segments" of his "sphere-shaped book," where he traces how the general patterns of his theory of creativity are refracted in the personality and biography of the author. Apparently, that is why this particular note is given the same title: here Eisenstein is concerned with the "genealogy" of his position in film and the "roots" of his colleagues' work (Vsevolod Pudovkin and Dziga Vertov).
3. In childhood letters from Riga to his mother in Petersburg, Eisenstein admitted that he loved cinematic views of various countries, films on scientific and technical themes, and documentary films about real events, etc. more than detective stories. In the beginning of the 1920s in the USSR, where an enormous portion of the population was illiterate, film was seen as a means of enlightenment of the people, and popular science films were an intrinsic part of film screenings. German *Kulturfilm*, playing in Soviet distribution, was exemplary of this trend. It is known, for example, that the "technical film" about how peat is processed by water treatment was highly valued by Lenin as "propaganda of technological progress in a backward country". The deputy director of the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the VKPb, Kirill Shutko (the husband of Nina Agadzhanova – Eisenstein worked with her on the script of *1905*, from which *Potëmkin* grew), proposed changing the term *Kulturfilm* for the concept *political-enlightenment cinema*. It is not surprising that Shutko supported none other than Eisenstein with his idea of using art for "displaying the mechanisms of history" (in 1928 this tendency would bring Eisenstein to the theory of intellectual film with the goal of "teaching the worker to think dialectically"). It would be interesting to know which "predecessors of both documentaries, and of these types" of scientific and technical film (that is, which early types of enlightenment activities) he had in mind in the note of 1 January 1948.

4. Eisenstein writes about this in detail in the chapter "With a premeditated intention ("Montage of attractions")" in his book *Method* (*Metod*, vol. I, pp. 49-62). In English: "How I Became a Director" in *SW3* pp. 284-90.
5. Even as early as when *Battleship Potëmkin* was screened for approval, Eisenstein was being officially reproached with not showing "the organizing and leading role of the Communist Party in the Revolution". *October* brought on even more criticism. Although the film is preceded by an epigraph – a quotation by Lenin, sent by the Institute of the History of the Party, about "the iron leadership of the Party" (what "should have been"), in reality all the politicians in the film (including Lenin) look more like "marionettes of history." It was likewise with *The General Line* – the "Party-controlled revolutionizing" of the countryside is not depicted, which led to a partial remake of the film and the name change to *Old and New*. In the beginning of the 1930s Eisenstein labeled the change in Soviet film from the first "revolutionary" stage to the "Party" stage.
6. *Counterplan* was a film by Fridrikh Ermler and Sergei Iutkevich about an old worker who had arrived at the principles of "socialist production" and put forward a "counterplan" of work that was more intensive and productive. The film was supported by the authorities and the official critics and was soon declared one of the first victories of Socialist Realism.
7. MKhAT stands for Moskovsky Khudozhestvenny Akademichkiy Teatr, the Moscow Art Theater.
8. Eisenstein ironically writes the word *p'esa* (drama) as *piesa*, with the "aesthetic" spelling and pronunciation of the end of the 19th century. This is a response to his long-lasting argument with the "academic" theater: for the author of "montage of attractions," the "true material of theater" is not the play, but the spectator.
9. The two films Eisenstein is referring to are *Death Ray* (Lev Kuleshov, 1925) and *Mother* (Vsevolod Pudovkin, 1926).
10. The innovators of the 1920s repudiated the stylistics of prerevolutionary film (traditional types of plot, "melodramatic" style of acting, etc.) that reigned in films of the greatest entrepreneur of Russian film, Aleksandr Khanzhonkov. Eisenstein supposed that Pudovkin, at first under the influence of the old cinema, overcame it by being "vaccinated" by the epic cinema of Griffith and the influence of *Strike*.
11. Vladimir Petrov's film was released only in 1949. Eisenstein probably saw an early version at the studio—and precisely understood the "aesthetic of Panoptikum," which became manifest in "ceremonial" Soviet post-war films.
12. Mikhail Gelovani was the main player of the role of Stalin. Maksim Shtraukh played Lenin for many years.
13. What is meant here are the rare cases of rebirth of the "innovative" poetics of the 1920s in the following era – in particular, the film *Three Songs about Lenin* (1934) by Dziga Vertov, which returned to the screen the principles of his *Lenin's Kino-Pravda* (1924) and developed them in sound cinema.

Part Two – Essays

1. Ada Ackerman, What Renders Daumier's Art So Cinematic for Eisenstein?

1. This text is derived from my PhD research, which has been published in the following book: Ada Ackerman, *Eisenstein et Daumier. Des affinités electives* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013). I thank Lindsey Muniak for her generous help in the editing of this text.
2. "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, p. 125
3. Ibid., p. 142
4. Ibid., p. 143
5. "The Heir," here, p. 111
6. Sergei Eisenstein, "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form" [1929], in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1949), pp. 45-63; "Laocoön" (1937), in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume II: Towards a Theory of Montage, 1937-1940*, ed. Michael Glenny and Richard Taylor, trans. Michael Glenny (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 109-202 (hereafter *Selected Works* [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW); "The Short Fiction Scenario" [1941], in *The Eisenstein Collection*, ed. Richard Taylor (New York: Seagull Books, 2006), pp. 336-399.
7. Eisenstein, "The Short Fiction Scenario," pp. 342-344.
8. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön* [1766], trans. Ellen Frothingham (New York: Noonday, 1957), p. 92.
9. See, for example, Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Laocoön," in SW 2, pp. 113-114.
10. Auguste Rodin, *Rodin on Art and on Artists: Conversations with Paul Gsell*, trans. Romilly Fedden (New York: Dover, 1983), p. 33; Auguste Rodin, *L'Art. Entretiens réunis par Paul Gsell* [1911] (Paris, Grasset, 1986), p. 70.
11. Eisenstein asserts that, from a teleological stance, cinema is the final phase of human artistic development – the highest and the most evolved of the arts. Consequently, cinema has the capacity to facilitate a better understanding of previous artistic forms. Scholars have labeled Eisenstein's theoretical project of studying the various arts through a cinematic lens, relying on montage as a point of orientation, "*cinématisme*." Eisenstein himself, however, never used this neologism, which was derived from the French *cinématique*. In his texts, Eisenstein instead speaks of *kinematografichnost*, which may be translated by "*cinematographicity*." However, since the term "cinematism" has become widespread in Eisensteinian studies, we will continue to use it here.
12. Sergei Eisenstein, "Recidiv," in *Metod*, ed. Naum Kleiman, 2 vols. (Moskva: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsentr, 2002),. vol. 1, pp. 69-71 (my translation).
13. Vsevolod Meyerhold, "Svad'ba Krechinskogo," in *Meierhol'd repertiruet*, ed. M. Sitkovskaia (Artist, 1993), vol. 2, p. 9 (my translation).
14. Alfred H. Barr, "Russian Diary, 1927-1928," *October* 7 (Winter 1978), p. 46.
15. Sergei Eisenstein, "The Kangaroo," in *Nonindifferent Nature*, ed. Herbert Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 183.

16. Unit 881, fund 1923, opus 2, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), Moscow.
17. Alma Law and Mel Gordon, *Meyerhold, Eisenstein and Biomechanics: Actor Training in Revolutionary Russia* (Durham: McFarland, 1996), p. 86.
18. Sergei Eisenstein and Sergei Tretiakov, "Expressive Movement," trans. Alma Law, *Millennium Film Journal* 3 (1979), pp. 30-38.
19. "The music of landscape and the fate of montage counterpoint at a new stage," in Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 283.
20. Sergei Eisenstein, *Montazh* (Moskva: Muzei kino, 2000), pp. 157-169.
21. Eisenstein, "Laocoön," in SW 2, p. 110.
22. Ibid., p. 111.
23. Ibid., pp. 110-111.
24. Ibid., pp. 120-121.

2. François Albera, "The Heritage We Renounce": Eisenstein in Historio-graphy

1. It would be appropriate to further question the very terms of "heritage" and "heir" Eisenstein uses in these *Notes* on the basis of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's text, "The Heritage We Renounce" (1897), in *Collected Works*, ed. George Hanna (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 491-534, and this one by Walter Benjamin: "In authentic history writing, the destructive impulse is just as strong as the saving impulse. From what can something be redeemed? Not so much from the disrepute or discredit in which it is held as from a determined mode of its transmission. The way in which it is valued as 'heritage' is more insidious than its disappearance could ever be." "Notizen und Vorarbeiten zu den Thesen *Über den Begriff der Geschichte*" [Notes and preparatory material to the theses *On the Concept of History*], in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, part 3 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974), p. 1242.
2. For a presentation of the editorial criteria that have been followed for the publication of Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*, first in Russian and then in English translation in this volume, see "Editorial Criteria," here, pp. 9-11.
3. Eisenstein thus distinguished the phases of this cinema in "The Middle of the Three" (*Sovetskoe kino* 11-12 [1934]), a complete version of which was recently published by Richard Taylor in *Studies in Russian & Soviet Cinema* 1.2 (2007), pp. 211-233; and in his "Speech to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers" (1935) for the fifteenth anniversary of Soviet cinema, in *Selected Works, Volume III: Writings, 1935-1947*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 16-26. (Hereafter *Selected Works* [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.) One might add interventions such as "The Most Important" (*Izvestia*, January 6, 1935); "One and Indivisible (Thoughts on the History of Soviet Cinema)" (1947), published posthumously in SW 3, pp. 341-348; or, more punctual still, "Give Us a State Plan" (*Kinofront* 14-15 [1927]), "What We Expect from the Party Conference on Matters of Cinema" (*Sovetskii ekran* 1 [1928]), "Twenty" (*20th Anniversary of Soviet Cinema* [1940]), etc.
4. "The cultural continuity of so-called 'cinema specificity' [*spetsifika kino*] from other contiguous art forms is now more clearly recognized than ever. The theory of the

'spontaneous generation' [*samozarozhdenie*] of cinema has long been outdated." Eisenstein, "The Middle of the Three," *Studies in Russian & Soviet Cinema* 1.2 (2007), p. 213.

5. "'I'm outgrowing films,' he said to Hans Richter. 'The medium is too primitive for me.'" Mary Seton, *Sergei M. Eisenstein: A Biography* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1978 [1952]), p. 147.
6. "Thus Art, with its high destination, is something belonging to the past. It has measurably lost for us its truth and its life." Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics* (Chicago: Griggs & Co., 1885), vol. 1, p. 5.
7. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Le philosophe et son ombre," in *Signes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960). Reprinted in *Éloge de la philosophie et autres essais* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), pp. 242-243.
8. Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 17-114.
9. Among many others, take, for example, these assertions by Jacques Deslandes: "[T]he history of cinema, that is, of films, could then begin," or "From 1896 on, the history of cinema was no longer the history of an invention, but that of an Art." Jacques Deslandes, *Histoire comparée du cinéma*, vol. 1, *De la cinématique au cinématographe*, 1826-1896 (Tournai: Casterman, 1966), pp. 7, 277.
10. This word, whose origin is scientific (the term "*cinématique*" is introduced by Ampère to designate the science "enclos[ing] everything there is to say about different kinds of movement regardless of the forces they can produce" in his *Essai sur la philosophie des sciences* (Paris: Bachelier, 1834), part 1, chapter 1, § 3, before becoming a branch of physiology in Marey), circulates widely in the early 1920s among theorists and critics of French cinema such as Canudo, Moussinac, Levinson, etc. It may even refer to "film" as material as opposed to artistic form (as when in the catalog of the Salon d'Automne of 1921, in the presentation sessions Club of Friends of the Seventh Art, one reads: "To raise the intellectual level of French *cinematic* production"). Léon Moussinac opposed cinematic arts – "moving plastic" – to static art (primarily painting) ("A propos du décor au cinéma" *Cinémagazine* 11 [March 17, 1922], or "De influence des peintres sur le cinema," *Art et décoration* [April 1923], in particular).
11. See Rostislav Jurenev, "Eisenstein," *Anthologie du cinéma* 1 (1966), pp. 60, 62; and Werner Südendorf, *Sergej M. Eisenstein. Materialen zu Leben und Werk* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1975), pp. 201-202. In the "Conspectus of Lectures on the Psychology of Art" (1947) reference is made to the request of Prof. Alexander Luria of Moscow University to come and give a lecture on the psychology of art. See Eisenstein, *The Psychology of Composition* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1987), p. 16. On relations between Eisenstein and Luria, see below.
12. See the introduction to *Poétique du film. Textes des formalistes russes sur le cinéma* [1995], ed. François Albera (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 2008).
13. Since December 1947, the members of the department had been meeting every Wednesday to that end. A parallel or converging enterprise was that of Georgii Aleksandrovich Avenarius. Avenarius had supervised the transfer of the film-trophies collected by the Red Army in Berlin and was to give impetus to the creation of the Gosfilmofond. He too sought to write a world history of cinema based on the

thousands of European and American films from early cinema to the 1940s, which until then had not made it to the USSR and had been looted by the Nazis in occupied Europe. It should be noted that one year before taking his appointment at the USSR Academy of Sciences and inaugurating the project of a universal history, Eisenstein – at that time the vice-director of the Cinema Section of VOKS (the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries) – was already talking of a project on the history of cinema in letters addressed to several American filmmakers (Ford, Wyler, Capra, Welles) from a perspective quite different from that in question here (see the publication of this correspondence by Sergei Kapterev in *Studies in Russian & Soviet Cinema* 4.2 [2010], pp. 245-253). Beyond establishing closer ties and setting up cultural exchanges, the idea was to start the edition of "a serie[s] of books under the title 'Materials on the History of World Cinema'" (the expression was repeated in all four letters), whose first two volumes had appeared at the time (on Chaplin and Griffith, respectively).

14. See Georgii Plekhanov, György Lukács, or, in art history, Arnold Hauser or Max Raphaël – whom Eisenstein quotes in *Nonindifferent Nature*. Max Raphaël, *Proudhon, Marx, Picasso: Three Studies in the Sociology of Art* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1980 [1933]).
15. See Lev Kuleshov, "Art, Contemporary Life and Cinema," in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*, ed. Ian Christie and Richard Taylor (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988), pp. 68-69.
16. According to Arnold Hauser, "the Russians become the first classicists of the new art" and "The works of Eisenstein and Pudovkin are really in some measure the Homeric epics of the cinema," in "The Film as a Product of Society," *Sight and Sound* 8.32 (Winter 1939-1940), p. 132.
17. See the reference to Nordau, who leveled the term *Entartung* (degeneration) at Wagner in 1892, echoing Baudelaire's expression on Manet as "the first in the decrepitude of his art" (letter dated May 11, 1865). See also passages taken from Max Raphaël on Picasso in *Nonindifferent Nature*. We can compare this position with the diagnosis of Walter Benjamin in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," par. XIV: "The excesses and crudities of art which thus result, particularly in periods of so-called decadence, actually emerge from the core of its richest historical energies" (Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, vol. 4, 1938-1940, trans. Edmund Jephcott and others, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003], p. 266). This diagnosis was pronounced before the Second World War by Eisenstein when he wrote his *Notes* (see also the preface he wrote in 1942 to *Film Sense*. Here he is particularly harsh regarding the trends toward "disintegration" that are characteristic of the "isms," with their regression toward a "zero point" which Eisenstein sees in all artistic production except for cinema).
18. "Dynamic Mummification. Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, p. 148.
19. Lev Manovich, *The Language of the New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001). From this observation Manovich draws the conclusion that "the theory and history of cinema serve as the key conceptual lens through which I look at new media" (pp. 8-9).

20. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972 [1969]), pp. 9-10.
21. Works following in this path include those of Vanessa Schwartz, Friedrich Kittler, Stefan Andriopoulos, Ray Beth Gordon, Patrick Désile, Jean-Louis Déotte, etc. We began opening this epistemic space with the proposal of an "episteme 1900" and a theory of devices (*Cinema Beyond Film*, ed. François Albera, Maria Tortajada [Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009]). See also "First Discourses on Film and the Construction of a Cinematic Episteme," in *A Companion to Early Cinema*, ed. André Gaudreault, Nicolas Dulac, Santiago Hidalgo [London: John Willey, 2012], pp. 121-140).
22. André Gaudreault (who, along with Tom Gunning, had borrowed from Eisenstein the notion of "attraction," before those of "*mise-en-cadre*" – the placement within the frame – and *mise-en-chaîne* – putting in sequence) was able to establish links between Eisenstein's filmic practice and early cinema. See Eisenstein, *L'Ancien et le nouveau*, ed. Dominique Chateau, François Jost, and Martin Lefebvre (Paris: Les Presses de la Sorbonne, 2001).
23. Jean George Auriol, "Les origines de la mise en scène," *Revue du cinéma* 1 (1946). Carlo Ragghianti thus claimed that cinema exteriorized the "time factor," which is intrinsic to other arts. See Carlo Ragghianti, *Cinema arte figurativa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1952), p. 77.
24. Thanks to his network of friends, Eisenstein closely followed what was being published. Marie Seton emphasizes Eisenstein's compulsive reading in those years and his constant requests for books to his friends in the West (Moussinac, Montagu and Leyda, among others).
25. Maurice Bardèche and Robert Brasillach, *History of the Film*, trans. and rev. Iris Barry (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938 [1935]). Eisenstein quotes a passage in "How I Learn to Draw (A Chapter about My Dancing Lesson)," in SW 4, p. 579.
26. Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1926); Gilbert Seldes, *The Movies Come from America* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1937), preface by Charles Chaplin (the book was subtitled *Movies for the Millions*). Eisenstein also cites Seldes's *An Hour with the Movies and the Talkies* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1929) and his *The 7 Lively Arts* (New York: Harper & Bros.,1924); Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939); Iris Barry, *D.W. Griffith: American Film Master* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1940).
27. Georges-Michel Coissac, *Histoire du cinématographe* (Paris: Cinéopse/Gauthier-Villard, 1925); Franz Paul Liesegang, *Dates and Sources: A Contribution to the History of the Art of the Projection and to Cinematography* (London: The Magic Lantern Society of Great Britain, 1986 [*Zahlen und Quellen: zur Geschichte der Projektionkunst und Kinematographie* (Berlin: Deutsches Druck und Verlaghaus, 1926)]).
28. See Dana Polan: "This course will examine, for the first time, the history, structure and functions of the motion picture as an art and as an industry. Various motion pictures, cinema devices and documents bearing on the rise and evolution of the films will be exhibited, as they may become available during the course" (*Scenes of Instruction: The Beginnings of the U.S. Study of Film* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007], p. 94). His perspective is, however, the very example of the

"teleological" default for which the first historians of cinema were reproached. For him, "The coming of the motion picture was inevitable" (ibid., p. 2) and everything heralds and prefigures it: "That hole in the wall of a chamber in Hellas was the pinhole aperture which cast a true image of the sun, and that darkened room was in truth a camera" (ibid., p. 2); "Leonardo observed that if he cut a small circular hole in a shutter of a darkened room there would be an image on the wall opposite [...]: This room was in reality the *camera obscura* [...] and it was indeed too the camera of to-day" (ibid., p. 4).

29. Ibid., p. IX.
30. Georges Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma*, vol. I, *L'Invention du cinéma, 1832-1897* (Paris: Denoël, 1945; 2nd ed., 1948), vol. II, *Les Pionniers du cinéma, 1897-1909* (Paris: Denoël, 1947).
31. This was, however, the title of a "summarizing" work that Sadoul published in 1949: *Histoire d'un art. Le cinéma des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 1949), regularly reprinted but with the title *Histoire du cinéma mondial. Des origines à nos jours*, until 1990, as well as in paperback under the title *Histoire du cinéma* (Paris: J'ai Lu, "Connaissance 1," 1962). Unfortunately, it is this work that will be the most frequently translated, and the one that researchers comment on (Bordwell or Lagny) when they want to define Sadoul's procedure.
32. See François Albera, "First Discourses on Film and the Construction of a 'Cinematic Episteme,'" in *A Companion to Early Cinema*, pp. 126-130.
33. The Russian Formalists (especially Eikhenbaum and Tynianov), for instance, take up this schema.
34. In the first issue of *Revue internationale de filmologie* (1947). In 1951, he announced a book about the origins and developments of the "filmic syntax" from 1895 to 1930.
35. *Les Lettres françaises* 477 (August 6, 1953), p. 5.
36. Mary Seton refers to one of these letters, whose content Sadoul must have communicated to her. See Seton, *Sergei M. Eisenstein*, p. 466. The letters are kept at the Cinémathèque Française, but not filed; I published a few of them in "Eisenstein dans la ligne," in Eisenstein, *L'Ancien et le nouveau*, pp. 96-97.
37. "Close shots of heads and objects were not so rare in the pre-Griffith film as is generally assumed; close shots can be found used solely for novelty or trick purposes by such inventive pioneers as Méliès and the English 'Brighton School' (as pointed out by Georges Sadoul)." Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1963 [1949]), pp. 224. The note may also be found in the Italian edition, *Forma e tecnica del film* (Turin: Einaudi, 1964), p. 196, as well as in Armand Panigel's French edition, *Le Film: sa forme/son sens* (Paris: Bourgois, 1976), p. 408, but not in the Russian edition of the *Selected Works*, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v shesti tomakh*, 6 vols. (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1964-1971), vol. 5, 129-180. The third volume of Richard Taylor's edition of the *Selected Works* provides another version of it: "The logically informative close-up can be found even earlier, e.g. in [Edwin] Porter's *The Life of an American Fireman* (USA, 1903) where the fire alarm is shot in close-up" (SW 3, p. 215). Written in 1942 and published in 1944, "Dikkens, Grifft i My" was revised by Eisenstein in 1946-1947 when Leyda was preparing *Film Form* (see Seton, *Sergei M. Eisenstein*, p. 472), as were the texts he sent to Panigel for the French edition

published by Jacques Melot (see ibid., p. 464-465). Only a look at the manuscripts addressed to Leyda and Panigel, respectively, would clarify the matter.

38. "Dynamic Mummification. Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, p. 190.
39. *Histoire générale du cinéma*, 3rd ed. (1978), vol. 2, pp. 303-304.
40. This is Maurice Bessy and Giuseppe Maria Lo Duca's book, *Georges Méliès: Mage, suivi de Mes mémoires par Georges Méliès* (Paris: Prisma, 1945), which is alluded to immediately afterward. The reference to this richly illustrated book (in color), which features documents beyond the films proper (Méliès as a caricaturist, a conjurer, a director at the Théâtre Robert-Houdin), is in itself significant: Eisenstein quite evidently drew from it a vindication of his "expanded" approach and found precise information in the book, notably on the anticipated reconstruction of the crowning of King Edward VII in 1902. See Bessy and Lo Duca, *Georges Méliès*, pp. 199-200.
41. "Naissance de la photographie," *Regards* 262 (January 19, 1939), pp. 20-21; "Les origines du cinéma américain," *Regards* 267 (February 23, 1939); "Le rôle de la France dans la naissance du cinéma américain," *Regards* 268 (March 2, 1939), p. 19; "Le cinéma est parlant depuis le début," *Regards* 269 (March 9, 1939), p. 18; "Les premiers pas du cinéma. L'invention des premiers appareils à dessins animés. 1824-1853," *La Pensée* 2 (Jan.-March 1945); "L'École de Brighton (1900-1905). Les origines du montage, du gros-plan et de la poursuite," *Cinéma* 2 (Paris: IDHEC-Jacques Melot, 1945); "L'invention du cinéma," *Labyrinthe* 13-14 (1945) – published in Geneva by Skira, this issue appeared alongside an exhibition by the Cinémathèque Française in Lausanne; Georges Sadoul and Paul Reynaud, *Émile Reynaud peintre de films, 1844-1918* (Paris: Cinémathèque Française, 1945); "Le Fantôme de l'Opéra," *L'Écran français* (December 1945); "Les apprentis sorciers. D'Edison à Méliès," *La Revue du cinéma* 1 (1946); "Early Film Production in England: The Origin of Montage, Close-ups, and Chase Sequence," *Hollywood Quarterly* 3 (April 1946); "Georges Méliès et la première élaboration du langage cinématographique," *Revue internationale de filmologie* 1 (1947); "L'Art et l'industrie du cinéma au temps des pionniers," *Europe* 19 (July 1947); *British Creators of Film Technique* (London: British Film Institute, 1948).
42. Friedrich von Zglinicki, *Der Weg des Films. Die Geschichte der Kinematographie und ihrer Vorläufer* (Berlin: Rembrandt, 1956). The first thirteen chapters (out of thirty-six) are devoted to the "forerunners" (*Vorläufer*), starting with rock paintings; a chart of the evolution of "types of images" is also proposed (p. 193).
43. C.W. Ceram, *Archaeology of the Cinema* (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1965), p. 17.
44. See F. Albera, "Pierre Francastel, le cinéma et la filmologie," *Cinémas* 19.2-3 (2009), pp. 287-316, as well as Francastel's texts published in the appendix (pp. 317-331).
45. See David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film History: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994); David Bordwell, *On the History of Film Style* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). According to them, the "Standard Version" follows the "Basic Story," which is purely enumerative, and adopts a teleological perspective. Opposed to it are Bazin's "Dialectical Program" and Burch's "Oppositional Program." Here, taxonomic teaching is producing a real sterilization of the historiographical material in question.

46. Georges Friedmann, "Sur une histoire du cinéma," *Annales* 3 (1946); André Bazin, "Le Mythe du cinéma total et les origines du cinématographe," *Critique* 6 (1946); "The Myth of Total Cinema," in André Bazin, *What Is Cinema?* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 17-22. See François Albera, "Trois intrigues de Georges Sadoul," *Cinémas* 21.1 (2011), p. 56.
47. See Léon Moussinac, "Anticipations nécessaires," *L'Humanité*, June 18, 1926; and Georges Sadoul, *Les Merveilles du cinéma* (Paris: Editeurs Français Réunis, 1957).
48. From which Erwin Panofsky took an equal distance in his famous 1934 essay, "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures": "It was not an artistic urge that gave rise to the discovery and gradual perfection of a new technique; it was a technical invention that gave rise to the discovery and gradual perfection of a new art" (*Bulletin of the Department of Art and Archaelogy*, Princeton University [1934]; reprinted in Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, eds., *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, 5th ed. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1999], p. 279). But neither Sadoul nor Eisenstein limit themselves to this alternative between "idea" or "artistic urge" ("urge" being the same term that Eisenstein uses in the *Notes*, as well as Ramsaye, who refers to "The urge of art" and "technique" [*A Million and One Nights*, p. 5]). They take account of the evolution of society on the economic as well as mental (ideological) level, as well as of certain anthropological factors.
49. Louis Althusser, *Philosophy of the Encounter: Later Writings, 1978-1987* (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 163-207. See Eisenstein's surprising pages in his *Memoirs* (*Beyond the Stars*, in SW 4) about the technical process of an invention ("ideas," "plan," "implementation"). In "Torito," he takes the example of Gutenberg starting from J.-M. Montmasson's *Le rôle de l'inconscient dans l'invention scientifique* (Paris, Alcan, 1928; the reference is omitted in the English edition of the *Memoirs*) and the writings of Gutenberg himself to examine the process from a "*idée fixe*" (fixed idea) but goes by "assemblies" and "extrapolations" between different techniques converging toward the development a "device" which is "the expressed command of a social group whose interests he shared" (*Beyond the Stars*, in SW 4, p. 766).
50. "[B]y means of photography we make factual copy-prints of the phenomena and elements of reality" refers to documentary;" "these copy-prints – if you like photographic reflections – are combined in a certain arrangement" refers to the cinema of mise en scène (Eisenstein, "The Middle of the Three," *Studies in Russian & Soviet Cinema* 1.2 [2007], p. 213).
51. David-Octavius Hill (1802-1870), an Edinburgh painter, was the author of a treatise on the reproduction of landscape paintings through engraving. With Robert Adamson, he was one of the first to use Fox Talbot's invention (negative/positive) in many portraits and landscapes called calotypes. In Vladimir Nielsen's *Izobrazitelnoe postroenie filma* (with a preface by Eisenstein [Moskva: Kino Foto Izdat, 1936]; published in English as *The Cinema as a Graphic Art* [New York: Hill & Wang, 1936]), a whole chapter is devoted to photography, and Hill is mentioned several times.
52. Published in the collection edited by Gaston Diehl, *Problèmes de la peinture* (Lyon: Confluences, 1945), the essay was reprinted in an amended version in *Qu'est-ce que le cinéma?* (1958). It was published in the USSR as *Čto takoe kino?* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1972) with interesting remarks by the editor. For the amended version, see André

Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," in Bazin, *What Is Cinema?* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 9-16. (Translator's note: the quotations appearing here come from the original essay published in Diehl's collection, and the translations from the French are my own.)

53. One is titled "L'invention de la photographie."
54. Bazin's text has a genealogy of its own: Girard-Cordonnier, *Le Christ dans sa passion révélée par le saint-Suaire de Turin* (Paris: Dillen, 1935); Paul Claudel, "La Photographie du Christ," in *Toi, qui es-tu?* (Paris: Gallimard, 1936); and several articles on photography in *Esprit* in the 1930s, including René Schwob, "Art poétique de la photographie," on death every twenty-fourth of a second, and the superiority of photography over the (stilled) single frame.
55. "Peinture et photographie," *Arts de France* 19/20 and 21 (1947). This is the transcription of a conference at "Travail et Culture," where Bazin was also active.
56. This refers to Baudelaire's expression in his "The Salon of 1859: The Modern Public and Photography": "Daguerre was his Messiah" (in Francis Frascina and Charles Harrison, eds., *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology* [London: Sage, 1982], p. 19). Bazin's text manifestly echoes Baudelaire's, whose condemnation he turns round while keeping its religious isotopy.
57. These questions were debated and dismissed by Descartes with his *Dioptrics*.
58. See François Dagognet, *Philosophie de l'image* (Paris: Vrin, 1984), p. 55.
59. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus logico-philosophicus* (Seven Treasures Publications, 2009), p. 29.
60. The editors of the *Memoirs* situate this undated text between 1943 and 1946: cf. *Beyond the Stars*, in SW 4, pp. 290-298.
61. The onlooker's reflection on the daguerreotype plate is one way to understand Baudelaire's evocation as he wrote that "our squalid society rushed, Narcissus to a man, to gaze at its trivial image on a scrap of metal" (Baudelaire, "The Salon of 1859," p. 20.
62. *Beyond the Stars*, in SW 4, pp. 292-296.
63. As distinguished from the epic vs. dramatic opposition in "The Dramaturgy of Film Form" (1929) in which the epic principle is associated with Pudovkin and linear assembly, as opposed to dialectical montage based on conflict (S.M. Eisenstein, *Cinématisme. Peinture et cinéma*, introduction, notes and commentary by François Albera [Dijon: Les presses du réel], p. 25). On pathos, see in this volume "Pathos and Praxis (Eisenstein versus Barthes)" by Georges Didi-Huberman, pp. 309-322.
64. See Sergei Eisenstein, *Glass House* (Dijon: Les Presses du Réel, 2009), and his text on intellectual attraction ("A.I. 28") in François Albera, ed., *Eisenstein dans le texte*, special issue of *Cinémas* 11.2-3 (2001). In "Pioneers and Innovators" Eisenstein writes: "My limit is intellectual film" (here, p. 250).
65. See "Documents from *Novy LEF*," *Screen* 15.3 (1974). For the movement as a whole, see above all the works of Maria Zalambani: *L'Arte nelle produzione: avanguardia e rivoluzione nella Russia sovietica degli anni '20* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998); *La morte del romanzo: dall'avanguardia al realismo socialista* (Roma: Carocci, 2003) (Russian edition: *Literatura fakta: ot avangarda k sotsrealismu*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2006); for cinema and literature, see Elizabeth Papazian, *Manufacturing Truth: The Documentary Moment in*

Early Soviet Culture (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009), and for cinema, journalism, and photography, see Aya Kawamura, "La création collective dans le documentaire soviétique: photographie, cinéma et 'correspondants-ouvriers,'" in *1895 Revue d'histoire du cinéma* 63 (2011).

66. Eisenstein, *Psychology of Composition*, p. 1.
67. "Pioneers and Innovators," here, p. 250.
68. "The Heir," here, p. 115.
69. Denounced in the first issue of *LEF* with the slogan "Do not make business on Lenin!"and which will be discussed in regards to the representation of Lenin in *October*, for which Eisenstein was criticized. Vertov, like Rodchenko, opposes the living archive of the film to the dead imagery of painting and various effigies (see Rodchenko, "Protiv summirovannogo portreta za momental'nyi snimok," *Novy LEF* 4 [1928], p. 14; reprinted in *Alexandr Rodchenko: Experiments for the Future: Diaries, Essays, Letters and Other Writings*, ed. and with a preface by Alexander N. Lavrentiev, trans. and annotated by Jamey Gambrell, and with an introduction by John E. Bowlt (New York: MoMA, 2004).
70. The convention, in its meeting of the 28 floréal, year II (May 17, 1794), adopted a decree concerning public festivals. Robespierre speaks of them as the "most magnificent of all spectacles," "that of a great people assembled." In the national festivals of Greece, he says, "one saw a spectacle greater than the games, namely the spectators themselves, the people who had triumphed over Asia, whose republican virtues had sometimes elevated them above humanity. One saw great men who had saved or brought great honor to the nation: father showing to their sons Miltiade, Aristide, Epaminondas, Timoleon, whose presence alone was a living lesson in magnanimity, justice, and patriotism." Cited by Ernest Lalanne in *Les Fêtes de la révolution* (Paris: Société d'édition et de publication, 1900), pp. 8-9.
71. Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); *Stilfragen. Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: Siemens, 1893).
72. This "urge," this drive (*Trieb*) that he constantly invokes, has some proximity to the *Kunstwollen* (will to art): the historical movement from close, haptic vision, to far-off, optical vision (present in "Rodin and Rilke" and here in regard to the passage from contour to tattooing and representation.)
73. "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," here, p. 225.
74. Ibid.
75. The Russian version of "El Greco and the Cinema," "El Greco i kino," can be found in S.M. Eisenstein, *Montazh* (Moskva: Muzei kino, 2000), pp. 404-463. A French translation with the title in Spanish "El Greco y el cine" can be found in Eisenstein, *Cinématisme*, pp. 65-128.
76. For Plato the visible and verisimilar image (the icon of semiology) is called *eidolon* (idol). The icon (*eikon*) is a symbol, a rhetorical figure (like the cave in *The Republic*).
77. In *Storm over Toledo*, El Greco adopted a geographically impossible point of view to paint the city, the Alcántara bridge, and the Tajo, imaginarily placing himself at an impossible height. Furthermore, he changed the proportions and placements of

various sites. Eisenstein speaks of this kind of "super-figurative, eidetic task" and of the "eidetic recreation of a natural landscape."

78. Initiated in 1928, Eisenstein's relationship with Vygotsky and Luria, and then, after the death of the first in 1934, with Luria alone, continued until his death. The two psychologists were very interested in questions of psychology of art and especially the spectator's relationship with the film. (Luria opened a laboratory within GIK to this end, with the production of experimental films and experimental that foreshadow those of the Institute of Filmology.) Eisenstein, for his part, collected the results of the experiments and the presentations material for teaching the comprehension of the reception mechanisms of works of art, the function of language, memory, and perception. He also owed to Luria his contact with Kurt Lewin and the Gestalt psychologists during his German trip of 1929. Eisenstein was asked by Luria to develop a course in December 1940, and on November 19, 1947, called him to give courses on the psychology of art at the Psychology Institute (Eisenstein, *Psychology of Composition*, p. 16).
79. Alexander Luria, *The Mind of a Mnemonist* (London: Basic Books, 1968), p. 41.
80. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Vertical Montage" (1940), in SW 2, p. 368.
81. Jaensch's theories are taken up in France by Pierre Quercy (who publishes articles on "eidetism" and hallucinations and is interested in the "case" of Theresa d'Avila, discussed by Edmond Claparède). In his *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* (cowritten with Paul Eluard) (1938), André Breton takes up the definition used by Jaensch and his French disciples. Jaensch, who claimed to be a follower of Lévy-Bruhl, took Hitler's side early on and sought to justify Nazi racial ideology on anthropological grounds.
82. This inferential interaction between the analyst and the patient (over some thirty years) was analyzed by Abdelhadi Elfakir in "Mémoire et autisme: de la neuropsychologie à la psychanalyse. Le cas de Cherechevski," *L'Information psychiatrique* 81.9 (November 2005).
83. A whole part of Shereshevsky's explications, furthermore, coincides with the "iconological program" of François David, as he presented it in 1911 in his "Nouveau système de composition des Scènes cinématographiques," *Ciné Journal* 160 (November 16, 1911). We began to present David's astonishing pedagogical and encyclopedic utopia in "Voir le procès de pensée: le cinéma intellectuel de François David à Eisenstein (en passant par Godard)," in Leonardo Quaresima, Alessandra Raengo, Laura Vichi, eds., *I Limiti della rappresentazione. The Bounds of Representation. Censorship, the Visible, Modes of Representation in Film* (Udine: Forum, 2000).
84. See the chapter entitled "Montage and Architecture" of *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, pp. 59-81, and the essay "El Greco and the Cinema" (Eisenstein, *Montazh*, pp. 404-463; Eisenstein, *Cinématisme*, pp. 65-128). The "targeted" usage of the adjective "eidetic" in respect to *Storm of Toledo*, clarified by Luria's usage, allows for an emphasis on the "subjective" aspect of this landscape. Eisenstein even speaks of a self-portrait and takes up Zola's phrase, "nature viewed through a temperament."
85. Here one approaches some of Bazin's claims in "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" that are made, however, from another philosophical perspective (phenomenology) and situate the camera's object elsewhere (to aim at the real of "things

themselves" without the interference of a human who interprets and interposes himself.)

86. "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," here, p. 242.
87. Notably in *Nonindifferent Nature* and *Metod*.
88. "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," here, p. 242.
89. Ibid.
90. "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," here, pp. 227-228.
91. In "Pioneers and Innovators," Eisenstein writes: "Kuleshov 'ended' with the arrival of *Strike*. As did Vertov" (here, p. 250).
92. R. Labrusse, "Délires anthropologiques: Josef Strzygowski face à Alois Riegl," in *Histoire de l'art et anthropologie* (Paris: INHA/Musée du Quai Branly, 2009). The Viennese historian of art Strzygowski (who participated in Georges Bataille and Carl Einstein's journal *Documents* and who shared an interest that Malraux would pursue after the war for carrying out unexpected juxtapositions between works and periods of art) was one of Riegl's most resolute adversaries (see Georg Vasold, "Riegl, Strzygowski and the Development of Art," *ARS: Journal of the Institute of Art History of SAS* 1 [2008]).
93. The references that he makes even here, as in other texts, to Nordau, are indications as to that "social pathology" that he was diagnosing. In his *Entartung*, Nordau stigmatizes "fin de siècle" immorality, particularly in the artistic domain ("degenerate art") on a supposedly scientific basis: "In the fin de siècle temperament, in the tendencies of poetry and contemporary art, in the life and the behavior of men who write mystical, symbolic, and decadent works, in the attitude taken by their admirers, in the tastes and aesthetic instincts of fashionable society, one observes the confluence of two well-defined conditions of illness familiar to the doctor, degeneration and hysteria, whose benign phase is called neurasthenia." The book presents numerous case studies of artists, writers, and thinkers (Ibsen, Wagner, Wilde, Nietzsche), taking as its basic idea that society is in a state of degeneration and that art reflects that state. Eisenstein cites *Entartung* in "Vertical Montage" (See *Towards a Theory of Montage* for the symbolism of colors) in *Metod*, vol. 1, "Grundproblem," pp. 131-134) and in his notes for a "Psychology of Art" (in *Psychology of Composition*).
94. The term appears regularly when what Tomaso Montanari calls "a vague conception of theatricality" or a "hyperdecorativism" emerges. See his recent *Il Barocco* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012). Pierre Francastel had fought against this vague usage of the term ("Baroque et classique: une civilization," *Annales* 12.2 [1957], pp. 207-222.
95. Eugenio d'Ors, *Du Baroque* [*Lo Barroco*] (Paris, Gallimard, 1935 [1968], p. 29). In his *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (written between 1923 and 1925), Walter Benjamin writes for his part that "like expressionism, the baroque is not so much an age of genuine artistic achievement as an age possessed of an unremitting artistic will. This is true of all periods of so-called decadence" (London: Verso, 1998), p. 55. The use of Riegl's expression (*Kunstwollen*) brings Benjamin close to the author of *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (The origin of baroque art in Rome, 1908) who had argued harshly over these questions of "decadence" in the art of late antiquity with Josef Strzygowski.

96. *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 298.
97. See David Bordwell, "Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift," *Screen* 15.4 (1974/1975).
98. D'Ors, *Du Baroque*, p. 127.
99. Viktor Shklovskii, "O zakonakh stroeniia fil'my S. Ejzenshteina," *Sovetskii ekran* 6 (1929). Reprinted as "Des lois de construction des films d'Eisenstein," in V. Shklovskii, *Textes sur le cinéma* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 2011), p. 185.
100. Viktor Shklovskii, "Konets barokko," *Literaturnaia gazeta* 32 (May 12, 1932), p. 3.
101. Kenneth Clark, *One Hundred Details from the National Gallery* (London: National Gallery Company, 1938).
102. *Metod*, vol. 2, p. 65. French translation: "Les péripéties de la pars pro toto," in Sergei Eisenstein, *Dickens & Griffith. Génèse du gros plan*, trans. Marina Berger (Paris: Stalker, 2007), pp. 124-125.
103. Luc et Paul Haesaerts, *Flandres: essai sur l'art flamand depuis 1880. L'impressionnisme* (Paris: Editions des Chroniques du Jour, 1931).
104. Jens-Ferdinand Willumsen, *La Jeunesse du peintre El Greco. Essai sur la transformation de l'artiste byzantin en peintre européen*, 2 vols. (Paris, Crès, 1927); Maurice Legendre and A. Hartmann, *El Greco* (Paris: Hyperion, 1937). See "El Greco and the Cinema," and *Nonindifferent Nature*, chapter 4.
105. "Les péripéties de la pars pro toto," pp. 124-125. Clark, in his preface, indicates that his primary motivation in isolating a detail in a painting is its "beauty," and that the choices reflect his taste before all else. He furthermore recognizes the playful dimension of the process (Will one recognize the detail or not?) and above all it "refreshing" character.
106. Ibid., p. 128. It is indeed a fact that many magazines of the 1920s based their iconographic layout on montage (opposition, analogy, contrast).
107. "El Greco and the Cinema," (French translation "*El Greco y el cine*," p. 90).
108. Marie-Claire Ropars-Wuilleumier, "Fonction de la métaphore dans *Octobre* d'Eisenstein," *Littérature* 11 (1973), p. 125. For Ropars-Wuilleumier, syntax – montage as putting elements into relation with each other – offers a metonymic base (that of writing) with a metaphorical effect (semantic), because writing produces the text and not the represented. Or, to put it in Jacques Derrida's terms, while metaphor subordinates the syntactic to the semantic, it is also a matter of looking to syntactic resistance as one of the paths of the metaphor's self-destruction. ("La mythologie blanche," cited by Ropars, "Fonction de la métaphore," p. 127).
109. This question deserves a development that cannot be carried out here. Let us simply take the famous example of the three "lions" in *Potëmkin* to illustrate it (this montage sequence has been analyzed by V.F Perkins [*Films as Film: Understanding and Judging Movies* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972)] and Herbert Marshall [*Sergei Eisenstein's* The Battleship Potemkin (New York: Avon Books, 1978)] from another perspective): in the construction of the film and the conception that governs Eisenstein's aesthetics in *Strike* and *Battleship Potëmkin*, these three lions – sleeping, woken up, and frightened and standing up straight – have a metonymic function. The battleship fires on buildings that incarnate imperial power in Odessa (the opera, the general quarter), as a reaction to the repression of the people, who had allied themselves with the mutineers (the "steps" episode). The wrought-iron gates of a palace, a

sculptural group on the opera building (a nude female figure on a chariot, pulled by lionesses), and some cherubs are thus bombed and, in this series of imperial emblems, the lions arrive last (three lions, just as there were, shortly beforehand, three angels and four lionesses). The commentaries, including those by Eisenstein in the 1930s, ascribed them the meaning of anger, the people's revolt, in a single animal arising ("even the stones will roar"), that is to say, assigned to them a metaphorical function (the lion's fear becomes a roar, from being terrified he becomes terrifying). Eisenstein speaks in *Nonindifferent Nature* of "sculptural metaphor" (p. 314). Unthinkable in the 1920s (dominated by constructivism: the assemblage of fragmentary elements), this metaphorical "imagery" becomes thinkable in the context of socialist realism (already in *The White Eagle* [1928], the "veteran" Protazanov, in the scene of the suppressed demonstration in front of the governor's residence, uses five shots of lion statues, strongly integrated into the diegesis, with a metaphorical function – strength and cruelty of power). While Kuleshov in 1926, speaks of "bombing of Odessa Theater *with lions scared*" ["Will. Tenacity. Eye," in *L'art du cinéma et autres écrits* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1995), p. 136], Pudovkin, on the side of metaphor in cinema from the outset (the clock in *Mother*, the disaster of the ice floes, and the May 1st demonstration), comments on this meaning this sequence of *Potemkin* in his writings (see V.I. Pudovkin, *Film Technique and Film Acting* [New York: Lear, 1949], pp. 87-89), and Shklovskii sees the three lions become one "who leaps and roars" (*Ikh nastoiashchee*, 1927, reprinted in Shklovskii, *Textes sur le cinéma*, p. 114, and in "Des lois de construction des films d'Eisenstein," p. 184). Eisenstein analyzes this passage of the film as an emotional explosion in his "Memories" (*Beyond the Stars*, in SW 4).

3. Luka Arsenjuk, The *Notes for a General History of Cinema* and the Dialectic of the Eisensteinian Image

1. In his text published in this volume, Antonio Somaini insists on how the principle according to which the *Notes for a General History of Cinema* are organized is nothing other than the principle of montage: see Antonio Somaini, "Cinema as 'Dynamic Mummification,' History as Montage: Eisenstein's Media Archaeology," here, pp. 19-115.
2. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937," in Sergei Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume II: Towards a Theory of Montage, 1937-1940*, ed. Michael Glenny and Richard Taylor, trans. Michael Glenny (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 11-58. (Hereafter Selected Works [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.) See also Jacques Aumont's seminal study *Montage Eisenstein* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 170-84. Aumont describes Eisenstein's writings between 1937 and 1940 as "one of the most powerful and concentrated stages of all of [Eisenstein's] thinking" (p. 170) and calls "Montage 1937" "probably the most purely theoretical text ever written by Eisenstein, [...] the most foundational." (p. 184). My essay is deeply indebted to Aumont's study, to the extent that it can be understood as little more than a restatement of Aumont's claim that "the opposition [Eisenstein] maintained between 'figuration' and 'abstraction' is not without its own dialectical force" (p. 175).

3. In what follows I will focus on Eisenstein's discussion of the barricade only at the first level, that of single-shot composition. It is worth noting, however, that the example is also used later in a chapter called "Rhythm," where an integral composition of a scene on the barricade is discussed at the three levels of the single shot, shot sequence, and audiovisual composition. Cf. SW 2, pp. 241-242.
4. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937," SW 2, p. 25.
5. Ibid., p. 21.
6. Ibid., p. 25. Emphases of the cutting gestures in the quoted passage are Eisenstein's own.
7. Viktor Shklovsky, *Art as Technique*, in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, transl. and with an introduction by Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 18.
8. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937," SW 2, p. 26 (my emphasis).
9. See, however, the discussion of the dynamization of objects and the relationship between Eisenstein and Russian Formalism in Manfredo Tafuri, "The Historicity of the Avant-Garde," in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), pp. 55-64. For a humorous example of Eisenstein's own statement on Shklovsky and the Formalist School, see the entry on "The Comic" from February 2, 1947, in Sergei Eisenstein, *Metod*, ed. Naum Kleiman, 2 vols. (Moskva: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein-tsentr, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 387-389.
10. To take the comparison with the Formalist school a bit further, we can remember that Yury Tynyanov described the metamorphosis that the depicted objects undergo in this type of dynamic immanence of an image in "The Fundamentals of Cinema," published in the 1927 collection of Formalist writings on film, *Poetika Kino*: "The picking out of material in a photograph leads to the unity of every photograph, to a peculiar *crowding relationships* among all the objects or elements of a single object within the photograph. As a result of this inner unity the relationship between the objects or between the elements within one object, is over-determined. The objects deform themselves" (Yuri Tynyanov, "The Fundamentals of Cinema," trans. L.M. O'Toole, in *The Poetics of Cinema* [Oxford: RTP Publishing, 1992], pp. 42-43).
11. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937," in SW 2, p. 25.
12. Ibid., p. 15.
13. Ibid., p. 16.
14. Ibid., p. 19.
15. Ibid., p. 20.
16. Ibid., p. 21.
17. Mikhail Iampolski, *The Memory of Tiresias: Intertextuality and Film* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 226.
18. "The image is initially defined as "graphic design" with the word "design" understood, as Eisenstein notes, in the sense of "drawing" and not "planning;" regardless of its material form, figuration, in its composition and construction, must produce a design, in addition to reproducing the real. A design of what? Of 'what determines the psychological content of the scene and the interrelated actions of the

characters'; in other words of an interpretation of this content" (Aumont, *Montage-Eisenstein*, p. 176).

19. Eisenstein makes the distinction between two kinds of mimesis in his 1929 lecture at La Sarraz, "Imitation as Mastery," in *The Eisenstein Collection*, ed. Richard Taylor (London: Seagull Books, 2006), pp. 11-19.
20. Iampolski, *The Memory of Tiresias*, 227.
21. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Yermolova," in SW 2, p. 97 (My modified translation). See also: Sergei M. Eizenshtein, "Montazh" (1937), in *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v shesti tomakh*, 6 vols. (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1964-1971), vol. 2, p. 387.
22. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937," in SW 2, pp. 32-33. Emphases are Eisenstein's own.
23. Aumont, *Montage Eisenstein*, p. 158.
24. See, for instance, his use of newspaper clipping from *Newsweek*, in the notes published in this volume with the title "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema."
25. As when he deduces the necessity of cinema from a general hypothesis of anthropological finitude, i.e., what is eternally true is human striving for eternity ("Dynamic Mummification," p. 156).
26. See a statement like "Cinema begins from level zero." ("The Heir," here, p. 109). Defamiliarization can, for example, also be found in a strange subtitle of one of the sections in an entry from December 28, 1947, where Eisenstein posits a leap "From Dionysus to Television" ("Dynamic Mummification," p. 169). This idea, which posits a continuity – if not direct coincidence – between cultic communion and the experience of television, by relating the two historically distant phenomena in the text, reappears in the section "*Übergang zum* Television" of "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle" (here, p. 237).

4. Nico Baumbach, Act Now!, or For an Untimely Eisenstein

1. "The Problem of the Materialist Approach to Form" (1925), in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume I: Writings, 1922-1934*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), p. 64. (Hereafter Selected Works [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.).
2. Ibid, p. 65.
3. See Sergei Eisenstein, "The Heir," here, p. 109.
4. Paul Willemen, "Reflection on Digital Imagery: Of Mice and Men," in *New Screen Media: Cinema/Art/Narrative*, ed. Martin Rieser and Andrea Zapp (London: BFI Press, 2008), p. 16.
5. Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), p. 58.
6. Jonathan Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production: Attention Economy and the Society of the Spectacle* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), p. 99.
7. Jan Simons, "New Media as Old Media: Cinema," in *The New Media Book*, ed. Dan Harries (London: BFI, 2002), p. 236.
8. Bill Seaman, "Recombinant Poetics: Emergent Explorations of Digital Video in Virtual Space," in *New Screen Media: Cinema/Art/Narrative*, ed. Martin Rieser and Andrea Zapp (London: BFI Press, 2008), p. 252.

9. See Torben Grodal, *Embodied Visions: Evolution, Emotion, Culture, and Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 14, and Carl Plantinga, "Cognitive Film Theory: An Insider's Appraisal," *Cinémas: Journal of Film Studies* 12.2 (2002), p. 18.
10. See Friedrich Kittler, *Optical Media* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010).
11. Jean-Louis Baudry, "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus," trans. Alan Williams, *Film Quarterly* 28.2 (1974-1975), p. 46.
12. Quoted in D.N. Rodowick, *The Crisis of Political Modernism: Criticism and Ideology*, in *Contemporary Film Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 3.
13. Serge Daney, "The T(h)errorizied (Godardian Pedagogy)," *The Thousand Eyes* 2 (1977), p. 34.
14. Christian Metz, "The Imaginary Signifier," *Screen* 16.2 (1975), p. 14.
15. Jacques Rancière, *Film Fables*, trans. Emiliano Battista (New York: Berg Publishers, 2006), p. 31.
16. Ibid.
17. See Peter Wollen, "The Two Avant-Gardes," *Studio International* (November/December 1975), pp. 171-175.
18. Quoted in Mikhail Iampolski, "The Essential Bone Structure: Mimesis in Eisenstein," in *Eisenstein Reconsidered*, ed. Ian Christie and Richard Taylor (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 171.
19. Ibid., p. 179.
20. Rancière, *Film Fables*, p. 31.
21. Ben Brewster, "Editorial Note," *Screen* 15.4 (1974), p. 32.
22. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 33.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid, p. 32.
26. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Audience as Creator," in SW 3, p. 339.
27. Ibid.
28. Dziga Vertov, *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, ed. Annette Michelson and trans. Kevin O'Brien (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 52.
29. Ibid., p. 162.
30. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Montage 1938," in SW 2, p. 309.
31. Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production*, p. 126.
32. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Montage 1938," in SW 2, p. 310.
33. Ibid., p. 311.
34. Eisenstein, "The Heir," p. 112.

5. Georges Didi-Huberman, Pathos and Praxis (Eisenstein versus Barthes)

1. Ernst Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times* [1935], trans. Neville Plaice (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), p. 3.
2. Walter Benjamin, "What Is Epic Theater?" [second version, 1939], in *Understanding Brecht*, trans. Anna Bostock (London: Verso, 2003), p. 21.

3. Lev Vygotsky, *The Psychology of Art* [1925] (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971); *Théorie des émotions. Étude historico-psychologique* (1931-1934), trans. Nicolas Zavialoff and Christian Saunier (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).
4. Roland Barthes, *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).
5. Roland Barthes, "Shock-Photos," in *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 71, 73.
6. Roland Barthes, "The Great Family of Man," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1972), pp. 100-102. See also *The Family of Man*, ed. Edward Steichen (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955). On the exhibition, itself memorable, see Edward Steichen, *A Life in Photography* (London: W. H. Allen, 1963), ch. 13 [no pagination]; *The Family of Man. Témoignages et documents* (Luxembourg: Centre national de l'audiovisuel-Éditions Artevents, 1994); Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: "The Family of Man" and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Paul di Felice and Pierre Stiwer, eds., *The 90s: A Family of Man?* (Luxembourg: Casino Luxembourg-Forum d'Art contemporain, 1997); Jean Back and Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, eds., *The Family of Man, 1955-2001: Humanism and Postmodernism: A Reappraisal of the Photo Exhibition by Edward Steichen* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2004).
7. Steichen, *The Family of Man*, pp. 138-141, 146-149.
8. Barthes, "The Great Family of Man," in *Mythologies*, pp. 100, 101.
9. Robert Antelme, *The Human Race* [1957], trans. Jeffrey Haight and Annie Mahler (Marlboro/Evanston: The Marlboro Press/Northwestern University, 1998).
10. Barthes, "Shock-Photos," in *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, pp. 72, 73.
11. Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 141-148.
12. Barthes, "Shock-Photos," in *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, pp. 73.
13. Roland Barthes, "The Third Meaning," in *Image – Music -Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), p. 54.
14. Barthes, "The Third Meaning," in *Image – Music –Text*, p. 56. Translator's note: the italics are not Roland Barthes's. They were added in the English edition of the text.
15. Barthes, "The Third Meaning," in *Image – Music –Text*, pp. 56-57.
16. Alain Bergala, "Le pendule (la photo historique stéréotypée)," Cahiers du cinéma 268-269 (1976), pp. 45-46.
17. Vladimir Mayakovsky, "Cinema and Cinema," *Kino-Fot* 4 (5-12 October 1922), p. 5. Reprinted in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*, ed. Ian Christie and Richard Taylor, trans. Richard Taylor (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988), p. 75.
18. Sergei Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, trans. Herbert Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 14. Translator's note: the second part of the quotation appears first in Eisenstein's text in the existing English translation. Also, the italics used in the text of the same English translation are presumably Eisenstein's own.

19. Sergei Eisenstein, "Le cinéma et la littérature (de l'imagicité)" [1933], in *Le mouvement de l'art*, ed. François Albera and Naum Kleiman (Paris: Le Cerf, 1986), p. 28.
20. Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, in *Œuvres complètes. Roman*, II, ed. A. Rosa (Paris : Robert Laffont, 1985), p. 834.

6. Jane Gaines, Eisenstein's Absolutely Wonderful, Totally Impossible Project

1. For what it might mean to ask about the theoretical implications of the "historical turn," see Jane M. Gaines, "What Happened to the Philosophy of Film History?," *Film History* 25.1-2 (2013), pp. 70-80. For an overview of the "historical turn" and introduction to essays in a special issue of *Cinema Journal*, see Sumiko Higashi, "In Focus: Film History, or a Baedeker Guide to the Historical Turn," *Cinema Journal* 44.1 (Fall 2004), pp. 94-100; On the expectations for "new film history" see Thomas Elsaesser, "The New Film History," *Sight and Sound* 55.4 (1986), pp. 246-251.
2. Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar, *Reading Capital*, trans. Ben Brewster (London: Verso, 1979), p. 103.
3. For a comprehensive overview that throws a wide net in attempting to find the "roots" of "the new philosophy of history," see Frank Ankersmit, "Bibliographical Essay," in *A New Philosophy of History*, ed. Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 278-283. For a configuration of the field most influenced by poststructuralism see Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow, "Introduction," in *The Nature of History Reader*, ed. Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1-18. For an outside overview of the debates, see Geoffrey Roberts, "Introduction: The History and Narrative Debate, 1960-2000," in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 1-21.
4. Annette Kuhn and Jackey Stacey, "Screen Histories: An Introduction," in *Screen Histories: A Screen Reader*, ed. Annette Kuhn and Jackey Stacey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 2.
5. But in Derrida, the hyphenated "im-possible" turns out to be, as he says, "everything but impossible" (Jacques Derrida, "Deconstructions: The Im-possible." In *The Nature of History Reader*, eds. Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow. London and New York, Routledge, 2004, 229). And the "invention" to which he refers in this article is deconstruction itself–a proper "invention" must "invent the impossible" (ibid., p. 233).
6. Jenkins and Munslow, "Introduction,", pp.12-15.
7. I take this from Part Three, "Deconstructionism," of Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow, eds., *The Nature of History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), in which they have reprinted excerpts from, among others, Walter Benjamin, Hayden White, and Derrida, although, I should note, the editors never explain what Derrida's talk from 2001 has to do with how one might go about becoming a "deconstructionist historian." For an example of historical work in this vein, see Carolyn Steedman, who argues, "The very search for what is lost and gone [...] alters it, as it goes along, so that every search becomes an impossible one" (*Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*

[New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002], p. 77). However, historians tend to privilege one Derrida text – *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) – over others.

8. André Gaudreault, *Film and Attraction: From Kinematography to Cinema*, trans. Timothy Barnard (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), p. 12. The article by Comolli referred to by Gaudreault can be found in Jean-Louis Comolli, "Technique and Ideology: Camera, Perspective, Depth of Field," in *Cahiers du Cinéma, 1969-72: The Politics of Representation*, ed. Nick Browne (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). It was translated by Diana Matias from "Technique et Idéologie: Caméra, perspective, profondeur de champ," *Cahiers du Cinéma* 229 and 230 (May-June and July 1971), and first appeared in English in *Film Reader* 2 (January 1977), pp. 128-40. The series continue in *Cahiers du Cinéma* 231 (Aug.-Sept. 1971); 233 (Nov. 1971); 234-235 (Dec. 1971/Jan.-Feb. 1972); 241 (Sept.-Oct. 1972).
9. See Thomas Elsaesser, "Is Nothing New? Turn-of-the-Century Epistemes in Film History," in *A Companion to Early Cinema*, ed. André Gaudreault, Nicolas Dulac, and Santiago Hidalgo (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 604-605, on the "new film history" and the shift from the "history of films" (the earlier classical histories of Maurice Bardèche and Robert Brasillach and Georges Sadoul, for example) to "cinema history," by which he means the context of spectators and institutions. Francesco Casetti says if there is "no more 'history of cinema,'" there may still be "histories" in which cinema figures ("Theory, Post-theory, Neo-theories: Changes in Discourses, Changes in Objects," *Cinémas* 17.2-3 [Spring 2007], pp. 38-39).
10. Comolli, "Technique and Ideology," p. 241.
11. David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, "Linearity, Materialism and the Study of Early American Cinema," *Wide Angle* 5.3 (1983), p. 6.
12. Foucault, taking "genealogy" from Nietzsche, claims it as a productive part of his own method: "Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations – or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents" (Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow [New York: Vintage Books, 2010], p. 81).
13. "The Heir," here, p. 109.
14. "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, p. 157.
15. Ibid.
16. Comolli, "Technique and Ideology," pp. 226-227.
17. Elsaesser, "Is Nothing New?," p. 591.
18. Giovanna Fossati, *From Grain to Pixel: The Archival Life of Film in Transition* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), p. 51.
19. Hayden White, *The Fiction of Narrative*, ed. Robert Doran (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), p. 316.

20. D.N. Rodowick, *The Virtual Life of Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 12-13.
21. Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, trans. Hassan Melehy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 77. Here Rancière says of history that "[i]t is the science that becomes singular only by playing on its own condition of impossibility, by ceaselessly transforming it into a condition of possibility, but also by marking anew, as furtively, as discreetly as can be, the line of the impossible."
22. Although Reinhart Koselleck (*Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe [New York: Columbia University Press, 2004]) is the most dedicated to asking "What is historical time?" others, such as F.R. Ankersmit, think of "historical time" as a cultural construct rather than a concept basic to a philosophy of history. The "new philosophy of history" commentators include neither Koselleck nor Althusser and Balibar on "Outline of a Concept of Historical Time." See Althusser and Balibar, *Reading Capital*, pp. 99-106, also as quoted in Jean-Louis Comolli, "Technique and Ideology: Camera Perspective, Depth of Field." Edited by Nick Browne, *Cahiers du Cinéma, 1969-72: The Politics of Representation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990, p. 247. Beyond association with "historical time," Koselleck, Althusser, and Balibar make strange bedfellows.
23. Hayden White, *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 2-3.
24. White and others, following what is widely called the "linguistic turn," have continued to argue that historians do not think about the language that they use, a position which continues to be controversial within departments of history, but not is not an issue in film and media studies and other fields that have been impacted significantly by poststructuralism.
25. This alternation in which past, present, and future take the place of one another is a variation on Koselleck, *Futures Past*, following his understanding of the relative location of the three modes, something I find in Rancière as well, although the new philosophy of history has not recognized his interest in the relativity of the modalities of time. See Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*. Translated by Hassan Melehy. Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, ch. 2.
26. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* [1927], trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996), p. ix. See especially Part 2, Ch. V, Temporality and Historicity.
27. Althusser and Balibar, *Reading Capital*, p. 103.
28. See Masha Salazkina and Natalie Ryabchikova, "Sergei Eisenstein and the Soviet Models for the Study of Cinema, 1920s-1940s," here, pp. 405-414.
29. Jean-Luc Godard and Youssef Ishaghpour, *Cinema: The Archaeology of Film and the Memory of a Century*, trans. John Howe (New York and Oxford: Berg, 2005), p. 93.
30. Ibid., p. 23.
31. Thomas Elsaesser, "The New Film History as Media Archaeology," *Cinémas* 14.2-3 (2004), p. 105.
32. To give only a few examples: Tom Gunning, "Re-newing Old Technologies: Astonishment, Second Nature, and the Uncanny in Technology from the Previous

Turn-of-the-Century." in *Rethinking Media Change: The Aesthetics of Transition*, ed. David Thornburn and Henry Jenkins (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003); Francesco Casetti and Jane M. Gaines, eds., *Dall'inizio alla fine/In the Very Beginning, at the Very End: Proceedings of the XVI International Film Studies Conference, Udine, Italy* (Forum, 2010), and the papers delivered at the 16th International Film Studies Conference ("Dall'inizio alla fine/In the Very Beginning, at the Very End") held in Udine, Italy, in 2009.

33. Paolo Cherchi Usai, *The Death of Cinema: History, Cultural Memory and the Digital Dark Age* (London: British Film Institute, 2001), p. 89.
34. Rancière, *The Names of History*, p. 31.
35. André Bazin, *What is Cinema?*, trans. Timothy Barnard (Montreal: Caboose, 2009), vol. 1, p. 17.
36. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972- 1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 82.
37. Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attraction(s): Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," *Wide Angle* 8.3-4 (1986), p. 66. For the comprehensive overview of how Gaudreault and Gunning originally formulated the "cinema of attractions" as well as cases of the productive utility of the concept, see Wanda Strauven, ed., *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Press University, 2006).
38. "Dynamic Mummification," here, p. 172.

7. Abe Geil, Dynamic Typicality

1. "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, p. XX.
2. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Theatre and Cinema" [1934] in *Selected Works, Volume III: Writings, 1935-1947*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 11. (Hereafter *Selected Works* [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.)
3. Ibid., 11.
4. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers" [1935], in SW 3, pp. 17-18.
5. Denise Youngblood, *Movies for the Masses: Popular Cinema and Soviet Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 91.
6. As it happened, this return was ill-fated. While Eisenstein was working on the production of Natan A. Zarkhi's play *Moscow 2* for the Theater of the Revolution, Zarkhi was killed in a car accident and the production was shut down. Eisenstein's successful return to the stage would not occur until his production of Wagner's *Die Walküre* at the Bolshoi Theater in 1940.
7. Eisenstein, "Theatre and Cinema," p. 9.
8. Ibid., 8.
9. Ibid., 9.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Quoted in Peter Brooks, "The Text of the City," *Oppositions* 8 (1977), pp. 7-11.
13. For a survey of nineteenth-century caricature in the French context, see Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris*, foreword by Richard Sennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 29.

14. For an illuminating discussion of Eisenstein's affinity with Daumier, see Ada Ackerman, "What Renders Daumier's Art so Cinematic for Eisenstein?" in this volume.
15. Theodor Adorno, letter to Walter Benjamin [1939], reprinted in Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003), vol. 4, p. 203.
16. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 112.
17. "Revelation in Storm and Thunder," here, p. 101.
18. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 24.
19. "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," here, p. 112. Emphasis mine.
20. Eisenstein, "Theatre and Cinema," p. 10.
21. This slogan concludes Eisenstein's celebrated essay on Kabuki theater which, it is worth recalling, begins with a polemic against the common dismissal of Kabuki based on its extreme conventionalism. See Sergei M. Eisenstein, "An Unexpected Juncture" [1928], in SW 1, p. 122.
22. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Perspectives" [1929] in SW 1, p. 159.
23. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Mistakes of Bezhin Meadow" [1937], in SW 3, p. 102.
24. Ibid., 101. Emphasis mine.
25. Mikhail Iampolski, "Censorship as the Triumph of Life," in *Socialist Realism without Shores*, ed. Evgenii Aleksandrovich Dobrenko and Thomas Lahusen (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 172.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p.174.
29. Jacques Aumont has also noted that the "presuppositions" of typage are "very closely related to the concept of the 'global image' [*obraz*]." See his *Montage Eisenstein* (London: BFI, 1987), p. 141.
30. As Naum Kleiman points out in a foreword to the English translation of *Montage*, the text cannot finally be assimilated into the aesthetics of Socialist Realism: "Had it [*Montage*] been published at the end of the 30s, it could not have avoided accusations of Formalism. And no quotations or formulations, naïvely framing Eisenstein's theoretical text, would have saved it." Naum Kleiman, "On the Story of 'Montage 1937,'" in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. xx.
31. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937" [1937], in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 27.
32. Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (London: Macmillan, 1883), p. 342, quoted in Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986), p. 44.
33. For example, if the total exposure was to last ten seconds and there were ten images in the sample, then each image would get an exposure time of exactly one second. Jonathan Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image: From Mug Shot to Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 22.
34. Francis Galton, "On Generic Images," in the *Proceedings of the Royal Institution* 9 (1879), p. 166, quoted in Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," p. 47.
35. Ibid. Emphasis mine.
36. Ibid.

37. Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, p. 7.
38. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Beyond the Shot" [1929], in SW 1, p. 141.
39. Ibid., p. 142.
40. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "How I Became a Director" [1945], in SW 3, p. 286.
41. Eisenstein, "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers," p. 27.
42. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937," p. 36.
43. Eisenstein, "Theatre and Cinema," p. 9.
44. Eisenstein, "Montage 1937," p. 34.
45. "Dynamic Mummification," pp. 158 and 176.
46. "The Heir," here, p. 18.
47. Ibid.
48. Sergei Eisenstein, "On Disney" [1940-1944], in *The Eisenstein Collection*, ed. Richard Taylor (London: Seagull Books, 2006), p, 124.
49. Ibid., p. 127.

8. Vinzenz Hediger, Archaeology vs. Paleontology: A Note on Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*

1. Cited in Jean-Louis Leutrat and Monique Cresci, "Traces That Resemble Us: Godard's *Passion*," *Substance: A Review of Theory and Literary Theory* 15.3 (1986), p. 36.
2. Stanley Cavell, *Must We Mean What We Say?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. xxxvi.
3. Noel Burch, "Qu'est-ce que la Nouvelle Vague?," *Film Quarterly* 13.2 (1959), pp. 16-30.
4. Seth Rachlin, for instance, characterizes the "*nouvelle vague*" as a "film revolution": Cf. "Anatomy of a Film Revolution: The Case of the *Nouvelle Vague*," *Poetics* 21.5 (1993), pp. 429-442.
5. Colin MacCabe, *Godard: A Portrait of the Artist at Seventy* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2003), p. 110.
6. Haidee Wasson, *Museum Movies: The Museum of Modern Art and the Birth of Art Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Caroline Frick, *Saving Cinema: The Politics of Preservation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
7. Maurice Bardèche and Robert Brasillach, *Histoire du cinéma* (Paris: Les Editions Denoël et Steele, 1935).
8. Mary Jean Green, "Fascists on Film: The Brasillach and Bardèche *Histoire du cinéma*," *South Central Review* 6.2 (1989), pp. 32-47.
9. Hans Richter, "The Film as an Original Art Form," *College Art Journal* 10.2 (1951), p. 157. See also Yvonne Zimmermann, "Hans Richter and the Politics of Producing Film History," paper delivered at the NECS–European Network for Cinema and Media Studies conference in Prague, June 22, 2013; Malte Hagener and Yvonne Zimmermann, "Viking Eggeling and the European Film Avant-Garde," in *The Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries, 1925-1950*, vol. 2, ed. Benedikt Hjartarson, Andrea Kollnitz, Per Stounbjerg, Marianne Ølholm, and Tania Ørum (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014).
10. Richter, "The Film as an Original Art Form," p. 157.

11. "Film läuft in der Zeit ab, er vollzieht sich in einem Gebiet, das im Akustischen von der Musik seit Tausenden von Jahren bearbeitet wird." [Film is a temporal process. Film develops in an area that in the acoustic mode music has been working on for thousands of years.] Gabriele Jutz and Peter Tscherkassky, *Peter Kubelka* (Vienna: PVS Verleger 1995), p. 70. The book's cover shows a "Filmtableau" of Kubelka's 1960 film *Arnulf Rainer* and contains multiple illustrations of "Filmtableaus."
12. See, in particular, James Goodwin, *Eisenstein, Cinema and History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
13. Cf. Antonio Somaini, "Kino als Mummifizierung und Geschichte als Montage," *Zeitschrift für Medienwissenschaft* 4.1 (2011), p. 139.
14. Sergei Eisenstein, "Dickens, Griffith and Film Today," in Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1949), p. 185.
15. William F. Van Wert, "Eisenstein and Kabuki," *Criticism*, 20.4 (1978), pp. 403-420. Cf. also Ernest Fenollosa, *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry: A Critical Edition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009), p. 196.
16. Kayo Adachi-Rabe, "Film und japanische Kunst. Eisenstein-Rezeption bei Terada Torahiko, Imamura Taihei und Takahata Isao," *Japonica Humboldtiana* 9 (2005), p. 173.
17. Alexander Etkind, *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), pp. 26 and 24.
18. Alexander Etkind, *Eros of the Impossible: The History of Psychoanalysis in Russia* (Boulder: Westview Press), p. 318.
19. Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
20. Dieter Thomä, *Totalität und Mitleid. Richard Wagner, Sergej Eisenstein und unsere ethisch-ästhetische Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006).
21. Walter Benjamin, "Über den Begriff der Geschichte," in Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Hermann Schweppenhäuser and Rolf Tiedemann, Band I/2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), pp. 690-708. English translation: "On the Concept of History," in Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings, Vol. 4 (1938-1940)*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and others, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 389-400.
22. Norbert Bolz, Friedrich Kittler and Georg Christoph Tholen, eds., *Computer als Medium* (München: Fink, 1994), p. 131.
23. "*Für den Film gibt es keine Beschränkungen, keine Fesseln; alles lässt sich filmisch darstellen*" (Hans-Heinrich Campen, "Industriefilm als wirksames Mittel der Information," *Krupps Mitteilungen* 46 [1962], pp. 179-180). Significantly, Campen uses the term "*darstellen*."
24. Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 38.
25. Cf. Charles Higham and Joel Greenberg, "Interview with Fritz Lang," in Fritz Lang, *Fritz Lang: Interviews*, ed. Barry Keith Grant (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2003), p. 125.

26. Cf. my "A Cinema of Memory in the Future Tense: Godard, Trailers and Godard Trailers," in *Forever Godard*, ed. James Williams, Michael Temple, and Michael Witt (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2004), pp. 141-159.

9. Mikhail Iampolski, Point – Pathos – Totality

1. Here one may fully apply the Marxist scheme describing development from a certain organic labor process by means of the division of labor and alienation to the restoration of unity in nonalienated communist labor. But this can also be a religious model of the movement from the heavenly completeness of being through the Fall toward redemption.
2. "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, p. 159.
3. Ibid., p. 161.
4. Ibid., p. 143.
5. Eisenstein took "Second Baroque" to mean avant-garde art of the first decades of the twentieth century. See Viacheslav V. Ivanov, *Izbrannye trudy po semiotike i istorii kul'tury* (Moskva: Iazyki russkoj kul'tury, 1999), vol. 1, p. 200: "A favorite thought of Eisenstein's, repeated many times, was the assertion that, in cinema, everything that the art of the 'Second Baroque' of the first decades of the twentieth century stopped at will manage to be accomplished. The spatial experiments of cubism, the attractions of leftist theater, surrealist visions, the internal monologue of Joyce – Eisenstein viewed all of these projects and attempts of the newest art movements as approaches to cinema. Eisenstein considered the fact that these movement tried to solve problems which only cinema was capable of fully addressing a shortcoming which had a ruinous effect on said movements."
6. "The Heir," here, p. 111.
7. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 138.
8. Ibid., p. 202.
9. Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, ed. Herbert Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 21.
10. Ibid. Eisenstein examined montage in detail in accordance with the principle of the golden section and with the principle of bricklaying in his analysis of the ending of Pushkin's "The Bronze Horseman." See: Sergei Eisenshtein, "Final 'Mednogo vsadnika,'" *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* 42 (1999), pp. 106-128. A special section devoted to the principle of bricklaying is found in the section "Montazh tonfil'ma" in the study entitled "Montage 1937," in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Montazh* (Moskva: Muzei kino, 2000), pp. 311-326. "Bricklaying" appears constantly in *Metod*: see, for instance, Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Metod*, ed. Naum Kleiman, 2 vols. (Moskva: Muzei kino, Eizenshtein tsentr, 2002), vol. 2, p. 159.
11. "The construction of the futurist paintings visible to you arose from the discovery of a plane of points, such that the location of real objects, when torn apart or put together, would have generated the greatest speed. The discovery of these points can be made independently from the physical law of naturalness and perspective. This is why, in futurist paintings, we see the appearance of clouds, horses, wheels and other objects in places not corresponding to nature" (Kazimir Malevich, *Sobranie sochinenii v piati tomakh* [Moskva: Gileia, 1995], vol. 1, p. 45).

12. Pavel Florenskii, *Sochinenija v chetyrëkh tomakh* (Moskva: Mysl,' 1996), vol. 2, p. 584.
13. Ibid., pp. 584-585.
14. Wassily Kandinsky, *Point and Line to Plane* (1926) (New York: Dover, 1979), p. 25.
15. Ibid., pp. 26-27.
16. On the notion of 'inner sound', see Wassily Kandinsky, *On the Spiritual in Art*, ed. Hilla Rebay (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1946), pp. 13, 27, 49, 56, 72.
17. Schopenhauer wrote: "[A]ll of them objectify the will only indirectly, in other words, by means of the Ideas. [...] [M]usic, since it passes over the Ideas, is also quite independent of the phenomenal world, positively ignores it, and, to a certain extent, could still exist even if there were no world at all, which cannot be said of the other arts. Thus music is as immediate an objectification and copy of the whole will as the world itself is, indeed as the Ideas are, the multiplied phenomenon of which constitutes the world of individual things. Therefore music is by no means like the other arts, namely a copy of the Ideas, but a copy of the will itself, the objectivity of which are the Ideas. For this reason the effect of music is so very much more powerful and penetrating than is that of the other arts, for these others speak only of the shadow, but music of the essence (Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation* [New York: Dover, 1969], vol. 1, p. 257).
18. "The Fourth Dimension in Cinema," in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume I: Writings, 1922-1934*, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 185-186. (Hereafter *Selected Works* [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.) In a draft manuscript of the article there is a footnote, in which what is discussed is called "deindividualization of the nature of feeling": see Eisenstein, *Montazh*, p. 575.
19. Eisenstein traces his endeavors directly to Kandinsky, whose method he describes in the following manner: "The method employed here is clear: to abstract 'inner tonalities' of all 'external' matter. Such a method *consciously attempts to divorce all formal elements from all content elements;* everything touching theme and subject is dismissed, leaving only those external formal elements that in *normal creative work* play only a partial role" (Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Color and Meaning", in *Film Sense*, ed. and transl. by Jay Leyda [New York: Meridian Books, 1957], p. 117).
20. Ibid., 344.
21. Kandinsky. *Point and Line to Plane*, p. 36.
22. In the English translation by Herbert Marshall, the title of this chapter is "Superconcreteness" (Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, pp. 165-177).
23. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* (1022b, 15-22) (Grinell: The Peripatetic Press, 1979), pp. 94-95.
24. Michel Meyer, *Philosophy and the Passions* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), p. 43.
25. Ibid., p. 67.
26. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 27.
27. Ibid., pp. 25-26.
28. Ibid., p. 26.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.

31. "À partir de la félicité des mouvements, il est possible de fixer un point vertigineux censé intérieurement contenir ce que le monde recèle de déchiré, l'incessant glissement de tout au néant" (Georges Bataille, *L'Expérience intérieure*, in *Œuvres complètes* [Paris: Gallimard, 1973], vol. 5, p. 137).
32. In Florensky, the point is precisely the symbol of the Unified.
33. "L'expérience à l'extrême du possible demande un renoncement néanmoins: cesser de vouloir être tout" (Bataille, *L'Expérience intérieure*, p. 34).
34. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, pp. 178-179.
35. Ibid., p. 179.
36. "Comment donc la vie est-elle présente dans l'art? La réponse de l'abstraction: jamais comme ce que nous voyons ou croyons voir sur le tableau mais comme ce que nous ressentons en nous lorsqu'une telle vision se produit" (Michel Henry, *Voir l'invisible. Sur Kandinsky* [Paris: PUF, 2005], p. 207).
37. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature*, p. 182.
38. Ibid., p. 183.
39. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form", in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and transl. by Jay Leyda (New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1949) p. 45.
40. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1896), vol. 3, p. 273.
41. Ibid., p. 288.
42. See Pierre Macherey, *Hegel ou Spinoza* (Paris: Editions de la Découverte, 1990).
43. Eisenstein, "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form", p. 45.
44. Ibid., p. 46.
45. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Montage of Attractions," SW 1, p. 34.
46. Ibid.
47. Sergei Eisenstein and Sergei Tretyakov, "Expressive Movement," in *Meyerhold, Eisenstein and Biomechanics*, ed. Alma Law and Mel Gordon (Jefferson: McFarland, 1996), p. 185.
48. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Laocoön," in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in SW 2, p. 111.
49. Here is the "method" formula as a formula of dialectics: "The effectiveness of a work of art is built upon the fact that there takes place in it a dual process: an impetuous progressive rise along the lines of the highest explicit steps of consciousness and a simultaneous penetration by means of the structure of the form into the layers of profoundest sensual thinking" ("Film Form: New Problems," in *Film Form*, pp. 144-145).
50. Eisenstein, *Metod*, vol.1, p. 204.
51. Ibid., p. 205.
52. Eisenstein, *Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 174-175.
53. Ibid., p. 175.
54. Charles Taylor, *Hegel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 130.
55. See the Eisensteinian explanation of the *pars pro toto* transition to dialectics: Eisenstein, *Metod*, vol. 2, pp. 68-69.
56. Jacques Rivelaygue, *Leçons de métaphysique allemande* (Paris: Grasset, 1990), vol. 1, p. 435.

57. Eisenstein, *Metod*, vol. 2, p. 445.
58. Ibid., p. 445.
59. Ibid., p. 442.
60. Ibid., p. 443.
61. This resistance to the Spinozian substance underlines the correctness of Florensky's argument, which indicates that the point "sweeps space clean of any reality whatsoever." In the end, it is precisely the point which allows for recognizing any given as "false."

10. Arun Khopkar, Distant Echoes

1. "*Dhvani*" in Sanskrit literally means "sound." But it is also a technical term in Indian poetics, meaning "suggestion" or "suggestive poetry." The term for echo is "*prati-dhvani*" literally "counter-sound." Eisenstein uses "*perezvon*" for suggestion in his aesthetic discourse. I would actually like to call this article "*Prati-dhvani*" in Sanskrit or "*Perezvon*" in Russian, which would mean both an "echo" and a "suggestion."
2. Anandavardhan was a ninth-century Kashmiri author and literary critic. He is most famous for his treatise *Dhvanyaloka*, which revolutionized the mainstream of Sanskrit poetics.
3. Abhinavagupta was one of the greatest authorities on Indian theater, literary criticism, and aesthetics, as well as on Kashmir Shaivism. He lived toward the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. He considered the aesthetic experience of a connoisseur on the same level as that of the religious experience of a mystic.
4. Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Beyond the Stars*, in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume IV: Beyond the Stars: The Memoirs of Sergei Eisenstein*, ed. Richard Taylor, trans. William Powell (London: BFI, 1995), pp. 507-509. (Hereafter *Selected Works* [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.)
5. "An attraction (in our diagnosis of theater) is any aggressive moment in theatre, i.e., any element of it that subjects the audience to emotional or psychological influence, verified by experience and mathematically calculated to produce specific emotional shocks in the spectator in their proper order within the whole. These shocks provide the only opportunity of perceiving the ideological aspect of what is being shown, the final ideological conclusion. [...] Emotional and psychological, of course, in the sense of direct reality as employed, for instance, in the Grand Guignol, where eyes are gauged our or arms and legs are amputated on stage" (Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Montage of Attractions," in SW 1, p. 34).
6. Kathakali is a form of theater practiced in Kerala, a state that lies on the western coast of the Indian peninsula lying between the Arabian Sea and the western mountain range. Kathakali is one of world's richest theatrical forms. It uses elaborate costumes, plastic masks, and an orchestra capable of producing sound effects from the gentlest to the most violent. It has an acting style that can depict a wide range of rhythms from rapid-fire action to only a movement of eyes in slow motion. It has an emotional range that covers not only the entire spectrum of human emotions, but also animal rage and power. It is capable of providing an intense physical as well as a deeply spiritual experience.

7. Many of the traditional theatrical forms use the vast repertoire of stories and substories provided by the two epics, *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat.* The stories are known to the audience; that allows it to concentrate on the refinements in the mode of presentation, rather than on the development of plot. A connoisseur judges the value of a performance, or of an artist, with reference to his memory of earlier such performances of the same story.
8. Kathakali is one of the few theatrical forms that use scenes of bloodshed as "attractions" in its repertoire. *Natyashastra*, attributed to the sage Bharata, is the key text guiding the theory and practice of theater in India; it prohibits display of blood and depiction of death on the stage.
9. K. Bharatha Iyer, *Kathakali: The Dance Drama of Malabar* (New Delhi: Dev Publishers, 2011), p. 92.
10. Sergei Eisenstein, "Stereoscopic Films," in *Notes of a Film Director* (New York: Dover, 1970), p. 129.
11. I have discussed this aspect of Eisenstein's thinking in greater detail in my paper on mise-en-scène. See "Graphic Flourish: Aspects of the Art of *Mise-en-scène*," in *Eisenstein Rediscovered*, ed. Ian Christie and Richard Taylor (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 145-159.
12. Many of them are from a standard repertoire of the Jataka tales, or Panchatantra, and common to many other cultures. They characterize humans as brave like a lion, wily like a fox, slimy like a snake, and so on. Eisenstein's use of them is not very different.
13. The performance of Mei Lan Fang was one event that seems to have made not only a deep impression on the finest artists of the West, but left a lasting impact. Chaplin had suggested to Eisenstein that he should watch him. This resulted in that profound essay, "A l'enchanteur du verger aux poires," in Sergei Eisenstein, *Cinématisme. Peinture et cinéma*, trad. Anne Zouboff, intro., notes, and comments by François Albera (Paris: Complexe, 1980), p. 137. Brecht acknowledged his debt to the Chinese Theater in formulating his *Verfremdungseffekt* or *V-effekt*, after he watched Mei Lan Fang in Moscow in the spring of 1935. In all likelihood, Meyerhold and Stanislawski also watched this performance. So, there was a whole galaxy of artists that was influenced by the Chinese Opera.
14. Antonin Artaud, "On the Balinese Theater," in Antonin Artaud, *Selected Writings*, ed. and intro. Susan Sontag (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 215.
15. Its dating, like that of many ancient Indian texts, is problematic. It can only be placed in a wide range as between 400 AD and 1000 AD. It is a sprawling text covering a vast range of topics. Its most important part for the visual arts is *Chitrasutra.*
16. The dialogue is in a traditional mode of discourse in which the disciple poses questions to a wise sage, who replies to them or asks him questions that lead to his enlightenment.
17. *Visnhudharmottara-purana*, III. 2.1, quoted in *Citrasutra*, foreword by Kapila Vatsyayan (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre of the Arts, 2001), p. viii.
18. *Neravnodushnaia priroda*, vol. 1, p. 13.
19. *Genesis*, 1.26.

20. Naum Kleiman provides us with a passage of Eisenstein in his notes to the "Psychology of Composition" that goes even further and links the organic world to the inorganic one: "In *Metod*, Eisenstein analyzes the embodiment in art of the 'kingdoms of nature' which separate from each other at a certain stage of evolution: 'In order for a representative of each "kingdom" to take shape in a work of art, it must take on the form of a representative of the "preceding" kingdom! In order to enter art, i.e. in order to find an image, in order to join in form and style: a plant borrows the structure of a mineral; an animal – of a plant; a human – of an animal; a divinity – the form of a human!'" (*The Psychology of Composition* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1987), p. 107, n. 28.
21. Sergei Eisenstein, "On Disney," in *The Eisenstein Collection*, ed. Richard Taylor (Calcutta: Seagull, 2006), p. 117.
22. Ibid., p. 119
23. Perhaps we can look at the success of the *Lord of the Rings* films in the same light. And the *Harry Potter* books and films, too.
24. Eisenstein, "On Disney," p. 119.
25. Ibid., p. 119.
26. "Je dirai par reconnaissance que j'en dois la plus grande partie à Pilpay, sage indien" (Jean de la Fontaine, *Œuvres complètes* [Paris : Hachette, 1883-1892], vol. 7, p. 59).
27. Originating in the fourth century or even earlier, the *Panchatantra* is a collection of fables illustrating the Indian doctrine of the statecraft. These fables have been translated into Pahlavi, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and practically all major languages. It is also the origin of several stories in Arabian Nights, Sindbad, and many Western nursery rhymes and ballads.
28. The lowest time limit that can be ascribed to this collection is first century BC.
29. Even the first *avatars*, or incarnations of God, are not human in form. They are *matsya* (fish), *kurma* (tortoise), *varaha* (boar), *narasimha* (half-lion and half-man) and *waman* (a dwarf). In passing, it is interesting to note that according to this sequence, life begins in water and then assumes the form of an amphibian, then an animal, then a half-lion, half-man, and finally a dwarf, resembling a sketchy outline of evolution!
30. *Ajantrik* (Ritwik Ghatak, 1958). The original language of the film is Bengali. It is also known in English as *The Mechanical Man*, *The Pathetic Fallacy*, and *The Unmechanical*.
31. I am referring to the famous "Statement on Sound," published in *Žizn' Iskusstva* (August 5, 1928) signed by Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and Alexandrov and reproduced in Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1949). Eisenstein's later detailed analysis of the music in *Alexander Nevsky* relies on the specifics of the notation for the Western classical music, as pointed out by Michel Chion and others.
32. See Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1942), especially the chapters "Synchronization of Senses" (pp. 69-112) and "Colour and Meaning" (pp. 113-156).
33. The earliest form of Indian music that can still be heard through an unbroken oral tradition is that of the *Rig-Veda*. It is a collection of hymns, in praise of various

deities, many of which are phenomena like the dawn or forces of nature like the five elements.

34. The coming of electricity has, of course, changed this picture to a certain extent. But most of the artists still adhere to this system. Even film music, which has been using Western orchestration, has been basing its melodies on the ragas, making use of their associative power for the audience. Even electronic/digital sound for the background score and raga-based melodies is not an uncommon combination, even today.
35. Attempts have been made by painters to give specific situations and characters to the ragas and *raginis* in a series of paintings called *Ragamala* paintings. Some of them are excellent paintings, but the musical system of correspondence, with its response to changing light, is far subtler.
36. It is a thirteenth-century text, which is the most comprehensive text after Bharata's *Natya Shastra*, referred in note 8. It is a text followed by the North Indian as well as Carnatic Art Music.
37. *Sangitaratnakara of Sarangadeve*, trans. K.K. Shringy, under the supervision of Prem Lata Sharma (Munshiram Mahoharlal Publishers, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 42-43.
38. Eisenstein, *Beyond the Stars*, p. 501.
39. Eisenstein's use of the image of passage from the womb and ejection in the last part of *Ivan the Terrible*, when Vladimir goes to meet his death is too well known to need discussion. Eisenstein had asked his set designer to remove all angularities from the set.
40. The exhibition was on view in June 2011.
41. Eisenstein, *Cinématisme*, p. 249.
42. *Tantra* uses sexual union as a means of experiencing the Supreme Bliss of the cosmic union. The great Indologist Heinrich Zimmer says the following about Tantra. "In the Tantra, the manner of approach is not that of Nay but of Yea. [...] [T]he world attitude is affirmative. [...] Man must approach through and by means of nature, not by rejection of nature" (Urban Hugh, *Tantra: Sex, Secrecy, Politics, and Power in the Study of Religions* [Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003], p. 168).
43. Raniero Gnoli, *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, Serie Orientale Roma XI (Roma: Is. M. E. O. 1956), p. xxiii.
44. Ibid., p. 51.
45. Ibid., no. 8, p. 72,
46. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Montage 1938," in SW 2, pp. 308-309.

11. Pietro Montani, "Synthesis" of the Arts or "Friendly Cooperation" between the Arts?

1. "The Heir," here, p. 109.
2. Ibid., p. 110.
3. Ibid., p. 109.
4. Ibid., p. 110.
5. Cf. the three parts of *Towards a Theory of Montage*: "Part One: Montage in Single Set-Up Cinema," in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume II: Towards a Theory of Montage, 1937-1940*, ed. Michael Glenny and Richard Taylor, trans. Michael Glenny

(London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 11-108 (hereafter *Selected Works* [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW); "Part Two: Montage in Multiple Set-Up Cinema," in SW 2, pp. 109-226.

6. On which see my "Introduction" to S.M. Eizenštejn, *La natura non indifferente* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1981), and also P. Montani, "'Pathos'. L'estetica dell'ultimo Ejzenštejn," in *Fuori campo: studi sul cinema e l'estetica* (Urbino: Quattro Venti, 1993), pp. 9-60.
7. See the brilliant analysis given by Martin Heidegger in his *Nietzsche*, v. 1: *The Will to Power as Art* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).
8. See particularly, Pietro Montani, "Introduction" to S.M. Eizenštejn, *La regia. L'arte della messa in scena* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1989); "'Pathos'. L'estetica dell'ultimo Ejzenštejn," in *Fuori campo*, pp. 45-60.
9. See, for example, the diverging diagnoses – framed within altogether different philosophical perspectives, and therein even more interesting – offered by Emilio Garroni, *Estetica. Uno sguardo-attraverso* (Milano: Garzanti, 1992); Arthur C. Danto, *The Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); and Yves Michaud, *L'art à l'état gazeux: essai sur le triomphe de l'esthétique* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 2003).
10. See P. Montani, *Bioestetica. Senso comune, tecnica e arte nell'età della globalizzazione* (Roma: Carocci, 2007); French trans. *Bioesthétique. Ses commun, technique et art à l'âge de la globalisation*, trans. Jean-Christophe Cavallin (Paris: Vrin, 2014); ibid., *L'immaginazione intermediale. Perlustrare, rifigurare, testimoniare il mondo visibile* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2010).
11. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Montage of Attractions," in SW 1, p. 34.
12. I am referring here to the two texts from 1923 and 1924, in which such a concept is referred first to theater and then to cinema (cfr. Eisenstein, "The Montage of Attractions," pp. 34-38; and Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Montage of Film Attractions," in SW 1, pp. 39-58). The different theoretical commitment of the two texts is evident and can be already noticed by comparing their lengths. One can suppose that only when Eisenstein thinks about this concept with respect to cinema, the montage of attractions fully shows its implications, among which a certain resistance to conforming with the ideal of the synthesis.
13. See Vittorio Strada's "Introduction" to *Letteratura e rivoluzione*, ed. Giorgio Kraiski (Bari: Laterza, 1967). The idea that the Russian-Soviet avant-gardes did nothing else but prepare the ground for the art of the Stalinist regime is very widespread within the field of the historiographic and critical literature devoted on that subject matter. For a recent resumption of such a perspective, see Tzvetan Todorov, *The Limits of Arts: Two Essays*, trans. Gila Walker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
14. It is precisely such a hybridation that Dziga Vertov considered as unforgivable in *Strike*. See Dziga Vertov, "Kino Glaz" o "Stachke," in *Stat'i i vystupleniia*, ed. D.V. Kruzhkova (Moskva: Eizenshtein-Tsentr, 2008), pp. 96-97.
15. I discussed this thesis in the book *L'immaginazione intermediale*, mentioned above.

12. Philip Rosen, Eisenstein's Mummy Complex: Temporality, Trauma, and a Distinction in Eisenstein's *Notes for a General History of Cinema*

1. "Dynamic Mummification: Notes for a General History of Cinema," here, pp. 119-120.
2. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Laocoön," in *Towards a Theory of Montage*, in Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works, Volume II: Towards a Theory of Montage, 1937-1940*, ed. Michael Glenny and Richard Taylor, trans. Michael Glenny (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 117. (Hereafter Selected Works [4 vols.] is abbreviated as SW.)
3. The verse "*Verweile doch, du bist so schön*" appears in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust. Der Tragödie zweiter Teil*, V, 11582. The translation "Stay, you are so beautiful" is one of the possible translation of this verse, which has also been translated as "Stay a while, you are so beautiful" or "Linger on, thou art so fair!"
4. I have elaborated at length on this antinomy in the temporality of modernity in Philip Rosen, *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
5. "Television" is mentioned several times in the *Notes for a General History of Cinema*: see "Dynamic Mummification," pp. 123, 147, 158, and 169, and "In Praise of the Cine-chronicle," here, pp. 225, 237, and 238.
6. But see the contribution by Antonio Somaini to this volume ("Cinema as 'Dynamic Mummification', History as Montage: Eisenstein's Media Archaeology," here, pp. 19-105) for a consideration of historical method in other Eisenstein writings in relation to the *Notes for a General History of Cinema*.
7. "Dynamic Mummification," p. 119. The idea of a universe in perpetual transformation is one found in other of his writings, sometimes with reference to Engels's *Dialectic of Nature*. See *Nonindifferent Nature*.
8. VIEM stands for Vsesoiuznyi Institut eksperimental'noi meditsiny, or "All-Union Institute for Experimental Medicine."
9. Perhaps the most substantial text where he explained this notion was his 1935 speech to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers. See Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Speeches to the All-Union Creative Conference of Soviet Filmworkers," in SW 3, pp. 16-46. A more polished but condensed version is "Film Form: New Problems" in Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1949), pp. 122-149.
10. See "Dynamic Mummification," pp. 120: "1. the reproduction of an event or person (dynamically), or 2. the mummification of a person or event, or, if you like, a third way: 3. the recording by the means of a sign (from a pyramid to a gravestone, or the inscription on a cross in a cemetery." Concerning the first category, Eisenstein adds: "According to the norms of sensuous thinking (primary logic), the image of an ancestor is the ancestor and the reenacted mystery is the actually reoccurring event."
11. Ibid., p. 115.
12. Ibid., p. 120.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. XXX. These notes are dated December 28, 1947.
16. Ibid., p. 156.
17. Ibid., p. 123
18. "Through Theater to Cinema," in Eisenstein, *Film Form*, p. 5.
19. See supra, n7.
20. "Dynamic Mummification," here, p. 120.
21. Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meanings in the Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), ch. 3 and ch. 4.
22. André Bazin, "Ontologie de l'image photographique," in Gaston Diehl, *Les problèmes de la peinture sous la direction de Gaston Diehl* (Paris: Confluences, 1945), pp. 405-414.
23. André Bazin, *What Is Cinema?*, trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 12, 9.
24. Martin Lefebvre, "Eisenstein, Rhetoric and Imaginicity: Towards a Revolutionary *Memoria*," *Screen* 4.4 (2000), pp. 349-368.

13. Masha Salazkina and Natalie Ryabchikova, Sergei Eisenstein and the Soviet Models for the Study of Cinema, 1920s-1940s

1. Rostislav Jurenev, *Sergej Ejzenštejn, 1930-1948* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1988), pp. 293-295.
2. For more on Eisenstein's pedagogic methods published in English, see Vance Kepley, "Eisenstein as Pedagogue," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 14.4 (1990); Vladimir Nizhny, *Lessons with Eisenstein* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1969); Jay Leyda, *Sergei Eisenstein: Film Essays, with a Lecture* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1968).
3. Marat Vlasov, ed., *K istorii VGIKa. Kniga I (1919-1934)* (Moskva: VGIK, 2000), pp. 208-209.
4. Ibid., p. 20.
5. See Jurenev, *Sergej Ejzenštejn*, p. 171.
6. *Kinovedčeskie Zapiski* 36/37 (1997-98), p. 96. The state film archive – Gosfil'mofond – was established in 1948; the museum of cinema was not established until the 1980s.
7. Sergej Ejzenštejn, "Plan rabot kino-sektora, 1948," *Kinovedčeskie Zapiski* 36/37 (1997-98), p. 98.
8. Vlasov, *K istorii VGIKa. Kniga I*, p. 24.
9. Rostislav Jurenev, "Byla ni byla!," in *K istorii VGIKa. Kniga II (1935-1945)*, ed. Vlasov Marat (Moskva: VGIK, 2004), p. 296; 302-303.
10. See, for example, S. Gurevič, "Vokrug 'Poètiki kino': Zubovskij osobnjak, 20e gody," in *Poetika kino. Perečityvaia Poètiku kino* (Sankt-Peterburg: RIII, 2001).
11. http://www.museikino.ru/about/.
12. Vlasov, *K istorii VGIKa. Kniga I*, pp. 179-180.
13. Nikolaj Lebedev, "O naučno-issledovatel'skoj rabote v oblasti kino," *Sovetskoe kino* 10 (1934), p. 43.
14. Vlasov, *K istorii VGIKa. Kniga II*, p. 79.
15. Leon Mussinak, *Roždenie kino*, trans. S. Mogul'skij and T. Sorokina (Leningrad: Academia, 1926).
16. Malte Hagener, *Moving Forward, Looking Back: The European Avant-garde and the Invention of Film Culture, 1919-1939* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2007).

17. Cristophe Dupin, "The Postwar Transformation of the British Film Institute and Its Impact on the Development of a National Film Culture in Britain," *Screen* 47.4 (2006), p. 444.
18. Ibid., 446.
19. Alan Williams, *Republic of Images: A History of French Filmmaking* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 276.
20. For more on Sadoul and the Institut de filmologie, see Valérie Vignaux, "Georges Sadoul et l'Institut de filmologie: des sources pour instruire l'histoire du cinema," *Cinémas* 19.2/3 (2009), pp. 249-267.
21. Ernesto G. Laura, "CSC dal fascismo allo stato democratico," *Bianco e nero* 36.5-6 (1975), pp. 4-29.
22. See Masha Salazkina, "Soviet-Italian Cinematic Exchanges, 1920s-1950s, from Early Soviet Film Theory to Neorealism," in *Global Neorealism: The Transnational History of a Film Style*, ed. Robert Sklar and Saverio Giovacchini (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2011), pp. 37-51.
23. See Christel Taillibert, *L'Institut International du cinématographe éducatif* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), and Zoe Druick, "'Reaching the Multimillions': Liberal Internationalism and the Establishment of Documentary Film," in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. L. Grievson and H. Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 67-92, and "The International Educational Cinematograph Institute, Reactionary Modernism, and the Formation of Film Studies," *Revue canadienne d'études cinématographiques* 16.1 (2007), pp. 80-97.
24. For more on Arnheim's role, see Jurgen Wilke, "Cinematography as a Medium of Communication: The Promotion of Research by the League of Nations and the Role of Rudolf Arnheim," *European Journal of Communication* 6.3 (1991), pp. 337-353.
25. Druick, "The International Educational Cinematograph Institute," p. 88.
26. For details, see Stefano Pisu, "L'Urss e l'Occidente: l'Unione Sovietica alla Mostra del cinema di Venezia negli anni Trenta," *Bianco e nero* 567 (March-August 2010), pp. 93-109, and Salazkina, "Soviet-Italian Cinematic Exchanges," pp. 37-51.
27. Jay Leyda, who was Eisenstein's student in VGIK in the 1930s, was directly involved in the development of MOMA's film library and a number of its other film-related projects. See Haidee Wasson, *Museum Movies: The Museum of Modern Art and the Birth of Art Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 81.
28. For a discussion of the Russian Formalists in the context of the history of systematic discourse of film theory, see D.N. Rodowick, *An Elegy for Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014). I thank David Rodowick for sharing his work with me before it was published.
29. Quoted in Jurenev, *Sergej Ejzenštejn*, p. 294.
30. See "Rjadom s Ejzenštejnom," *Kinovedčeskie Zapiski* 25 (1995), pp. 229-243, quoted in Jamie Miller, "Educating the Filmmakers: The State Institute of Cinematography in the 1930s," *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review* 45.3 (2007), p. 482.
31. Sergei M. Eisenstein, "The Place of Cinema in the General System of the History of the Arts," here, p. 241.
32. Ibid.

33. Peter J. Bloom, "Refiguring the Primitive: Institutional Legacies of the Filmology Movement," *Cinémas* 18.2-3, pp. 169-182.
34. Anne Nesbet, *Savage Junctures: Sergei Eisenstein and the Shape of Thinking* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003); Masha Salazkina, *In Excess: Sergei Eisenstein's Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

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Contributors

The Editors

Naum Kleiman
Naum Kleiman was one of the founders of the Moscow Cinema Museum and its director for over twenty-five years. He has been internationally known for more than four decades for his editions of Eisenstein's texts and for his studies on Eisenstein's oeuvre and on the history of Russian and Soviet cinema. He is editor-in-chief of the Russian film studies journal *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, in which many texts by and about Eisenstein have been published over the years. Among his publications are the collection of essays *Formula finala. Stat'i, vystupleniia, besedy* (Moskva: Eisenstein Centre, 2004) and the editions of the following works by Eisenstein: *Memuary* [Memories], 2 vols. (Moskva: Muzei kino and Eisenstein Centre, 1997); *Montazh* [Montage] (Moskva: Muzei kino and Eisenstein Centre, 2000); *Metod* [Method], 2 vols. (Moskva: Muzei kino and Eisenstein Centre, 2002); *Neravnodushnaia priroda* [Nonindifferent nature], 2 vols. (Moskva: Muzei kino and Eisenstein Centre, 2004).

Antonio Somaini
Antonio Somaini is professor of film, media, and visual culture theory at the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3. In 2014-15 he was senior fellow at International Research Institute for Cultural Techniques and Media Philosophy (IKKM) in Weimar. Among his recent publications, are the book *Ejzenštejn. Il cinema, le arti, il montaggio* [Eisenstein: Cinema, art history, montage] (Turin: Einaudi, 2011; forthcoming in English translation with the University of Illinois Press and in French translation with CNRS Éditions), several essays on issues in film, media, and visual culture theory, and the following edited volumes: *S.M. Eisenstein. Leçons mexicaines. Cinéma, anthropologie, archéologie*, together with Laurence Schifano (Paris: Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2015); Sergueï M. Eisenstein, *Notes pour une Histoire générale du cinéma*, together with François Albera and Naum Kleiman (Paris: AFRHC, 2013); Walter Benjamin, *Aura e choc. Saggi sulla teoria dei media* [Aura and schock: Essays on the theory of media], together with Andrea Pinotti (Turin: Einaudi, 2012); László Moholy-Nagy, *Pittura Fotografia Film* [Painting photography film] (Turin: Einaudi, 2010).

The Authors of the Critical Essays

Ada Ackerman
Ada Ackerman is a CNRS researcher working within the THALIM laboratory in Paris. An art historian and specialist in Sergei Eisenstein's work, she focuses on cultural translations between Russia and other countries (France, the United States) and on the relations between cinema and the other arts. She has published a book derived from her PhD dissertation, *Eisenstein et Daumier. Des affinités électives* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013). She has taught art history at the Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense and at the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon. She has also worked for the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme in Paris and the Centre Pompidou in Metz. She is currently preparing two new books about Sergei Eisenstein.

François Albera
François Albera is professor in the Department of Film History and Aesthetics at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland), and editor of the film studies journal *1895: Revue d'histoire du cinéma*. He is the author of the books *Eisenstein et le constructivisme russe* (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 1990); *Albatros, des Russes à Paris (1919-1929)* (Milan: Mazzotta, 1998); *L'Avant-garde au cinéma* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2005); the coeditor of *Stop Motion/Fragmentation of Time* (Lausanne: Payot, 2002); and the editor of the special issues of the journal *Cinémas* entitled *Eisenstein dans le texte* (2001) and *La Filmologie, de nouveau* (2009), and of the volumes *Cinema beyond Film* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010) and *Ciné-dispositifs: spectacles, cinéma, télévision, littérature* (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 2011). He has also edited French translations of texts by Eisenstein, Kuleshov, Barnet, and the Russian Formalists on cinema.

Luka Arsenjuk
Luka Arsenjuk received his PhD from the Program in Literature at Duke University in 2010 and is currently an assistant professor of film studies at the University of Maryland, College Park. His interest is in the intersections between cinema, politics, and philosophy. He has published essays on Jacques Rancière's concept of politics, cinema as mass art, Eisenstein's idea of intellectual montage, Alexander Kluge and the filming of Marx's *Capital*, as well as on how to survive encounters with the specters of cinema. He is currently working on a book about Sergei M. Eisenstein.

Nico Baumbach
Nico Baumbach is an assistant professor of film at Columbia University in New York City. His essays have appeared in *Artforum*, *Film Comment*, *New Review of Film*

and Television, *Comparative Critical Studies*, and *Discourse*. He is currently working on two books: a study of the relation between cinema and politics in the work of contemporary Continental philosophers and a monograph titled *The Anonymous Image*.

Georges Didi-Huberman

Georges Didi-Huberman, philosopher and art historian, teaches at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. Among his publications are *Invention de l'hystérie. Charcot et l'iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* (Paris: Macula, 1982; English translation: *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*, 2004); *La Peinture incarnée* (Paris: Minuit, 1985); *Fra Angelico. Dissemblance et figuration* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990); *Devant l'image. Questions posées aux fins d'une histoire de l'art* (Paris: Minuit, 1990; English translation: *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, 2009); *La Ressemblance informe, ou le gai savoir visuel selon Georges Bataille* (Paris: Macula, 1995); *Devant le temps. Histoire de l'art et anachronisme des images* (Paris: Minuit, 2000); *L'Image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Minuit, 2002); *Images malgré tout* (Paris: Minuit 2004; English translation: *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, 2012); *La Ressemblance par contact. Archéologie, anachronisme et modernité de l'empreinte* (Paris: Minuit, 2008); *L'Œil de l'histoire – Tome 1: Quand les images prennent position* (Paris, Minuit 2009); *L'Œil de l'histoire – Tome 2: Remontages du temps subi* (Paris: Minuit, 2010); *L'Œil de l'histoire – Tome 3: Atlas, ou le gai savoir inquiet* (Paris: Minuit, 2011); and *L'Œil de l'histoire – Tome 4: Peuples exposés, peuples figurants* (Paris, Minuit, 2012).

Jane Gaines

Jane Gaines is professor of film theory at the School of the Arts of Columbia University in New York City. A founder of the conference cycle *Visible Evidence: Strategies and Practices in Documentary*, she previously taught at Duke University, where she founded the film program and was Luce Distinguished Professor at Vassar College as well as Kersten Hesselgren Honorary Chair at the University of Stockholm. She is the award-winning author of two books: *Contested Culture: The Image, the Voice, and the Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), and *Fire and Desire: Mixed Race Movies in the Silent Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), both of which received the Katherine Singer Kovacs prize from the Society for Cinema and Media Studies. She received an Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Scholarly Award for her forthcoming book on early cinema, *Historical Fictioning: Women Film Pioneers*, and for work on the Women Film Pioneers digital archive published by Columbia University Libraries in 2013. She has written articles on intellectual property and piracy, documentary theory and radicalism, feminism and film, early cinema, fashion and film, and critical race theory that have appeared in *Cinema Journal*, *Screen*, *Cultural Studies*, *Framework*,

Camera Obscura, and *Women and Performance*. Most recently, she has been engaged in a critique of the "historical turn" in film and media studies.

Abe Geil
Abe Geil is assistant professor of film studies at the University of Amsterdam, where he is also a research fellow in the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis (ASCA). He received his PhD from the Program in Literature at Duke University in 2013. He is the coeditor of *Memory Bytes: History, Technology, and Digital Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004) and has published essays on Jean Epstein's conception of cinematic movement and Jacques Rancière's theory of spectatorship. He is currently developing a book manuscript on the uses and abuses of the human face as a privileged site of recognition in the history of film theory.

Vinzenz Hediger
Vinzenz Hediger is professor of cinema studies at the Goethe Universität Frankfurt and a cofounder of NECS – European Network of Cinema and Media Studies (www.necs.org). His publications include *Nostalgia for the Coming Attraction: American Movie Trailers and the Culture of Film Consumption* (forthcoming from Columbia University Press) and *Epistemic Screens: Science and the Moving Image*, with Scott Curtis and Oliver Gaycken (forthcoming with Amsterdam University Press). He coedited *Films That Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media*, with Patrick Vonderau (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), and *Preserving and Exhibiting Media Art: Challenges and Perspectives*, with Julia Noordegraaf (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013).

Mikhail Iampolski
Mikhail Iampolski is professor of comparative literature, Russian & Slavic studies at New York University. Among his publications are *Visible World* (Moscow: Kinovedcheskie sapiski, 1993), *Babel/Babel*, with A. Zholkovsky (Moscow: La Carte Blanche, 1994), *Daemon and Labyrinth* (Moscow, 1996), *Amnesia as a Source* (Moscow, 1997), *The Memory of Tiresias* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1998).

Arun Khopkar
Arun Khopkar has been a filmmaker, scholar, and teacher of film theory and practice for over four decades. He trained at the Film and Television Institute of India as a film director. He was a student of the legendary filmmaker Ritwik Ghatak. He was on the governing body of the FTII for over fifteen years. He has made several short films on various artforms and artists (*Figures of Thought*, 1990; *Sanchari*, 1991; *Colours of Absence*, 1993; *Pravahi*, 2004; *Volume Zero: The Work of Charles Correa*, 2009), which have won national and international awards. His feature film *A Tale of Two Ganpatraos* (1994), based on a Gogol story, has been shown in various international festivals. He was a Homi Bhabha fellow and has contrib-

uted seminal papers on film aesthetics to various international journals. His book on the Indian director Guru Dutt, *Guru Dutt: A Tragedy in Three Acts* (Penguin Books India, 2012), won the National Award for the best book on cinema.

Pietro Montani
Pietro Montani, philosopher, is professor of aesthetics at the University of Rome La Sapienza. He is currently working on the influence of new technologies on imaginative processes and common sense. He is the editor of the Italian multivolume edition of Eisenstein's theoretical works (Venice: Marsilio, 1981-ongoing). His latest books are *L'immaginazione intermediale* [The intermedial imagination] (Rome: Laterza, 2010) and *Tecnologie della sensibilità. Estetica e immaginazione interattiva* [Technologies of sensibility: Aesthetics and interactive imagination] (Milan: Cortina, 2014).

Philip Rosen
Philip Rosen is professor of modern culture and media at Brown University, where he is also affiliated faculty in the departments of American Studies and English. He is author of *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001) and editor of *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Theory Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986). He has published articles and essays on a wide range of topics in film and media studies, including work on nationality and globality in cinema, and work on the history of film theory.

Natalie Ryabchikova
Natalie Ryabchikova is a doctoral candidate in the interdisciplinary Film Studies Program at the University of Pittsburgh, where she is currently working on a dissertation entitled "Sergei Eisenstein in Europe and the Americas." She has published articles on early Russian and Soviet film history in the journals *Kinovedcheskie zapiski* and *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema* and recently wrote a chapter on ARRK and the Soviet transition to sound for the volume *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema*, ed. Lilya Kaganovsky and Masha Salazkina (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014). She also contributed commentary for the Hyperkino edition of Sergei Eisenstein's *Strike* (Ruscico, 2010).

Masha Salazkina
Masha Salazkina is research chair in transnational media arts and culture at Concordia University, Montreal. Her work incorporates transnational approaches to film theory and cultural and institutional history with a focus on Soviet Union, Latin America, and Italy. She is the author of *In Excess: Sergei Eisenstein's Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009) and coeditor of *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).